ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Sexism in Business Schools: Structural Inequalities, Systemic Failures and Individual Experiences of Sexism

Business schools and faculty experiences of sexism: Gender structure tensions within and outside these schools

Emma Hughes[1] | Rory Donnelly[2]

[1]Leeds University Business School, Woodhouse, Leeds, UK

[2]University of Liverpool Management School, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, UK

Correspondence

Emma Hughes, Leeds University Business School, Woodhouse, Leeds LS2 9JT, UK.
Email: E.S.Hughes@leeds.ac.uk

Abstract

In this paper, we advance knowledge and theorization on the sexism experienced by faculty not only inside but also outside the physical boundaries of business schools. We enrich existing knowledge of gender and sexism by applying Gender Structure Theory (GST) to provide a more multi-dimensional analysis of the role of individuals, interactions, and institutions in shaping gender structures. Engaging with this theoretical framework, we use mixed-methods and data, integrating statistical data on gender in UK business schools with qualitative data from interviews with 52 academics from 15 schools to provide a nuanced insight into sexism at business schools. The framework developed from the findings extends GST by adding a specific "organizational" dimension, which is needed to examine inter-organizational differences and how cultural and material organizational processes are influenced by wider national/international processes. We also identify three key interactional tensions cutting across the dimensions examined: organizational versus interorganizational relations, agency versus dependency, and employment relationships versus stakeholder relationships. The findings generate pressing implications for policy and practice in business schools and academia more broadly.

1 | INTRODUCTION

In this paper, we provide a nuanced analysis of sexism at business and management schools (hereafter referred to as business schools) in the UK, by engaging with Risman's (2004, 2018) Gender Structure Theory (GST). We adopt a broad definition of sexism as "prejudice or discrimination based on sex or gender, especially against women and girls" (Evangelista, 2017, p. 17). GST offers an integrated multi-dimensional framework to shed light on how cultural and material processes permeating individual, interactional, and institutional/macro dimensions to gender structures (re) produce[1] or challenge sexism extending to gender inequalities and sexual harassment (Froyum, 2018). We build on Risman's original framework by incorporating a specific organizational dimension to the analysis of gender structures and showing how tensions between the dimensions and processes of the gender structure shape the experiences of business school faculty, generating pressing implications for changes in policy and practice.

We focus on business schools because these schools and their faculty play a key role in contributing to diversity and inclusion more broadly by educating future managers and establishing connections with organizations across industries and countries (Grier & Poole, 2020). We focus on the United Kingdom for several reasons. Firstly, after the United States, the United Kingdom has some of the world's leading and most influential business schools. However, we know relatively little about how gender shapes the experiences of academics working for business schools in the United Kingdom. Secondly, the Athena Swan (AS) Charter, which recognizes research and higher education institutions for their promotion of gender equality with different levels of awards,[2] originates from the United Kingdom and is increasingly being adopted as a gender equality framework in other countries (Thomas, 2019).

Specifically, we investigate the following research question. *How are the experiences of UK business school academics framed by multi-dimensional gender structures and processes?*

To answer this question, we used mixed methods and data. We examine structural sector-wide gender patterns through the analysis of a quantitative dataset on gender in business schools in the United Kingdom requested from the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA, 2021), enriched through a deeper insight into actual experiences of sexism drawn from rich semi-structured interviews (*n* = 52) with male and female academics from 15 schools.

The next section of the paper provides an overview of existing research and analysis on gender and sexism in UK business schools before engaging with GST. The research design and data analysis are then explained, before presenting the findings, which focus on three thematic interactional tensions identified through the analysis of the data. Finally, we discuss the implications of our findings for the development of GST and policy and practice seeking to tackle sexism, gender inequalities, and harassment in business schools.

2 | GENDER AND SEXISM IN BUSINESS SCHOOLS

Existing research on sexism and gender in UK business schools has provided valuable insights. For example, Priola (2004, 2007) interviewed female academic managers and male and female faculty to examine identity construction and whether women in managerial roles changed cultures at an organizational level. She refers to a feminization process where values, meanings, and behaviors associated with women transcended to organizational practices. Fotaki (2011) investigated the embodied subjectivity of female academics and showed how unconscious assumptions about sexuality and the body shape how knowledge is (re)produced, along with the gendered nature of academic work, including the organization of tasks.

In their research into sex-based harassment, Fernando and Prasad (2019) focused specifically on how early and mid-career female academics who voice their experiences are effectively silenced. They apply a discursive approach to link micro-discursive practices to broader hegemonic discourses that govern individual behaviors.

A discursive perspective was also adopted by Śliwa and Johansson (2014) to examine how female academics originating from outside the United Kingdom reproduced and contested the dominant discourse of meritocracy when making sense of their careers. Focusing on the same group of academics, Johansson and Śliwa (2014) contextualized foreignness by analyzing how the discourse of internationalization shaped the experiences of the women sampled. They also referred to how broader factors, such as UK visa regulations, influenced their decision to work in the United Kingdom (also see Strauß & Boncori, 2020).

Some studies have focused on the performative context of business schools. For instance, Shaw and Cassell (2007) compared how male and female faculty in two business schools interpreted academic performance. Drawing on Acker (1990) "inequality regimes", Davies et al. (2020) discuss the UK Research Excellence Framework (REF), but in particular, how women were disproportionately under-represented in leading REF 2014 impact case studies, which are aimed at evaluating research impact (Davies et al., 2020). They discuss how work practices and processes, including inequalities in research resources, contribute to the gendering of higher education policy.

Numerous scholars have highlighted the importance of mobilizing and identifying allies (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2019; Risman & Adkins, 2014). Some have underscored the importance of "allyship" in business schools (Bell et al., 2021; Contu, 2020). Focusing on Australian business schools, Dobele et al. (2021) have called for a shift from individualized allyship to "institutionalized allyship" where institutions focus on promoting the interests of marginalized groups. However, relatively little empirical research has been conducted so far on allyship in UK business schools.

Taken together, these studies demonstrate the need to contextualize research findings on sexism in UK business schools and analyze discursive and extra-discursive sexism. We argue that an explicitly multi-dimensional lens examining cultural and material processes can enable researchers to conduct a more integrated and contextualized analysis of sexism in business schools as well as more broadly. The next section sets out the theoretical framework adopted in this paper.

3 | GENDER STRUCTURE THEORY (GST)

GST offers a distinct type of integrative stratified approach by providing an explicit multi-dimensional framework to analyze interactions between cultural and material processes within three dimensions of a gender structure (Hallgren & Risman, 2022). Risman (2018) defines gender as a social structure encompassing individual, interactional, and institutional/macro dimensions. Through elucidating relationships between processes and dimensions, GST helps explain gendered outcomes and identify areas where the change is occurring or could occur (Risman & Davis, 2013). As Hallgren and Risman (2022) advocate, explicitly drawing on evidence from multiple dimensions to gender structures is crucial in contextualizing the understanding and analysis of empirical research findings (Figure 1).

We now examine each of these three dynamic and interrelated dimensions to gender structures in turn. The *individual* dimension concerns material processes related to physical bodies and cultural processes linked to identity construction and internalized predispositions.

The *interactional* dimension includes cultural processes associated with role expectations, including stereotypes, cognitive biases, and harassment. Scholars engaging with this dimension posit that cultural status expectations attached to being male or female (re)produce or "do" gender in social settings (Benschop & Brouns, 2003; West & Zimmerman, 1987). For instance, men are assumed to be less caring, empathetic, and nurturing than women, but more agentic at work (Ridgeway, 2011) with individuals holding each other accountable to uphold cultural expectations. However, the interactional dimension to gender structures also assumes that gender can be "undone" when individuals behave in ways that challenge traditional masculinities, femininities, or such binaries (Butler, 2004).
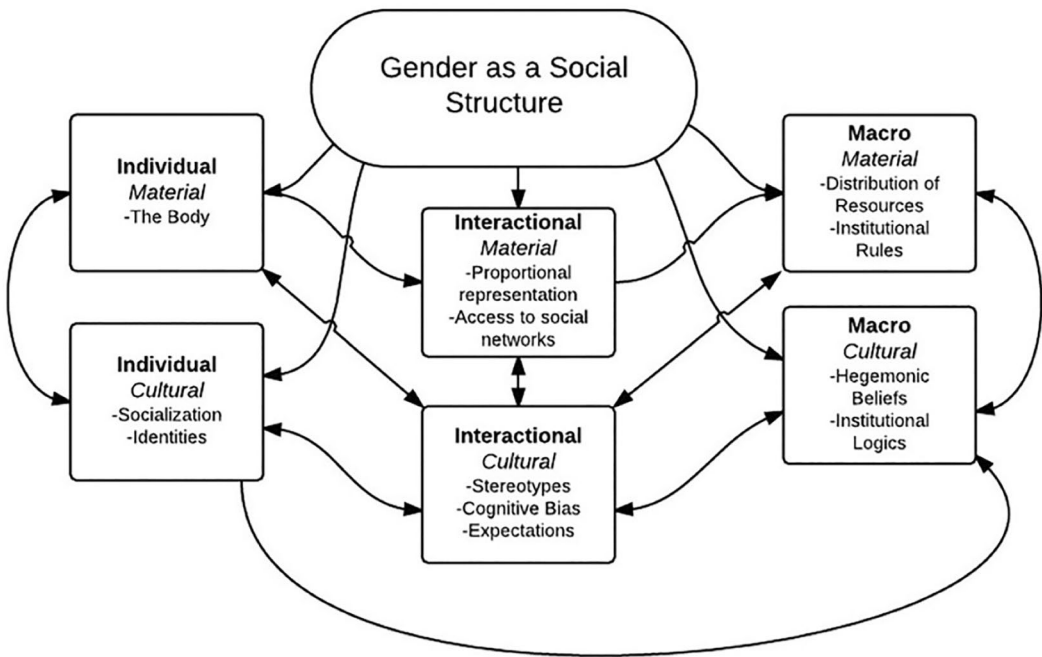
FIGURE 1 Risman's gender structure theory as a framework for analysis. *Source*: Risman (2017, p. 211)

Material processes taking place within this dimension include associations with networks and how the proportional representation of women and men influences interactions.

The *institutional/macro* dimension to GST focuses on material processes, such as legislation, rules, and the distribution of resources, and cultural processes, including ideologies and institutional logics. Although the institutional/macro dimension incorporates organizational elements, we demonstrate in this paper that including an "organizational" dimension is important in examining interorganizational differences and how cultural and material processes within this organizational dimension to gender structures are influenced by wider national/international processes.

Although GST has been highly influential in scholarly debates, the framework has not been widely used in work-focused empirical research. Examples include Brody et al.'s (2014) comparison of how the behaviors of male and female managers influenced the commitment and mental health of employees, while Szymanska and Rubin (2018) analyzed gendered job performance evaluations. The next section explains the mixed methods research design adopted to examine gender and sexism in the gendered structures shaping the experiences of academics at business schools.

4 | METHODS

Many of the studies examining gender relations in business schools have been built on qualitative mono-method research (e.g., Fotaki, 2011; Walters et al., 2020). To gain a more multidimensional insight into sexism in UK business schools, the research question in this paper was investigated through a mixed methods and data research design (Cameron, 2011) as detailed below.

4.1 | Secondary quantitative data and analysis

A quantitative dataset on gender and diversity in UK business schools was obtained by request from HESA (2021). This dataset was based on information submitted by UK higher education providers about their staff working in "Administrative and Business Studies" for the 2019/2020 academic year.

The HESA data covered 17,677 individuals across the eight-grouped contract-level categories shown in Table 1. The data included categorical variables, such as gender, age (grouped), and salary (banded). The data were analyzed using SPSS, a statistical software package. Chi-square tests were appropriate in examining whether a significant

TABLE 1 Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) data variables and categories

Variable	Categories
Gender	1) Female
	2) Male
Contract[a]	1) Senior Management
	2) Head of School, Senior Function Head
	3) Professor[b]
	4) Function Head
	5) Nonacademic Section Manager, Senior/Principal Lecturer, Reader, Principal Research Fellow
	6) Team Leader, Lecturer, Senior Lecturer, Senior Research Fellow
	7) Senior Professional, Lecturer, Research Fellow, Senior Research Assistant, Teaching Fellow
	8) Senior Administrative Staff, Research Assistant, Teaching Assistant
Ethnicity	1) Asian
	2) Black
	3) Mixed
	4) Not known
	5) Other
	6) White
Contract Term	1) Atypical
	2) Fixed-term
	3) Open-ended/permanent
Age	1) 34 and under
	2) 35–49
	3) 50–65
	4) 66 and over
Pay	1) <25,482[c]
	2) ≥25,482 and <34,189
	3) ≥34,189 and <45,892
	4) ≥45,892 <61,618
	5) ≥61,618

[a]The grouping of contract-level categories in the HESA data included a small number of administrative/technical roles as shown in this table.

[b]HESA admits that the number of Professors in the data are understated because staff occupying managerial roles may also be Professors.

[c]This revised category combines the HESA categories <19,202 and ≥19,202 <25,482 to adhere to the assumptions of the Chi-square test and the log-linear analysis regarding minimum expected values.

relationship existed between two variables, such as salary and gender. Log-linear analyses were undertaken to determine whether a significant relationship existed between more than one variable, for example, whether salary was influenced by gender and age (Tansey et al., 1996). To adhere to the minimum expected values for these tests, the two lowest pay bands were combined (see Table 1) and a small number (11) of individuals who identified as "other" were removed from the sample. We used $p = 0.05$ as the significance level for the tests conducted.

In addition to the paid data requested from HESA, we also used the open data available through HESA's website because the latter provided access to historical data along with information about students studying Business Management. The HESA data provided a sectoral-level insight into the workforce composition of UK business schools and gendered patterns with respect to staff representation and pay. However, the data did not provide insight into how these patterns were (re)produced, challenged, and influenced by institutional, interactional, and individual processes. It provided evidence of statistical patterns but could not provide insight into individuals' accounts of sexism and the fine-grained complexity of how multi-dimensional tensions, contradictions, and processes influence sexism within and outside business schools. Consequently, we built on the HESA data with rich qualitative data.

4.2 | Primary qualitative data and analysis

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 52 participants (37F/15M) across 15 schools in the United Kingdom (see Table 2). The inclusion of men in the sample was important in gaining insight into their perspectives on the structures and processes the female participants saw as contributing to sexism.

The interviews were digitally recorded and conducted from late February to August 2020 as part of a wider study examining how work arrangements and HRM in academia are changing. The participants were asked questions about pay and representation gaps, university, and national gender equality initiatives, including the AS Charter, and inclusivity within their school and academia more broadly. The interviews were mainly conducted online or by phone due to COVID-19 restrictions and ranged from 46 to 109 min in length, lasting for a mean of 63 min. Follow-up interviews were arranged where necessary to gather further information or clarify specific points. After the interview data were fully transcribed and checked for accuracy, the data were then subject to rigorous in-depth analysis.

Template analysis (King, 2012) was used as it offered a systematic but flexible approach to analyze the textual interview data. To enhance the quality of the coding, we adopted a number of specific measures (see King & Brooks, 2017). The transcripts were read through first to gain familiarity with the data. The researchers independently coded four transcripts and then discussed the similarities and differences in coding to develop a preliminary template. We minimized the potential for subjectivity and bias by asking colleagues who were not involved in the study to code four transcripts without providing them with the template. Microsoft Word was used for this coding check

TABLE 2 Sample characteristics

Position	Total	Females	Males	Full-time	Part-time
Dean	2	2	0	2	0
Professor	16	9	7	15	1
Reader	1	0	1	1	0
Senior Lecturer	12	9	3	12	0
Lecturer	14	11	3	14	0
Post-doctoral Research and Teaching Fellows	7	6	1	7	0
Totals	52	37	15	51	1

because it allowed notes and comments to be added to highlighted sections of text. The coding by the four individuals was broadly in line with our initial template but some adjustments to the template were made including adding further codes, combining and relabeling some of the codes. The modified template better reflected the data and thus increased the validity and accuracy of the coding.

The data and coding structure were then imported into NVivo12 to facilitate the second stage of the analysis. The researchers discussed how to apply the template, thereby enhancing the reliability of the coding. The progressive coding was repeatedly reviewed and modified by the authors after analyzing five transcripts, then 20 transcripts and at two further intervals until all the transcripts were coded. As with stage two, relatively minor amendments to the initial template were implemented to improve the validity of the coding.

After reflecting on the coding, we revisited the sections of text corresponding to the codes included in our template and used memos as sense-making tools to tie or cluster segments of data together and identify new pattern codes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The pattern codes reflected emerging second-order themes and aggregate theoretical dimensions in the data. Material and cultural processes associated with the three dimensions of Risman's framework were identified at this point, but we also realized that including a fourth "organizational" dimension in our template would better reflect the data. Three sets of interactional tensions were also identified through this analysis characterizing the interrelationship between the individual, interactional, organizational, and national/international dimensions to the gender structures being examined. We kept a record of when, how, and why the template had been changed during the analysis process. The analysis of the interview data was then revisited to apply the final template to all of the transcripts, thereby enhancing the consistency of the analysis. Figure 2 sets out the final coding structure.

The next section integrates the HESA dataset with the participants' accounts to uncover how gender relations and sexism in UK business schools are influenced by multi-dimensional processes, which interact to generate three sets of tensions. The findings demonstrate how these processes and tensions can reinforce or challenge sexism.
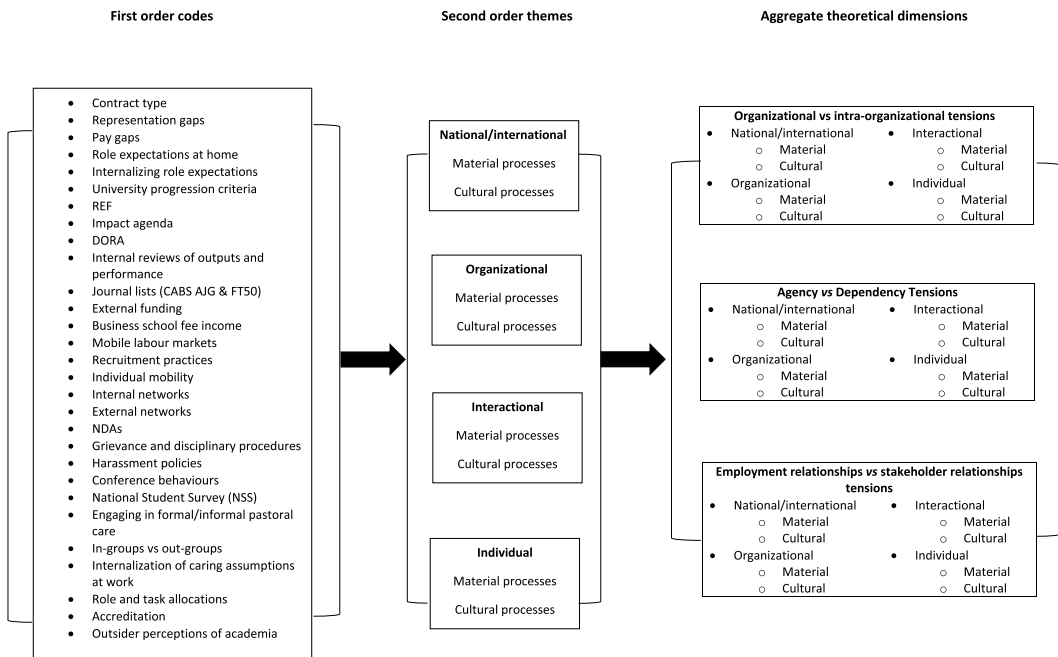

FIGURE 2 Coding structure.

5 | FINDINGS

The findings present three key tensions derived from the analysis of the data, which shape gender relations in UK business schools: organizational versus inter-organizational relations, agency versus dependency, and employment relationships versus stakeholder relationships. The analysis of the HESA data revealed quantitative patterns and relationships across business schools in the United Kingdom as a whole. See Tables 3 and 4 for further details. The qualitative interview data helped provide a richer insight into these quantitative patterns and the multidimensional processes shaping sexism, gender inequalities, and failures.

5.1 | Organizational versus inter-organizational relations

At the national dimension, the HESA data illustrated the outcomes of gendered representational processes at senior lenvels across business schools in the United Kingdom (see Table 4). Chi-square tests showed a significant ($p < 0.001$) relationship between gender and contract level $x^2 = 540$, indicating that these pairs of variables influenced each other. The percentage of senior managers identifying as female was 40%. Although the HESA data show a 42% increase in female Professors in business schools compared to a 12% increase in male Professors (2014–2020), the data also indicate that 72% of all business school Professors in 2020 were male.

18% of women and 18% of men at the national dimension were on fixed term or atypical contracts and so less firmly embedded in school structures. However, other interesting material representation processes were evident in the data, because significant relationships ($p < 0.001$) were identified between the term of an employment contract and age $x^2 = 456$; and gender and age $x^2 = 279$, confirming the relationships between these pairs of variables. The majority of staff on fixed-term or atypical contracts were either in the early stages of their career aged 34 or under (30%/52% women) or mid-career aged 35–49 years old (38%/51% women), and more of these were women. Conversely, 26% of staff on fixed-term contracts were aged 50–65 years old (56% male) and 5% of staff on fixed-term contracts were aged 66 or over (83% male) with these mainly being male.

A small number of the interview participants referred to a recent initiative to recruit female professors at their school, which could potentially help undo gendered assumptions that men are more professorial. Some of the

TABLE 3 SPSS analysis of Higher Education Statistics Agency data

Relationships tested between variables	Value	Significance	Degrees of freedom
Gender and age	Chi-square: 279	$p < 0.001$	3
	Likelihood ratio: 294	$p < 0.001$	
Age and employment terms	Chi-square: 456	$p < 0.001$	6
	Likelihood ratio: 414	$p < 0.001$	
Gender and contract	Chi-square: 540	$p < 0.001$	7
	Likelihood ratio: 553	$p < 0.001$	
Gender and ethnicity	Chi-square: 132	$p < 0.001$	5
	Likelihood ratio: 134	$p < 0.001$	
Gender and pay	Chi square: 474	$p < 0.001$	4
	Likelihood ratio: 480	$p < 0.001$	
Ethnicity and pay	Chi square: 646	$p < 0.001$	20
	Likelihood ratio: 619	$p < 0.001$	
Gender, pay, and ethnicity	Chi square three way interactions: 36	$p = 0.015$	20
	Likelihood ratio statistic: 36	$p = 0.016$	

TABLE 4 Higher Education Statistics Agency data individual characteristics

Contract level (grouped)	Gender% Female (F) Male (M)
Senior management	F = 40
	M = 60
Head of schools/Senior function head	F = 43
	M = 57
Professor	F = 28
	M = 72
Function head	F = 57
	M = 43
Nonacademic section manager, Senior/principal lecturer, Reader, Principal Research fellow	F = 43
	M = 57
Team Leader (Professional, Technical, and Administrative), Lecturer, Senior Lecturer, Senior Research fellow	F = 48
	M = 52
Senior Professional (Technical), Lecturer, Research fellow, Researcher (senior research assistant), Teaching fellow	F = 53
	M = 47
Senior Administrative staff (Professional/technical), Research assistant, Teaching assistant	F = 64
	M = 36

participants mentioned attempts to make school progression processes more inclusive at their school by using more specific criteria rather than relying less on a general narrative of progression in promotion cases. However, such organizational initiatives were not widely reported and so unlikely to disrupt national patterns of male dominance at senior levels.

Meeting organizational progression criteria could present challenges for female academics due to processes that are part of the interactional and individual dimensions to gender structures. As an example, gender can be "done" at home, because of cultural processes where female academics are expected to be caregivers and cultural processes at the individual dimension, where women internalize gendered identities. These processes interact with the hegemonic cultural notion of the "ideal academic", while constraining the number of hours they can typically work compared to men.

The interview data suggested that although employer expectations could vary across schools, they were also shaped by material performance evaluation processes stemming from the national and international dimensions to the gender structure. Business schools are often evaluated based on their standing in (inter)national league tables, but the positioning of these schools in these ranking structures is arguably more important than in other schools because of material distributional and financial processes. Specifically, business schools tend to generate comparatively high levels of student fee income mainly due to their substantially larger share of international students. The HESA data show that the number of students studying business and management in 2019/2020 was 412,815. This included 159,230 non-UK students, most of whom paying higher fees. As a senior lecturer explained:

> The number of students and international students in each business school varies dramatically, but I would say probably in all UK universities, business schools are by far the cash cows. To try to justify the fees these students, particularly international students are paying, rankings become extremely important. They … influence working practices, norms, relationships, everything.

Material performance evaluation processes at the schools were influenced to varying degrees by the national REF, which evaluate the research performance of UK universities every 6–7 years. As part of the REF, individual research outputs are assessed on a scale from unclassified to 4 stars. A key difference in the case of business schools is the relationship between the REF and the Chartered Association of Business Schools' (CABS) Academic Journal Guide (AJG), which rates journals from 1 to 4*. In addition, the participants referred to competition over publishing in journals in the international FT50 list, which primarily impacts business schools.

Some of the participants worked in universities that had signed up to the international Declaration on Research Assessment (DORA). In doing so, they had formally agreed as an organization to not use journal-based metrics, such as the AJG/FT50 journal lists as a surrogate measure of quality for performance evaluation, promotion, or hiring processes. This is because of the cultural and material processes discussed above (e.g., representation levels and interactional assumptions), which could negatively impact some demographic groups, including women.

The DORA declaration as a voluntary material regulatory process could potentially contribute toward "undoing" gendered internal and external assessments of academic prowess. However, the participants shared mixed views on the use of internal reviews of research outputs by colleagues using the REF criteria instead of journal ratings. These views were partly shaped by how many colleagues at their school shared similar research interests. Some participants argued that articles were more likely to be sent to academics outside their research area for internal review than when they were submitted to a journal and evaluated by reviewers and editors who may be more familiar with their area of research.

The participants referred to how the AJG list was often used as a guide by internal reviewers as well as by the broader academic community to evaluate academics and inform material selection processes. In some cases, the research outputs of female and male participants had been rated below the AJG rating of the journal in which they had been published as part of internal organizational review processes. A small minority reported their outputs being rated above the AJG rating of the journal in which it was published.

In addition to assessing research outputs, the REF rates and ranks universities based on how their research significantly impacts broader society. Many participants were of the view that "impact" was assessed in very narrow terms, but impact cases arguably play a more important role in the REF submission of business schools than other schools. Out of the 36 REF units of assessment, the number of impact cases in the "business and management" unit of assessment in 2014 was significantly higher than other units at 410 (*cf.* Law at 216). Highly rated impact cases could enhance a business school's REF performance, but they could also be used to counter interactional assumptions among practitioners and other stakeholders that the practical relevance of research conducted in these schools was low compared to research in other fields such as law, medicine, or dentistry (Nobel, 2016).

Securing external research funding is another way faculty and schools can influence stakeholder assumptions about the relevance of their research. Although the development of impact cases and the acquisition of external funding could strengthen progression opportunities, these activities involved a great deal of time and effort were influenced by the publication profiles of applicants and their social capital, which could disadvantage women and subsequently contribute to "doing" gendered assumptions that men are more capable of leading impact cases and working on externally funded projects.

Material financial processes related to grant capture could play out differently at the organization dimension in business schools. This is exemplified in the quote as follows:

> Unlike the rest of the university, especially the natural sciences, medical sciences, engineering etc., *we have much lower research funding*. Our funding and opportunities are different, but we also have much less research time and more teaching time. That is where we earn the money.

This theme has focused on how sexism is shaped by tensions between organizational and inter-organizational dynamics. In the next, we discuss tensions between the agency of academics and how they depend on their relationships with others.

5.2 | Agency versus dependency

The participants explained that material supply and demand processes within the national/international dimension to a gender structure manifested differently in business schools, because the labor market tended to be more dynamic compared to other fields and schools. This is reflected in the following quote.

> The Business School is quite different from the other schools in the same college because *we're very much market driven*. There is not so much of a market for historians or linguists. Whereas there is a market for human resource management professors.

This mobility was influenced by a larger number of students compared to other schools and could fuel the agency of male and female academics to pursue opportunities for higher pay. However, the HESA data indicated that these processes conflicted with the material processes of distributing financial resources. The HESA data identified a two-way significant ($p < 0.001$) relationship between gender and pay $x^2 = 474$. 66% of staff in the top pay band were male. In 2018, men in UK universities were paid on average 15.9% more than their female counterparts on a mean hourly basis and there was little change to this gap by 2019 at 15.1% (Pells, 2019). Pay gaps subsequently contribute toward cultural processes of "doing gender" within the interactional dimension of a gender structure by reinforcing the assumption that men should be paid more than women as they were typically the main breadwinners.

Evaluation processes at the national/international dimension to the gender structure placed an emphasis on publishing in highly rated journals. This in turn contributed toward "doing" gendered assumptions that men are star performers by reinforcing masculinity benchmarks and informing appointment and reward processes within an organization.

> There is a re-masculinisation...*the whole re-imaging of the Business School is around these kind of independent masculine figures*...the last four or five appointments on high salaries, and I don't think warrant the salaries, are male. There are female Professors and female BAME Professors that we should be approaching for certain roles, but we can't, because they may not [have the CV markers] ready at this time.
>
> P15, Male Professor

Publishing in high-quality journals could be aided by material interactional processes, including those influenced by networks and allies. Some of the senior female participants were of the view that opportunities to socialize and share ideas with colleagues within their school had become more inclusive over time and that there were now more opportunities to develop external networks. Importantly, some of the women emphasized how they had key male allies who they collaborated with and/or sought advice from, which supported their career progression and enabled them to expand their networks, thereby contributing toward "undoing" gendered interactions. However, the analysis of the participants' accounts as a whole indicated that when considering national processual patterns across business schools, men were typically more hierarchically embedded in internal and external networks. As the following quote demonstrates, male academics were seen as being more successful in using interactional processes including their network relationships to leverage alternative job offers and increase their pay. However, the use of this type of agency was influenced by cultural processes at the individual dimension, relating for instance to personal values.

> I didn't have enough confidence to use my [papers] to leverage a higher salary whereas my male colleagues were, and I didn't really believe in it...It's not just, if I went knocking on another door, *it's whether I would go knocking on another door for a start...And then who is on the other side of that door?* A lot of male Professors have these networks, and they are encouraging each other to do those sorts

of things, whereas it's not quite as established as that with women academics in my opinion. *So, it's whether you do it in the first place, and if you did it, if people would take you seriously or not.*

<div align="right">P3, Female Professor</div>

Many of the female participants also felt that material processes of geographic mobility were taken less seriously in relation to women due to their caring responsibilities and interactional cultural processes, reinforcing assumptions that they were not the main breadwinners at home. However, a small number of the female participants had leveraged alternative job offers to increase their pay, in some cases with the support of external allies, associations and networks, which could encourage the "undoing" of gendered interactions and assumptions that women have less latitude to increase their pay.

Some of the female participants explained how they had used their agency to challenge how processes shaping the organizational distribution of resources played out and questioned why a male peer in their school was being paid more than them. Some were successful in achieving pay parity and material interactional processes in terms of support from internal allies, and affinity groups often played a role here. However, the outcome of such resistance was usually a short-lived and partial micro-remedy for individuals, rather than a significant change in processes at the organizational or national dimension to gender structures.

> Once you build a strong case, it's difficult for management to say no but this requires time. Pay is not something we discuss in the corridors every day, building up a case means finding a smart way to do that and then of course bringing in all the contribution that you do in terms of research. You fix it once but then it will be there again in a couple of years' time.

<div align="right">P11, Female Senior Lecturer</div>

Business school academics often participate in national and international conferences and external events to maintain and expand their social capital. The female participants holding senior posts explained how some material processes in conferences had become more inclusive, for instance, female keynote/plenary speakers, more women attending conferences, the provision of childcare at some conferences. Furthermore, some of the female participants referred to meeting male collaborators in conferences and receiving valuable feedback, which could contribute toward "undoing" gendered interactions. However, "doing gender" was also reinforced by cultural processes and sexist social interactions in conferences, as indicated in the following quote.

> In conferences, there's definitely a boy's club. In my stream, there was a group of very senior male academics, really big names … *much more support was given to early career men in terms of how they were talking to them … they had more opportunities to collaborate and get feedback.*

<div align="right">P8, Female Lecturer</div>

Some of the participants referred to how gendered assumptions were "done" through the questions women were asked in conferences after presenting their work. Additionally, the participants discussed how conferences could be a locus for unwanted sexual attention. Senior male and female academics had warned junior colleagues about who to avoid at conferences, but as indicated in the following quote, gendered representation processes at senior levels and informal settings could facilitate exploitative relationships.

> In conferences, everyone knows who the sexual predators are. Everybody has horror stories about those…that is fundamentally alcohol and power. We are a hugely hierarchically structured profession and as soon as you do that anybody who wants to exploit their position in the hierarchy is tolerated much more than they should be.

<div align="right">P27, Female Professor</div>

Relatedly, the participants also referred to inadequate material organizational processes, procedures, and practices for dealing with abuse or bullying complaints made by students and staff, which they said in the majority of cases were complaints about male faculty. An over-reliance on Non-Disclosure Agreements (NDAs) (UKRI, 2020) silences victims and fails to hold people accountable.

> *Non-Disclosure Agreements (NDAs) are the preferred weapon of mass destruction to put it bluntly…*A lot of what it does is isolate individuals who have made allegations or raised grievances.
>
> P36, Male Professor

As the following quote demonstrates, victims are aware that universities often prioritize reputational processes over implementing robust organizational accountability processes. This could involve shielding-dominant figures or providing a strong reference to enable them to work at another university.

> I think that there are some people who are bloody lucky to be able to get away with what they have got away with. If they were in any other line of work and if they weren't a rock star, then something very bad would have happened to them a lot sooner … *I've watched outstanding female researchers go across the world to get away from people because they knew that there wouldn't be any sanction for them within the UK perspective.*
>
> P30, Female Professor

This section has focused on how sexism is shaped by tensions between agency and dependency relationships. In the next, we focus on the tensions between employment relationships and stakeholder relationships.

5.3 | Employment relationships versus stakeholder relationships

The participants' account highlighted the important role played by students as key stakeholders. They explained how interactional cultural processes could shape student attitudes and lead to gendered behaviors as conveyed in the below quote.

> It's not just about being a female scholar, it's about being a female scholar who is still relatively young as well. I think that definitely makes a difference. I've had students from parts of the world where maybe women have less voice or actually are oppressed and sometimes that can create challenges… there's almost like a power struggle there…I think a lot of people still expect an old white man to come and impart knowledge.
>
> P10, Female, Lecturer

Relatedly, a significant relationship ($p < 0.001$) was identified in the HESA data between gender and age $x^2 = 279$, indicating a relationship between these variables. The open data from HESA data showed that only 20% of academic staff in Business and Administration in 2020 were aged under 36, the fourth lowest percentage out of the 10 HESA cost center groups. The data requested from HESA showed that 18% of staff were aged 34 or under with a high proportion identifying as female (55%). As the above quote above indicates, national processual patterns of age representation had an impact on interactions and processes.

However, these dynamics are potentially more significant in business schools, given the higher number of (international) students compared to other schools. High numbers of students generated challenges for business schools when engaging in competitive national and international evaluation processes, such as the National Student Survey, because they had larger numbers of students needing organizational and interactional support.

The interview data shed light on the material distribution of work processes in that women could be more engaged in the delivery of formal and informal pastoral care. The participants partly attributed this to cultural processes in terms of interactional assumptions around women being better suited to particular tasks involving inter-personal skills and emotional intelligence. Students could internalize these assumptions at the individual dimension and "do" gender by confiding personal issues with female rather than male academics. Women could also internalize interactional expectations that they are held accountable to be carers and subsequently engage in more emotional work than men. As a male professor stated:

> Maybe women are expected to be more available, or they think they are more available for students and things like that in an emotional support role, whereas men are less likely to do that. I'm trying not to generalize, but some women may have to take more things on, whereas a man might say "I'm not doing that".

> P13, Male Professor

Some of the junior female academics in the sample explained how they influenced the material distribution of organizational work processes by declining roles, or not engaging in emotional labor in an attempt to "undo" gender. However, the participants also explained how at the individual dimension, female academics could internalize the assumption that women were more supportive and collaborative and subsequently volunteer for roles that were difficult to fill. Importantly, this typically happened without being questioned or challenged in forums for interaction. Some of the senior male and female academics in the sample acting as allies said that they tried to dis-embed women from certain student support role structures by advising women to decline roles (including roles suggested by other women to undertake) and/or challenging the material distribution of work processes as shown in the first quote below. The second quote illustrates how a female professor sought to contribute toward "undoing gender" in her interactions with men.

> I did some [pay and promotion] upgrades recently and I was saying "well, all of these women have too many PhD students, they are doing too many pastoral things", and you are saying "why aren't they getting the big grant"; well, they don't even have space to think about their lecture, let alone that big grant. And yet you have got this other male academic who has got this one massive grant and thinks that they don't have to do anything else for the Institution because they are the superstar.
> I've mentored a couple of men and … often I'm having the opposite conversation … which is actually I think you do need to strengthen … the bits around teaching on your CV and actually you could and should maybe consider taking on some kind of role, I don't know how we break that, because it can't rely on just one-on-one conversations with everybody.

However, not all junior female academics had internal allies to advise them and whether this advice was to be taken onboard or not varied depending on cultural and material processes at the individual dimension to the gender structure. Moreover, both the female and male participants had observed men with good interpersonal skills engaging in emotional labor and picking up the pastoral work of other men, which demonstrated how processes within the individual dimension to the gender structure could generate complementary attempts to "undo" gender and challenge interactional cultural processes. The following quote from a female lecturer who identified as being a member of an ethnic minority illustrates how cultural processes associated with in-groups and/or out-groups can influence the distribution of work processes. Such processes could then impact progression processes and contribute to "doing" or "undoing" gendered interactional assumptions about the best use of supposedly gendered skills.

> There's the issue with structures. I wonder whether there is something hidden which is invisible…. I have seen instances of differential treatment. People trying to perhaps use processes and structures

to favor certain individuals over others…*It feels like there's an in-group and an out-group but that is not necessarily one gender*. It is people of all genders.

Given that business schools often play an important role in generating fee income and attracting students, accreditation processes are significant. Consequently, accreditation bodies at the national/international dimension constitute stakeholders shaping organizational employment relationships and workplace practices. Positions on the AS awarding panel were recently advertised and the need for more men on the panel featured explicitly in these adverts. AS accreditation intends to be a national material process to counter other gendered processes, such as representation gaps and interactional assumptions, thereby contributing toward "undoing" gender. Students and staff sit on AS committees and help organize initiatives.

The AS Charter had been taken up in business schools relatively late in comparison to STEM disciplines. There were suggestions that new AS accreditation processes that consider how business schools are different to other schools would be beneficial. However, 44 of the participants expressed the view that the impact of the application process and subsequent award was typically superficial. Interestingly, this view was shared by both male and female members of the sample.

> Athena Swan is one of these performance activities, it ticks the box. It doesn't actually substantially do anything for inequality and disadvantage in terms of improving it…the commitment and engagement with equality and diversity issues is very superficial and is pursued only in so far as it serves business ends.
>
> P2, Male Professor

The following quote demonstrates how a female early career Lecturer sought to resist a countervailing tension concerning the material distribution of work processes, where women were encouraged to embed themselves in roles related to AS. These roles were intended to improve gender equality but may not be in their own career interests and so inadvertently contributed toward "doing" gender inequality. As the participant explained:

> I was asked to [lead] the school's Athena Swan [application]. It was presented to me by a male colleague as an excellent opportunity and all that. I declined, I felt very terrible about it, but actually it was the right thing to do … what I said was what we need is a male Professor leading on this rather than an Early Career female.

This section has demonstrated how sexism in UK business schools is shaped by complex relations, tensions, and contradictions between processes running through the individual, interactional, organizational, and national/international dimensions of gender structures. The following section discusses how the findings contribute to theory on sexism and gendered at work.

6 | DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The findings from our empirical analysis make several contributions to advance theory and offer a new perspective for understanding and explaining sexism within and outside business schools. Firstly, we offer a novel framework drawing on GST (Risman, 2004, 2017, 2018) to help researchers theorize and examine sexism in business schools as shown in Figure 3. The framework illustrates how drawing on empirical evidence of cultural and material processes within the dimensions of a gender structure is needed to better understand and contextualize gendered experiences and sexism.
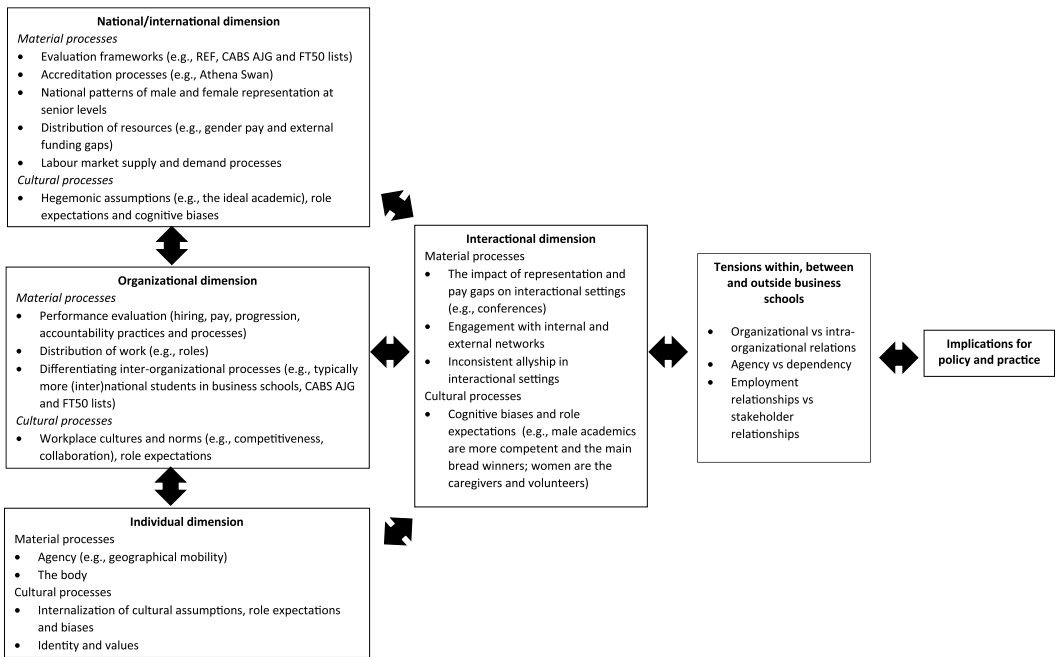
National/international dimension
Material processes
- Evaluation frameworks (e.g., REF, CABS AJG and FT50 lists)
- Accreditation processes (e.g., Athena Swan)
- National patterns of male and female representation at senior levels
- Distribution of resources (e.g., gender pay and external funding gaps)
- Labour market supply and demand processes
Cultural processes
- Hegemonic assumptions (e.g., the ideal academic), role expectations and cognitive biases

Organizational dimension
Material processes
- Performance evaluation (hiring, pay, progression, accountability practices and processes)
- Distribution of work (e.g., roles)
- Differentiating inter-organizational processes (e.g., typically more (inter)national students in business schools, CABS AJG and FT50 lists)
Cultural processes
- Workplace cultures and norms (e.g., competitiveness, collaboration), role expectations

Individual dimension
Material processes
- Agency (e.g., geographical mobility)
- The body
Cultural processes
- Internalization of cultural assumptions, role expectations and biases
- Identity and values

Interactional dimension
Material processes
- The impact of representation and pay gaps on interactional settings (e.g., conferences)
- Engagement with internal and external networks
- Inconsistent allyship in interactional settings
Cultural processes
- Cognitive biases and role expectations (e.g., male academics are more competent and the main bread winners; women are the caregivers and volunteers)

Tensions within, between and outside business schools
- Organizational vs intra-organizational relations
- Agency vs dependency
- Employment relationships vs stakeholder relationships

Implications for policy and practice

FIGURE 3 Theorizing sexism within and between business schools.

Our framework extends GST by segmenting the institutional/macro dimension in Risman's original framework into "organizational" and "national/international" dimensions. Considering these dimensions is important in identifying how "national/international" processes impact on the organizational dimension to a gender structure and vice versa. For instance, positive organizational initiatives in a small number of business schools to address gender representation gaps at senior levels are likely to have a marginal impact because of national/international representation patterns. Consequently, more collective and coordinated effort across the sector is required.

National performance evaluation processes can shape HR practices in universities and business schools. Similarly, HR practices and cultural competitive processes within the organization dimension can conflict with the objectives of national accreditation processes such as the AS Charter. Within the organizational dimension of our framework, we include "differentiating inter-organizational processes" to encourage future theorization of interorganizational differences in universities (e.g., as we discuss in the findings between business schools and other schools) and more broadly. For instance, researchers could examine differences between units and departments in nonacademic organizations, or between the subsidiaries of multinationals.

Second, we show that applying an explicitly multi-dimensional theory is important in shedding light on tensions that cut across the dimensions of a gender structure. By applying GST, we identify three specific tensions, which help explain the structures and interactions shaping structure-agency dynamics in business schools, but they could also be applied to compare sexism across schools, or to theorize sexism in other industries. For example, the first and third tension encourages researchers to elucidate how material and cultural processes within any of the dimensions to gender structures are shaped by interorganizational relations and external organizational stakeholders. In future research, the latter might include consumers, unions, civil society organizations, suppliers, and NGOs.

Thirdly, the findings illuminate the need to uncover varying outcomes when examining sexism to add more fine-grained detail to existing knowledge and advance theory. For instance, the "student experience" discourse positions academics as "support providers" with women typically more embedded in pastoral care and teaching structures (Davies et al., 2020). This is influenced by how existing "gender differentiation" discourses link the "carer" subject position with women.

However, our findings show that interactions between individual, organizational, and national/international interactional processes generate nuanced individual circumstances, which shape how they are navigated by different parties. For example, tensions can arise between women being assigned these roles; women volunteering for roles that are difficult to fill with this going unchallenged and/or women volunteering for roles because they perceive such roles to be an easier alternative to building research careers. Teaching-related roles are often time-consuming but can be useful in supporting promotion cases. As some of the participants noted, female academics who seek to be Deans may need to demonstrate capabilities in teaching-related roles and research-related roles. The interview data indicated that varying approaches were adopted by line managers and senior management across schools, which could contribute toward "(un)doing" gendered assumptions about how supposedly "female" skills are best utilized. For instance, a Dean in the study explained how she would inform line-managers that certain academics should not be allocated additional roles. From a policy and practice perspective, whether women want to engage in such roles or not, they should be rewarded (e.g., in time or promotion opportunities).

Relatedly, we include "inconsistent allyship" as a process in our framework to encourage future researchers to elucidate varying forms and degrees of allyship and evaluate their outcomes. We know that men usually have greater access to networks, influenced by their dominance at senior levels. Having more female academic allies in senior positions will be crucial in "undoing" gendered assumptions and challenging gendered subject positions. However, there are senior male academics who are key allies to female academics, offering valuable career development/collaboration opportunities and advice. More male academics engaging in this way would help transform the gender structures in place. Indeed, funding calls and journals could encourage collaborations between men and women including ethnic minorities at different stages of their career. Moreover, the findings indicate that we also need to explain the nuances of male engagement in pastoral structures. For instance, men picking up the work of other men as a form of "undoing" gendered assumptions or challenging the distribution of roles and gendered subject positions. Furthermore, different male or female allies may offer conflicting advice to academics, thereby complicating the processes of allyship.

Fourthly, the findings reveal a "gendered accountability gap" between how individuals hold each other accountable to act in line with sexist cultural expectations and gendered subject positions as highlighted in the literature on GST and "(un)doing" gender and how organizations and their members are held accountable for sexist behaviors in different environments (Contu, 2020). This theoretical construct can be used in future theory building to better explain how sexism is (re)produced and becomes normalized in business schools and more broadly (see Savigny, 2014, 2017). For example, the "performance assessment discourse" underpinning league tables positions academics as "good" or "poor" performers, but real gender inequality outcomes do not usually impact these subject positions or the framing of business schools. Future government funding could be linked to their success in closing pay and representation gaps to challenge this discourse and place more emphasis on accountability. A further example here is how allies in some contexts can engage in "performative allyship" (Dobele et al., 2021), where they use the subject position of an "ally" to frame themselves in a positive light but do not take any actions to support marginalized groups or hold people accountable. They may even engage in exclusionary behaviors, particularly in competitive workplace environments. Indeed, the way in which in-and out-groups are not purely gender-based that can contribute to "doing" and "undoing" gender requires further research.

The high use of NDAs by universities in the United Kingdom (UKRI, 2020; 1752 Group, 2018) would suggest that gender accountability gaps are being upheld institutionally and this needs to be challenged. Significantly, the findings raise important questions regarding staff accountability within but also outside business school boundaries (e.g., at conferences and events) and how inappropriate behaviors should be reported and managed.

The analysis of the HESA data and some of the participants' accounts exemplified intersectional inequalities. 88% of women and 78% of men in senior management posts were White. 76% of male Professors and 82% of female professors were White. A log-linear analysis of the HESA data identified a three-way significant ($p = 0.015$) association between gender, race, and pay. Future research needs to examine how intersectionality shapes experiences of work, differential treatment, and inequalities in business schools (Bourabain, 2021; Johansson & Śliwa, 2014; Silva, 2021).

Using secondary data as part of our mixed-methods approach is a potential limitation of this study, but HESA is an official, education-specific statistics agency in the United Kingdom. Furthermore, while the HESA data provided a broad sectoral-level overview of representation and salary patterns in UK business schools, the interview data provided a more nuanced insight into how these patterns were influenced by relationships between the individual, interactional, organizational, and national/international dimensions to gender structures. An examination of business schools in one country arguably limits the breadth of analysis, but the United Kingdom presents an illuminative context for the focused analysis of systemic sexism in a range of business schools.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

We have no conflict of interest to disclose.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The interview data are unavailable due to privacy/ethical restrictions. The secondary data set was obtained by request from HESA- Copyright Higher Education Statistics Agency Limited 2021. Neither the Higher Education Statistics Agency Limited nor HESA Service Limited can accept responsibility for any inferences or conclusion derived by third parties from data or other information supplied by the Higher Education Statistics Agency Limited or HESA Services Limited.

ENDNOTES

[1] We use (re)produce in this paper because sexism and inequalities can be both produced and reproduced through institutional processes and interactions. Drawing on a similar rationale, we also use parentheses with respect to (re)masculinization and (un)conscious biases.

[2] The Awards range from No Award to Bronze, Silver, or Gold.

REFERENCES

1752 Group. 2018. https://1752group.com/power-in-the-academy-report/.

Acker, Joan. 1990. "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations." *Gender and Society* 4(2): 139–58. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124390004002002.

Bell, Myrtle P., Daphne Berry, Joy Leopold, and Stella Nkomo. 2021. "Making Black Lives Matter in Academia: A Black Feminist Call for Collective Action against Anti-blackness in the Academy." *Gender, Work and Organization* 28(S1): 39–57. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12555.

Benschop, Yvonne, and Margo Brouns. 2003. "Crumbling Ivory Towers: Academic Organizing and Its Gender Effects." *Gender, Work and Organization* 10(2): 194–212. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0432.t01-1-00011.

Bourabain, Dounia. 2021. "Everyday Sexism and Racism in the Ivory Tower: The Experiences of Early Career Researchers on the Intersection of Gender and Ethnicity in the Academic Workplace." *Gender, Work and Organization* 28(1): 248–67. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12549.

Brody, Charles J., Beth A. Rubin, and David J. Maume. 2014. "Gender Structure and the Effects of Management Citizenship Behavior." *Social Forces* 92(4): 1373–404. https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sou017.

Butler, Judith. 2004. *Undoing Gender*. New York: Routledge.

Cameron, Roslyn. 2011. "Mixed Methods in Business and Management: A Call to the 'First Generation.'" *Journal of Management and Organization* 17(2): 245–67. https://doi.org/10.5172/jmo.2011.17.2.245.

Contu, Alessia. 2020. "Answering the Crisis with Intellectual Activism: Making a Difference as Business School Scholars." *Human Relations* 73(5): 737–57. https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726719827366.

Davies, Julie, Emily Yarrow, and Jawad Syed. 2020. "The Curious Under-Representation of Women Impact Case Leaders: Can We Disengender Inequality Regimes?" *Gender, Work and Organization* 27(2): 129–48. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12409.

Dobele, Angela R., Shelagh Ferguson, Anna E. Hartman, and Lisa Schuster. 2021. "Gender Equity in the Marketing Academy: From Performative to Institutional Allyship." *Australasian Marketing Journal* 30(3): 185–94. https://doi.org/10.1177/18393349211062269.

Evangelista, Irene C. 2017. "Sexism in Higher Education Institutions in Countryside Philippines." *Journal of Academic Research* 2: 7–17.

Fernando, Dulini, and Ajnesh Prasad. 2019. "Sex-Based Harassment and Organizational Silencing: How Women Are Led to Reluctant Acquiescence in Academia." *Human Relations* 72(10): 1565–94. https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726718809164.

Fotaki, Marianna. 2011. "The Sublime Object of Desire (For Knowledge): Sexuality at Work in Business and Management Schools in England." *British Journal of Management* 22(1): 42–53. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8551.2010.00716.x.

Froyum, Carissa. 2018. "Gender and Emotion Management." In *Handbook of the Sociology of Gender*, edited by Barbara Risman, Carissa Froyum and William Scarborough, 417–29. Cham: Springer.

Grier, Sonya A., and Sonja Martin Poole. 2020. "Reproducing Inequity: The Role of Race in the Business School Faculty Search." *Journal of Marketing Management* 36(13–14): 1–33. https://doi.org/10.1080/0267257x.2020.1800796.

Hallgren, Emily, and Barbara J. Risman. 2022. "Research on Work-Life Balance: A Gender Structure Analysis." In *Research Handbook on Work–Life Balance*, edited by Sonia Bertolini and Barbara Poggio, 50–71. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

HESA. 2021. https://www.hesa.ac.uk/.

Johansson, Marjana, and Martyna Śliwa. 2014. "Gender, Foreignness and Academia: An Intersectional Analysis of the Experiences of Foreign Women Academics in UK Business Schools." *Gender, Work and Organization* 21(1): 18–36. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12009.

King, Nigel. 2012. "Doing Template Analysis." In *Qualitative Organizational Research: Core Methods and Current Challenges*, edited by Gillian Symon and Catherine Cassell, 426–50. UK: Sage.

King, Nigel, and Joanna Brooks. 2017. *Template Analysis for Business and Management Students*. Mastering Business Research Methods. London, UK: Sage. ISBN 9781473911574.

Miles, Matthew B., and A. Michael Huberman. 1994. *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. 2nd ed. Sage.

Nobel. 2016. https://www.forbes.com/sites/hbsworkingknowledge/2016/09/20/why-isnt-business-research-more-useful-to-business-managers/?sh=3231fae721a9.

Ozkazanc-Pan, Banu. 2019. "On Agency and Empowerment in a #MeToo World." *Gender, Work and Organization* 26: 1212–20.

Pells. 2019. https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/gender-pay-gap-uk-universities-report-slow-progress.

Priola, Vincenza. 2004. "Gender and Feminine Identities–Women as Managers in a UK Academic Institution." *Women in Management Review* 19(8): 421–30. https://doi.org/10.1108/09649420410575149.

Priola, Vincenza. 2007. "Being Female Doing Gender. Narratives of Women in Education Management." *Gender and Education* 19(1): 21–40. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540250601087728.

Ridgeway, Cecilia L. 2011. *Framed by Gender: How Gender Inequality Persists in the Modern World*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Risman, Barbara, and Timothy Adkins. 2014. "The Goal of Gender Transformation in American Universities: Toward Social Justice for Women in the Academy." In *Social Justice and the University*, edited by- Jon Shefner, Harry Dahms, Robert Jones and Asafa Jalata, 99–113. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Risman, Barbara J. 2004. "Gender as a Social Structure: Theory Wrestling with Activism." *Gender and Society* 18(4): 429–50. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243204265349.

Risman, Barbara J. 2017. "2016 Southern Sociological Society Presidential Address: Are Millennials Cracking the Gender Structure?" *Social Currents* 4(3): 208–27. https://doi.org/10.1177/2329496517697145.

Risman, Barbara J. 2018. *Where the Millennials Will Take Us: A New Generation Wrestles with the Gender Structure*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Risman, Barbara J., and Georgiann Davis. 2013. "From Sex Roles to Gender Structure." *Current Sociology* 61(5–6): 733–55. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392113479315.

Savigny, Heather. 2014. "Women, Know Your Limits: Cultural Sexism in Academia." *Gender and Education* 26(7): 794–809. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2014.970977.

Savigny, Heather. 2017. "Cultural Sexism Is Ordinary: Writing and Re-writing Women in Academia." *Gender, Work and Organization* 24(6): 643–55. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12190.

Shaw, Sue, and Catherine Cassell. 2007. ""That's Not How I See It": Female and Male Perspectives on the Academic Role." *Women in Management Review* 22(6): 497–515. https://doi.org/10.1108/09649420710778727.

Silva, Caroline Rodrigues. 2021. "Writing for Survival (… and to Breathe)." *Gender, Work and Organization* 28(2): 471–80. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12578.

Śliwa, Martyna, and Marjana Johansson. 2014. "The Discourse of Meritocracy Contested/Reproduced: Foreign Women Academics in UK Business Schools." *Organization* 21(6): 821–43. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508413486850.

Strauβ, Anke, and Ilaria Boncori. 2020. "Foreign Women in Academia: Double-Strangers between Productivity, Marginalization and Resistance." *Gender, Work and Organization* 27(6): 1004–19. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12432.

Szymanska, Izabela I., and Beth A. Rubin. 2018. "Gender and Relationship Differences in the Perceptions of Male and Female Leadership." *Gender in Management: An International Journal* 33(4): 254–81. https://doi.org/10.1108/gm-06-2016-0127.

Tansey, Richard, Michael White, Rebecca G. Long, and Mark Smith. 1996. "A Comparison of Loglinear Modeling and Logistic Regression in Management Research." *Journal of Management* 22(2): 339–58. https://doi.org/10.1177/014920639602200207.

Thomas, Kate Carruthers. 2019. "Genders at Work: Gender as a Geography of Power in the Academy." In *Strategies for Resisting Sexism in the Academy*, edited by Gail Crimmins, 187–206. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

UKRI. 2020. https://www.ukri.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/UKRI-020920-BullyingAndHarassmentEvidenceReview.pdf.

Walters, Trudie, Najmeh Hassanli, and Wiebke Finkler. 2020. "Who Is Seen to Be Doing Business Research, and Does It Really Matter? Gender Representation at Academic Conferences." *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion* 40(3): 338–54. https://doi.org/10.1108/edi-08-2019-0220.

West, Candace, and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. "Doing Gender." *Gender and Society* 1(2): 125–51. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243287001002002.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Emma Hughes is an Associate Professor in HRM at Leeds University Business School. Her work has been published in journals such as Human Resource Management, Human Resource Management Journal and Work, Employment and Society.

Rory Donnelly is a Professor of Human Resource Management and Organizational Behavior at University of Liverpool Management School, the United Kingdom. His work has been published in journals, such as Human Resource Management, Human Resource Management Journal, and Work, Employment and Society.