Considerations on the Representation of Women in Elite Research and Senior Administration Positions in Academe: An Interpretivist-Feminist Perspective

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the concept of underrepresentation as deployed in scholarly and gray literature to describe the paucity of women in elite research and senior administration positions in Canadian universities. I explore the meaning of underrepresentation, drawing from research in organization studies, feminist and gender studies, philosophy, and political studies, to discuss the different ideas and assumptions that converge to define the parameters of women's underrepresentation. I demonstrate how underrepresentation arises as an unproblematized claim in gender and organization theorizing and holds significant implications for women in its partial and reductive descriptions. This dissertation proposes a conceptual revisioning based on views of representation that allows for a more holistic consideration of women in organizations—in the context of my research, women in elite research and senior administration positions in academe. I adopt a dual-study research design to determine the shape and measure of women's representation from the field. Using thematic analysis (TA), I review institutional texts pertaining to the Canada Research Chairs program (CRCP) and transcripts from my interviews with women in senior administration roles in Canadian universities. My findings confirm the need to augment the conceptual framework to include views of representation in order to achieve greater alignment between gender and organization theorizing and women's lived experiences. I conclude that views of representation hold the potential to disrupt the problematic claim of underrepresentation, thus allowing for a more holistic and multifaceted understanding of women in organizations.

My dissertation is an interpretivist-feminist project that exposes a conceptual problematic for the purpose of producing and advancing theory that is critically constructive rather than critically reactive, rooted in women's experiences, self-aware and committed to supporting social action in favour of women's full participation and gender equity across all facets of academic organizational life.

For my extraordinary daughter, my inspiration, Inez Amalia,

whose potential knows no bounds.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The seed of inspiration for this dissertation grew from my privileged view from within academe, working in support of some of Canada's top researchers and senior administrators. I happened upon a career in university administration upon completing my master's degree. My journey exposed me to various aspects of the business that is academe, at the departmental and faculty levels as well as the central administration level. My observations and experiences as a woman working within the field of university administration led me to consider and interrogate some of these aspects that, to me, seemed to challenge the understandings that I acquired throughout my studies. In particular, I was most intrigued by the clear disconnect between the way gender is theorized in feminist scholarly literature and the way gender is viewed at the level of the institution. When I decided to pursue a PhD degree, I was committed to center my research on scrutinizing this disconnect.

The impetus for my doctoral research stemmed from my exploration of feminist organization theory. Reviewing the literature in search of explanations that would help me reconcile the different understandings of gender I had encountered, I came across scholarship that largely described women as "underrepresented," particularly at the higher levels of the organization. Women's underrepresentation, in these texts, denoted a lesser than adequate proportion of women as measured along a single corporeally determined quantitative dimension, that is, their sexed body. The frequency with which women's underrepresentation as a concept occurred in the literature led me to question why this key term had gone unexamined, particularly in light of the assumptions it made and perpetuated about women in organizations. My dissertation took root in this problem.

Stating the Problem

This dissertation explores the concept of women's underrepresentation, an "ordinary" term of feminist organization theory that, in actuality, is neither ordinary nor "mere" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 1). Women's underrepresentation emerges in the literature as conceptually sound, as though merely describing a factual systemic condition, one that admittedly merits full consideration and investigation. Only, the semantic certainty and stability of the concept, leading to its normative usage in the literature, or what Gerring (1999) calls "field utility" (p. 367), has effectively obscured the problem underrepresentation poses for the collective it demarcates, that is, women. Women's underrepresentation, as it is used, refers to a lesser than adequate proportion of women in relation to men, an objective and indeterminate proportional measure that advances a relational understanding between women and men, and positions the former as the aggrieved, disadvantaged party, and the latter as the privileged group. The proportional measure it describes conflates the constructs of gender and sex, such that gender emerges as corporeally determined, a static and quantifiable dimension marked by one of two conventional sex categories, female/male. Finally, underrepresentation conveys an "issue," a problem whose sole visible subject is women. In this manner, the concept of underrepresentation develops and perpetuates significant nay problematic assumptions that qualify and delimit women's participation and inclusion in organizations, thus defining the shape and measure of women's organizational representation, as it were.

Drawing from research in feminist organization studies, organizational discourse studies, feminist and gender studies, philosophy, and political studies, this dissertation presents and explores the different ideas and assumptions that collide in the concept of women's (under)representation.[1] My encounter with Pitkin's (1967) influential text, *The Concept of Representation*, constitutes a moment of realization in my research. Pitkin's conceptual approach to political representation inspires and elucidates a revisioning of women's underrepresentation, one that brings into its conceptual fold a consideration of women's representation. Thus, my work proposes an augmentation of the "conceptual apparatus" (Gerring, 1999) of women's underrepresentation as a way through the problem of underrepresentation as an ordinary term of feminist organization literature.

With this reasoning, I undertake an exploration of the concept of underrepresentation as it pertains to women in elite research and senior administration positions in Canadian universities. Women in these organizational roles are consistently described as "underrepresented," their ascension to these prominent positions thwarted by organizational structures of inequality and social barriers (Council of Canadian Academies, 2012). I contend that the concept of underrepresentation, in its recurring and unproblematized usage in this literature, has acquired a normalized meaning that contributes to these structures of inequality in the manner in which it describes and positions women in academe. Motivated by research on the university environment in Canada, I structure my analysis for the dissertation around a dual-study research design that seeks to examine women's representation from two angles, the representation of women in elite research positions and the representation of women in senior administration positions in academe. For the first study, I concentrate on the Canada Research Chairs Program (CRCP) to investigate the

[1] The use of parentheses here, and in other similar instances throughout the dissertation, means to signal that the statement asserted is attributable to both terms simultaneously, in this instance, underrepresentation and representation.

representation of women in elite research positions—chairholders—as described by the institution. Working from sources of gray literature, specifically program evaluation documents and corresponding response documents, I set out to understand the shape and measure of women's representation as captured and deployed in institutional discourse. For the second study, I explore the "gender dimension" (Council of Canadian Academies, 2012) of women in senior administration positions from the perspective of women's lived experiences, turning to information gathered from my interviews with women leaders in Canada's top research universities. In adopting a dual-study research design, I purport to arrive at a more comprehensive analysis of women's representation in academe, as portrayed by two distinct data sets. In both studies, my research purpose is to access and to gain an understanding of the gender dimension as it pertains to women in these prominent roles, and therefore, to clarify what is said and what is meant, wittingly or unwittingly, when women in these roles are described collectively as underrepresented.

My dissertation, in its focus and in its approach, meets the gender discourse "where it is at" institutionally, at the time of both studies and of my observations from within university administration. As such, my dissertation captures a moment in time in its consideration of gender in organizations and women in academe. Generally, this moment in time is characterized by an organizational understanding of gender as that which mirrors sex and thus is discernable, static, and measurable. The organizational discourse and immediate concern surround the participation/inclusion and visibility of women in the academy, particularly in prominent roles. The goal of gender equality as an institutional motivation appears to align largely with liberal feminist notions and ideals, wherein the aim of the university is to foster women's right and access to a barrier-free organizational environment and to all positions, including positions of prestige and power, on the basis of merit and achievement. The conversation around gender in organizations and women in the academy seems to circumvent the long-established and theorized discourse of intersectionality in feminist organizational literature, neglecting to recognize how gender inequality "often operate[s] together with and exacerbate[s]" other forms of inequality stemming from an individual's race, sex, age, ability, etc., thereby escalating the experience of inequality/inequalities for some (Crenshaw, as cited in Steinmetz, 2020, para. 2).

Indeed, the university environment and climate have since changed, and so too, the institutional conversation surrounding gender. Influenced by strong contemporary social movements with largescale reach, such as Black Lives Matter and #Me Too, and by the devastating and disparate impacts of a global pandemic, the academy has been compelled to rethink its stance on gender within the broader frame of equity, diversity, and inclusion (EDI). This is particularly apparent through the proliferation of senior positions, advisory boards, committees and task forces dedicated to EDI efforts in academe, and the extension of university mandates to include EDI considerations in strategic plans, for instance. My work predates this recent marked shift in the understanding of and approach to gender at the level of the academy. And, in its intent to meet with the discourse of gender "where it is at" institutionally at the time of my research and studies, my dissertation does not engage with the rich literature on intersectionality and EDI from the field of feminist organization studies. Rather, it raises theories and perspectives that inform and elucidate the values and beliefs from which the current organizational discourse and management of gender stem. In its own right, I contend that my research not only withstands this shift in the organizational environment and climate but furthermore, gains in strength and persuasiveness by offering a lens through which to examine the problematic claims and restrictive assumptions perpetuated and reinforced by the concept of underrepresentation as it pertains not only to gender but to all identity groups similarly described and positioned as Other and disadvantaged in organizations.

Chapter Summary

I explore the topic of this dissertation over the next five chapters. In Chapter II (i.e. Review of Literature), I review literature from the field of feminist organization studies. I touch on the origin of feminist organization studies, and its significance in bringing into mainstream scientific discourse topics pertaining to women, gender and organizations. I discuss the motivations for feminist organization research, and the manner in which the field appears divided in its consideration of the gender/organization relationship. I proceed to outline the main strands of feminist thought influencing the development of feminist organization theory, establishing the richness and plurality of the field and how these permeate the ideas and concepts that emanate from it, including the concept of women's underrepresentation. I then unpack core notions of women's underrepresentation, the concepts of gender "as a kind" and women "as a group," and in so doing demonstrate the breadth and depth of conceptual meanings that come together under the overarching concept of women's underrepresentation. I conclude this chapter with a discussion on the gendering of academe. I review literature that speaks to the "equalizing" policies adopted to correct and redress gender inequality in academe. This leads me to consider the notion of organizational culture and how it comes to bear on the gendering of academe, particularly, how it espouses meritocratic and gender-neutral values that have a discriminatory effect on women. In engaging with this literature, I establish the academic organizational environment as suitable for a critical exploration on the concept of women's underrepresentation, the organizational terrain of academe emerging as a site where women are marked and positioned as "disadvantaged."

Chapter III (i.e. Theoretical Perspective, Conceptual Framework and Research Design) lays the foundation for the dissertation. In this chapter, I introduce the interpretivist-feminist theoretical perspective that underpins my research on women's (under)representation in academe, asserting that certain traditions from within interpretivism and feminism reveal a complementarity that leads to new critically constructive lines of research. Turning my attention to the term underrepresentation "in use," I begin by interrogating the term's conceptual soundness on the basis of its lexical parameters, and then proceed to interrogate its persuasiveness as a key and recurring term within the field of feminist organization theory. Relying on perspectives from organization discourse theory, I demonstrate the discursive power held by women's underrepresentation on the basis of its usage in the literature, one that has gone unexamined and unproblematized. Considerations on the language and discourse of underrepresentation lead to considerations on the language and discourse of representation. I present the conceptual framework of representation from the field of political science with a view to demonstrate its capacity for disrupting the problematic organizational discourse established by the concept of women's underrepresentation "in use," suggesting its potential to shift organizational beliefs and culture. I end the chapter with a discussion on the research impetus and the dual-study research design for this dissertation, and I present thematic analysis (TA) as my research method for both qualitative studies on the gender dimension of women in elite research and senior administration positions in academe.

In Chapter IV (i.e. Framing Representation: Women in Elite Research Positions in Academe), I present the first of two studies on the gender dimension of women in academe. I set forward the case of the CRCP for the purpose of examining how gender is "represented" at the level of the institution. Using TA, I explore the shape and measure of gender as described in the program's institutional discourse, and discuss how this construct informs and delimits the criteria for women's representation. This chapter begins with a brief description of the CRCP, its scope and overarching objectives, and moves on to explore the gendered controversy regarding the perceived discriminatory allocations of chairs that has marred the program since its first awarding cycle. I then proceed with a TA of select sources of gray literature pertaining to the CRCP, specifically program evaluation documents and corresponding response documents, so as to uncover the gendered assumptions that are espoused and deployed in the institutional literature around the representation of women chairholders.

In Chapter V (i.e. Framing Representation: Women in Senior Administration Positions in Academe), I present my second study on the gender dimension of women in academe, which concentrates on the concept of women's representation as garnered from the perspective of women's lived experiences. I open with a discussion on gender and leadership in feminist organization research, which sets the context for my TA. Working from thematically organized data collected from 21 interviews with women in senior level administration positions in Canada's top research universities, I set out to access a perspective of women's representation from within, a partial "view from somewhere" (Haraway, 1988, p. 590). Throughout, I demonstrate the scientific value of "situated knowledges" (Haraway, 1988) and self-representation to arrive at a more complete and nuanced understanding of women's representation in academe. By uncovering the richness and largeness of women's lived experiences, I reveal the inadequacy of underrepresentation as a key term to describe women's participation and inclusion in academe.

Finally, in Chapter VI (i.e. Discussion and Conclusion) I draw on the theories and concepts expounded in Chapter III of this dissertation to discuss my findings on the representation of women in elite research and senior administration positions in academe. I revisit the themes originating from the two studies such as to establish the persuasiveness of the concept of underrepresentation in defining the parameters of women's representation and its insufficiency in capturing and conveying a holistic understanding of women's representation. To this end, I recall the concept of representation from political theory. I illustrate how this conceptual framework gives way to new considerations on women's organizational representation, considerations that extend beyond women's proportional measure as visible sexed bodies. I also show how this conceptual framework, in its relation to the performative, imbues the concept of underrepresentation with discursive force that not only marks groups of women in academe as the "critical gender" but also actively positions them as disadvantaged.

This dissertation proposes a conceptual revisioning based on views of representation that allows for a more holistic consideration of women in prominent roles in organizations—in the context of my research, women in elite research and senior administration roles in academe. Mine is an interpretivist-feminist effort that means to advance social theory by disrupting unproblematized concepts in a manner that is critically constructive, rooted in women's experiences, self-aware and committed to social action in support of organizational gender equity and inclusion.

I describe the current dissertation as belonging to the areas of women's, gender, and feminist studies (Kitch & Fonow, 2012, p. 99).[2] Specifically, in its introduction and exploration of a discursive problem directly tied to the collective "women," I contend that it inherently belongs to the area of women's studies. In its consideration of gender and gender relations as they emanate from the organizational field, and the implications these hold for a specific gendered subset of the collective of the academy, namely women in prominent university research and administration positions, I view this dissertation as situated firmly in gender studies. Finally, in its bid to uncover and disrupt a problematic social phenomenon by valuing women's perspectives and experiences, I maintain that this research bears the markings of feminist studies.

Referencing Harding (1987) on the purpose of feminist social research, "If one begins inquiry with what appears problematic from the perspective of women's experience, one is led to design research for women…[T]he goal of this inquiry is to provide for women explanations of social phenomena that they want and need" (p. 8). My aim in undertaking this dissertation is to provide an explanation of women's underrepresentation that women need. The concept of women's underrepresentation, in all its interweaving complexities, presents a contemporary social phenomenon that we need to consider if women's positioning within the organizations is to change and allow for greater inclusivity, let alone achieve the elusive measure that is gender equality/equity. In this endeavour, I profess to be neither

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[2] Kitch and Fonow (2010) refer to these areas of research as one field of study, using the designations somewhat interchangeably. I opt to view them as tightly interwoven yet distinct areas of research, finding in each a different point of entry into topics related to women studies, gender studies, and feminist studies.

absent nor invisible as a researcher but rather acknowledge openly my research agenda and my bias as a scholar and a woman working in university administration in Canada.

CHAPTER II

Review of Literature

In this chapter, I review literature from the fields of feminist organization studies, feminist and gender studies, philosophy, and political studies, to bring into relief the main ideas that converge to establish an understanding of women's underrepresentation in academe. In so doing, I contend that the concept of women's underrepresentation is multifaceted, inviting considerations on topics central to feminist theorizing, such as the definition and function of gender and the consideration of women as a social collective—topics, I assert, are further expounded by discourses in philosophy and political studies. The concept of women's underrepresentation in academe also concerns topics from organization studies as they relate to women and the field of academe. I explore literature concerned with the ontology of the organization and the concept of organizational culture, and their relation to gender as a phenomenon of organizational life. Together, these ideas offer a perspective of the proposed research landscape for this dissertation, contributing to the foundations of the conceptual structure on which my research project is built.

I begin by discussing feminist organization theory and how it has come to forge, despite resistance, a legitimate space for critical discourses pertaining to women's lived experiences in organizations. I draw attention to a point of theoretical divergence within the field surrounding the concept of the gendered organization, and outline the main strands of feminist thought influencing the development of feminist organization theory, establishing the plurality of the field of research and how this quality permeates the ideas and concepts that emanate from it, including the concept of women's underrepresentation. I move on to unpack the concept of gender from the perspective of its function, that is, gender "as a kind," and the notion of women "as a group," suggesting that these hold significant implications for women in organizations. Finally, I explore the literature on gender and academe, revealing how this literature portrays universities as organizational environments where gender inequality resides and women are notably underrepresented. In so doing, I establish academe as a site suitable for my exploration of women's underrepresentation. Notably absent from this chapter is a discussion on the concept of representation, which is also fundamental to the understanding of women's underrepresentation in academe. Purposefully omitted here, the concept will be presented and elaborated upon in Chapter III as the conceptual framework that will guide the consideration of the research findings that I will present in the context of this dissertation.

Feminist Organization Theory

Is feminist theory relevant to the study of organizations? The short answer to this question is neither "yes" nor "no" but rather, "it depends"—it depends on whether or not the feminist project at the heart of feminist theory can be reconciled with the prominent and established ontology of the organization. Code (1993) explains feminism as, "a theoretical project whose purposes are to understand the power structures, social practices, and institutions that disadvantage and marginalize women, and to devise innovative strategies of social transformation that will promote women's emancipation" (p. 19).[3] Some western

[3] As Frye (2000) explains, feminism can be defined in terms of a "theory" or a "social movement." In either sense, feminism emerges as pluralistic and dynamic, such that there is no one theory but rather multiple and diverse schools of feminist thought, and there is no one constant social movement but an ever shifting "social/historical phenomenon" that entails multiple "instances of feminism" (p. 196). Despite its plural and dynamic nature, feminism in all its diverse and shifting guises holds a "general respect for women's own perspectives and authority, and [a] persistent attention to the working of power structures which privilege men" (p. 195). This sentiment is expressed in Calás and Smircich (2006), who maintain that, "despite their diversity most feminist theoretical tendencies share certain assumptions,

scholars situate the origins of feminist organization research in the period of second wave feminism (Calás, Smircich, & Holvino, 2014, p. 17), marked by an upsurge of influential women-in-management literature such as Kanter's *Men and Women of the Corporation* (1977) and MacKinnon's *Sexual Harassment of Working Women* (1979). At that time, the feminist theoretical project stood at odds with the then conventional paradigm of the "gender-neutral and asexual" (Acker, 1990, p. 144) organization. This new emerging literature on organizations, while not necessarily challenging the ontology of the organization per se (Acker, 1990, p. 143), introduced into the mainstream a scientific discourse of workplace gender/sex inequality that would set the path for future feminist theorizing on organizations. Thenceforth, the field of organization studies would come to forge a space for research on women/gender and organizations, albeit reluctantly (Benschop & Verloo, 2016, p. 100). Indeed, Benschop and Verloo (2016) remark that feminist perspectives have been "'ghettoized' in the field of organization studies (Alvesson & Billing, 2009)" (p. 100) despite the more than forty years of feminist organizational research and the demonstrable contribution of feminist theory to the production of knowledge on organizations. They attest, "virtually all theories of organization and management remain silent about gender (Hatch, 2012)" (Benschop & Verloo, 2016, p. 100). The question remains: why?

In her persuasive article entitled, "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations," Acker (1990) contemplated a similar question, seeking to understand why feminist scholars up to that point in time had not succeeded in establishing a "systematic feminist theory of organizations" (p. 140) although the need for such theorizing was

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notably the recognition of gendered dominance in social arrangements, and a desire for changes from this form of domination" (online version p. 5). It is with this understanding of feminism that I advance Code's definition as one that applies to all the various feminisms.

undeniable given the persistent inequalities in organizations along gender lines. She argued that feminist theorists encountered a hostile terrain, one upon which considerations pertaining to women and gender in the workplace were made to be largely "irrelevant," and thus neutralized and silenced by a sociology of organizations founded on men's experiences and male domination (Acker, 1990, p. 141). The prevalent notion of the gender-neutral organization left little room for feminist appeals to take root, advancing the belief that "[w]hen it is acknowledged that women and men are affected differently by organizations, it is argued that gendered attitudes and behavior are brought into (and contaminate) essentially gender-neutral structures" (Acker, 1990, p. 142). In sum, feminist theory threatened the then nature of the organization, and was regarded as distorting and perverting the field of organization studies rather than making a significant contribution to the production of knowledge on organizations.

Taking pause for a moment to consider the discipline of organization studies (on the whole) and the history of organizational theorizing, there would appear to be more than enough "space" for feminist thought and criticism among the "theoretical fragmentation and ideological polarization" characteristic of organization studies particularly toward the later decades of the twentieth century (Reed, 2006, p. 3). As Reed (2006) argues, "The earlier meta-narratives of collective order and individual freedom through rational organization and material progress…fragmented and frayed into a cacophony of querulous 'voices' totally lacking in general moral force and analytical coherence (Reed, 1992)" (p. 2). Reed's (2006) historical mapping of organization theory charts a richly diverse and contested terrain "in the making" (p. 29) that is reminiscent of the development of feminist theory, equally diverse in its various approaches, philosophies, conceptions and paradigms, and similarly resonant of the zeitgeist of different periods. It follows that given its "intellectual and ideological pluralism" (Reed, 2006, p. 29), the inherent nature of the discipline of organization studies would admit feminist inquiry into its folds. Only, such has not been the case. Perhaps, might it be that feminist organization theorizing has been pushed to the margins, considered "a celebration of cognitive, linguistic, cultural and ideological 'incommensurability' (Jackson & Carter, 1991) in which groups of organization theorists literally inhabit separate worlds and the radical ontological idealism and epistemological relativism that it legitimates" (Reed, 2006, p. 29)? In other words, might it be that feminist organization theory is regarded as utterly irreconcilable with the study of organizations, attempting to legitimize a flawed if not erroneous conception of the organization conceived through its resolute belief in the pervasive and systemic inequality of women? Otherwise, how could it be that the study of organizations emanating from outside feminist organization studies remains seemingly untouched by feminist critique? It follows that in order for feminist theory to be considered relevant to the study of organizations in a broader disciplinary sense, organizations must first be disclosed and accepted as sites where women are "disadvantaged" and "marginalized."

Gender in/Gendering Organizations

The field of feminist organization research continues to evolve, as corroborates the proliferation of academic conferences and journals dedicated to the topic of sex/gender and organizations from within both the disciplines of gender/feminist/women studies and organizations studies (Benschop & Verloo, 2016). The impetus for this body of work, the "necessary motivating condition" (Calás, Smircich, & Holvino, 2014, p. 17) for the research as it were, is the persistent nature of sex/gender inequality in organizations and the desire to eliminate it. However, sustained academic interest and correspondingly a continued growth in the production of knowledge on gender and organizations have proven unsuccessful in producing substantive organizational change; sex/gender inequality persists in organizations (Calás, Smircich, & Holvino, 2014, p. 17). Arguably, the limited influence of this scholarship is attributed to the pluralism characteristic of feminist organization theory. Calás, Smircich, and Holvino (2014)[4] review the origins and development of feminist organization research, proposing as conceptual guides two "meta-theoretical approaches," namely "gender *in* organizations" and "gendering organizations," to qualify and categorize the differing contributions of feminist theory to organization studies (p. 19). They compare and contrast the two separate approaches, highlighting points of divergence between them, specifically in their conceptualization of organizations, their consideration and understanding of gender, and their feminist theoretical underpinnings.[5]

The first approach (i.e. gender in organizations) conceives of organizations as open and neutral (Calás, Smircich, & Holvino, 2014, p. 19). In other words, organizations as extensions of society admit into their environment individuals who have and project their sex/gender. As remark Calás, Smircich, and Holvino (2014), "The organization functions as a stage on which individuals act but…the stage is rarely examined" (p. 20). In this

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[4] Calás and Smircich (2006) review the field of feminist organization studies and the various feminist theoretical strands that have contributed to organization studies. This review informs their later work (in collaboration with Holvino) here referenced and discussed at greater length for its particular conceptual value in mapping the field of feminist organization studies.

[5] Alvesson and Billing (2009) also use "gender-in-organizations" and "gendered organizations" to describe a conceptual divide in feminist organization theory. They explain gender-in-organizations as concerned with how "women and men as fairly robust categories…are treated, behave and/or experience work and life" (p. 5). Contrastingly, "gendered organizations" research focuses on how "organizations like other social institutions are 'artificially' shaped in specific ways and in their turn contribute to the construction of men and women" (p. 5).

theoretical tradition, the research spotlight is cast on the players. The organization retains a natural and malleable quality that renders it seemingly inconsequential if not wholly invisible to research interests, while the individuals that make up the organization wear their sex/gender, bringing it into the organizational sphere. It follows that sex/gender inequality originates with them, not the "organization itself" (Rojas, 2012, p. 265).[6] This theoretical standpoint presents sex and gender as visible, stable, and interconnected categories of identification, with sex unambiguously delineated by one of two biological categories, male and female, and gender unambiguously defined by one of two culturally determined categories, masculine and feminine (Calás, Smircich, & Holvino, 2014, p. 19). The male sex is heteronormatively tied to the masculine gender, and the female sex heteronormatively associated with the feminine gender. Furthermore, of the two binary categories, the male/masculine assumes the status of norm while the female/feminine the status of "Other." That is to say, the male/masculine acquires a certain neutrality, an invisible quality (Lewis & Simpson, 2010, p. 9) such that "the study of 'gender in organizations' is still primarily the study of the conditions women face in organizations centered on a fulcrum of 'difference'" (Calás, Smircich, & Holvino, 2014, p. 21). Women emerge as the focal point of the research, gaining visibility on the basis of their Otherness. Throughout, this research embraces the essence of liberal feminism, its belief in equal rights and opportunities for all based on the individual's freedom "to choose and to engage in free competition for social rewards" (Benschop & Verloo, 2016, p. 101). The persistence of sex/gender inequality in organizations stems not from the basis of exclusion, for the act of exclusion is rendered

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[6] The "organization itself" is an expression borrowed from Rojas (2012) who regards the concept of organization as multi-leveled. It is but one aspect of the organization, and refers to those structures upon which it can exert some kind of control.

unviable by the "equal" treatment of all members of the organization. Rather, exclusion becomes the consequence of the individual's inability to engage fully in those opportunities presented them. In this context, the normative rules of the game benefit the normative player while leaving the Other disadvantaged and marginalized.

When compared with the first metatheory, the second approach (i.e. gendering organizations) presents a divergent view of organizations and the categories of sex and gender, and adopts an opposing feminist theoretical stance. This approach contests the neutrality of organizations and the stability and interconnectedness of sex and gender as unproblematic categories of identification (Calás, Smircich, & Holvino, 2014, p. 26). Instead, it regards sex and gender as the results of social processes, fluid and complex constructions as it were, and organizations, constituting environments through which processes are enacted, "produced and reproduced" (Calás, Smircich, & Holvino, 2014, p. 27). Organizations are not merely stages for the enactment of individual sex/gender relations but rather players in the creation and perpetuation of sex/gender relations, and hence, in the production and reproduction of sex/gender inequality. As explain Calás, Smircich, and Holvino (2014), "Processual understandings assume the mutually constitutive outcomes of social practices: humans as social beings who produce and reproduce what then is reified as social structure and experienced as resources or constraints for human actions" (p. 26). Therefore, sex/gender inequality no longer originates from the individuals that make up the organization but rather from the processes that create and perpetuate a system of differential relations based on sex/gender differences. Organizations emerge as "'gender factories' or 'inequality regimes'" (Calás, Smircich, & Holvino, 2014, p. 27), environments where gender transpires as part of the enactment of power structures meant to devise and uphold consistent patterns of domination along specific criteria or domains of being. Gender in this theoretical tradition originates as a “social institution” (Martin, 2004) based on “hierarchical relations which precede any particular person in any particular organization” (Calás, Smircich, & Holvino, 2014, p. 27). Gendering-organizations research advances largely materialist and poststructuralist feminist perspectives that engage in the problematization of the body and the exposition of the role of language and discourse in the creation and continuation of sex/gender inequality.

The conceptual shift between gender-in-organizations and gendering- organizations research can be traced to Acker’s (1990) theory of the “inherently gendered” organization, her work directing the analytic gaze toward the organization itself, its gendering potential and gendered configuration as activated and evidenced by its formal and informal structures alike (Acker, 1990, p. 140). Her theory marks a transformative feminist turn in organization theory, introducing a persuasive reconceiving of organizations that challenged and disrupted the view of organizations as “gender neutral” and disembodied (Acker, 1990, p. 139). Acker contended that organizations are formulated in and belong to the realm of the abstract, but they depend on the body for actualization.[7] She states, “To say that an organization…is gendered means that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between

[7] Here, gender is not corporally defined but rather corporeally identified. West and Zimmerman (1987) contend that distinctions must be drawn between gender as “the activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one’s sex category,” sex as “a determination made through the application of socially agreed upon biological criteria for classifying persons as female or males,” and sex category as a “categorization…established and sustained by the socially required identificatory displays that proclaim one’s membership in one or the other category” (West and Zimmerman, 1987, p. 127).

male and female, masculine and feminine" (Acker, 1990, p. 146). Following Acker, the concept of the inherently gendered organization emerged as a foundational premise adopted by feminist organization scholars to identify and tease apart those aspects of organizations that expose their intrinsic gendered dimensionality (Alvesson & Billing, 1992; Britton, 2000).

The concept of the gendered organization as theorized by Acker and furthered by the proponents of her theory constituted a germane conceptual point of departure for critical inquiries on women and organizations. These inquiries examined the gendered organization in a variety of ways, expanding Acker's original contribution. For instance, Britton (2000) developed a three-part typology of gendered organizations, theorizing "where" gender resides in organizations. She conceived of organizations as gendered by means of their concrete processes, policies and practices; gendered in terms of their gender demographics;[8] or gendered as per the hegemonic nature of their discourses. In a similar vein, Göransson (2011) elaborated a theory of the gendered organization along three categories, namely "contingent,…essentialist,…or embedded" (p. 53), based on where gender resides within organizations. The contingent view considers organizations gendered as a result of deep-seated "external factors" (i.e. the private/public division of labor between men and women in contemporary society) arguably beyond an organization's purview; the essentialist view deems organizations gendered by way of their structures that are "inherently masculine" (Göransson, 2011, p. 53) and resilient; and lastly, the embedded view regards organizations as dynamically gendered by way of their connection to particular environments. For her part,

[8] In this type, gender demographics denote the quantification of the workforce along conventional binary sex categories of male and female.

Martin (2004) concentrated on "what" gender is and its bearing on the study of organizations. She theorized gender as a "social institution" (Martin, 2004, p. 1249), a social phenomenon working through the various dimensions of an organization. For Martin (2004), this conceptualization of gender befitted the purposes of feminist organizational research, arguing that "framing gender as a social institution… foster[s] critical analysis and insights, particularly about gender's profound sociality… and make[s] gender more visible and susceptible to intentional change, including dismantling" (p. 1250). It follows that organizations exemplify specific gendering sites that actualize gender's social disposition through praxis, reveal inequitable distributions of power, expose the influence of the "material body," encompass organizational opposition and evolution, and substantiate the reciprocal nature of the organization and its members (Martin, 2004, p. 163). Feminist organization scholars that followed Acker and adopted her concept of the inherently gendered organization as a foundational premise from which to explore gendering organizations in new ways effectively augmented the theory's persuasiveness as a fundamental concept of the field of study.

From a chronological perspective, gender-in-organizations theorizing preceded gendering-organizations theorizing, the former originating with second-wave feminism and the latter, in the liminal theoretical space between the second and third waves (Calás, Smircich, & Holvino, 2014, p. 35). However, their sequential origins do not imply a linear progression to the feminist theory of feminist organization research, but rather indicate a tradition of theoretical pluralism in which contrasting feminist approaches have proliferated in reaction to one another but so too, subsist parallel to one another. Each approach has contributed particular knowledge to the overarching feminist project in organization studies, with gender-in-organizations research concentrating on the quantitative inequality between women and men in organizations, with a particular focus sex/gender disparity within leadership, and gendering-organizations research directed at debunking the myth of the neutral organization so as to uncover those institutional structures of domination that have contributed to the "othering" of women and impeded their full participation. Calás, Smircich, & Holvino (2014) observe that feminist organization research continues to develop along both meta-theories, which in itself is an anomaly given that "one [(i.e. gender-in-organizations)] has tended to obscure conditions promoting inequality in organizations, while the other [(i.e. gendering-organizations)] has made these even more visible as well as more complicated" (p. 19). However, neither approach has succeeded in intervening substantively and advancing viable organizational change strategies: gender-in-organizations research offers little by way of critical analysis, positioning change as the concern of individual members of the organization and thus as beyond the purview of the organization itself, while gendering-organizations research exposes the "laborious" and nearly insurmountable charge involved in eradicating socially constituted institutionalized processes and practices (Calás, Smircich, & Holvino, 2014, p. 36).

Feminist Theories in Organization Studies

Benschop and Verloo (2016) review feminism's impact on management and organization studies by identifying the core feminist theories that have (re)shaped an understanding of organizations and set the parameters of a new field of study. Like Calás, Smircich, & Holvino (2014), Benschop and Verloo observe that feminist research on organizations centers on gender inequality, its defining characteristics, its production and reproduction. In so doing, they argue that scholarship has kept largely to theorizing at the expense of developing, alongside feminist organization theories, a more pragmatic feminist project focused on organizational change toward achieving gender equality in the workplace (Benschop & Verloo, 2016, p. 100). The limitations of the research along with the "chilly climate"[9] of organization studies, through its "isolation and marginalization" (Benschop & Verloo, 2016, p. 100) of feminist critical discourses, have effectively thwarted the potential of feminist theory within organization studies, and so too, its persuasiveness beyond theorizing. Nevertheless, they view the contributions of feminist perspectives on organization studies as legitimate and influential, and thus set out to demonstrate the different ways these have opened up new dialogues and debates within organization research.

Benschop and Verloo (2016) focus their examination on what they consider as "the four major strands of feminist thought" in organization studies, namely liberal/neo-liberal feminism, socialist feminism, social construction feminism and poststructuralist feminism (p. 101).[10] Of these feminist theories, liberal feminism, according to Benschop and Verloo (2016), gained a strong foothold in gender and organization research, its beliefs in equal rights and opportunities for men and women and in the autonomy and actualization of the self particularly well suited for "the political ideals of the free labour market and the meritocratic workplace" (p. 101) characteristic of contemporary organization studies. With liberal feminism, and subsequently neo-liberal feminism, gender equality in organizations

[9] Hall and Sandler coined this expression in the early 1980s (Prentice, 2000) to describe the unwelcoming organizational terrain of academe, as experienced by women. I use it here to capture figuratively the unwelcoming terrain of organization studies as a field of study that disregards feminist critical discourses.
[10] For a comprehensive analysis of feminist theories and organization studies, see Calás & Smircich (2006). While not as comprehensive, Benschop & Verloo (2016) is here reviewed as they examine those feminist theories that align with the feminist influences that inform the research on academe.

depends firstly, on women gaining access to a barrier-free organizational environment so as to excel based on their proven merit as members of the organization, and secondly, on women assuming a "will to lead" or to "lean in" (Sandberg, 2013) as it were. Once "external [institutional] barriers" are redressed (Sandberg, 2013, p. 8), gender inequality arises as the product of "internal [personal] barriers" (Sandberg, 2013, p. 9), the fundamental belief in individualism and self-fulfillment leaving the notion of the gender-neutral organization intact. Gender and organization research in this theoretical tradition primarily develops around the themes of leadership and the public/private divide of work—and later, work-life balance—with a view to exposing demographic imbalances and cultures of exclusion (Benschop & Verloo, 2016, p. 101). Essentially, as argue Benschop and Verloo (2016), "[this research] seems to be satisfied as soon as women are also included in the myth that 'everyone can make it to the top', resulting in a fetish for research that limits itself to managers and professionals" (p. 103). They suggest that liberal/neo-liberal feminist theorizing of organizations is perhaps the least problematic of feminisms for organization studies given that it is the least disruptive (Benschop & Verloo, 2016, p. 103). As such it continues to maintain an influential position in organization and management studies.

Contrastingly, socialist feminism—a second "major strand of feminist thought" influencing organization studies—originated from dissatisfaction with liberal feminism. It demonstrated commonalities with Marxist philosophy in its beliefs in a system of group oppression and domination, and the notion of material inequalities; only, it argued that these inequalities originated not only as a result of class divisions but also gender divisions. Benschop and Verloo (2016) remark, "socialist feminist philosophy stresses that the system of capitalism alone does not sufficiently explain the persistence of gender inequalities, and calls for critical attention to the relation between capitalism and patriarchy as related structures of domination" (p. 103). Socialist feminist theory maintains that neither equal rights and opportunities, nor individual autonomy and self-fulfillment, would effectively redress the material inequalities at the root of women's organizational exclusion and oppression. The view of organizations as systems involved in the production and reproduction of social power relations through the division of labour would replace the belief in the gender-neutral organization. As attest Benschop and Verloo, "socialist feminist work…inspired organization studies to look at the detrimental effects of gendered and classed divisions of labour, emphasizing the systemic and structural dimensions of capitalist inequality regimes" (p. 104). Organization research in this feminist tradition moves away from concerns with women's access to leadership roles toward uncovering the intersecting "structures of domination" (Benschop & Verloo, 2016, p. 104) permeating the organization, and their role in perpetuating the subordination and marginalization of women dispersed throughout all levels of the organization.

Benschop and Verloo (2016) present social construction feminism as a third strand of feminist theory to contribute significantly to the field of feminist organization studies. In contrast to liberal/neoliberal feminism and socialist feminism, social construction feminism advances the notion of gender as a dimension continuously "in the making" stated and restated through quotidian interactions and processes:

> Gender…[emerges] as something that is said and done dynamically, within the boundaries of the gender order—the relatively stable cultural prototypes of masculinity and femininity that are experience as universal, natural truths. 'Gendering' here becomes a verb referring to processes and practices that are enacted

> in various locations and relations, and also, prominently, in work organizations. (Benschop & Verloo, 2016, p. 104)

Social construction feminism in organization studies, it follows, not only rejects the belief of the gender-neutral organization but moreover debases it by exposing organizations as phenomena formed and functioning around a series of gender norms and beliefs, sociocultural constructs and assumptions upon which they depend—and thus, necessarily actively perpetuate—to establish and maintain a certain order. In this context, gender inequality as it regards women entails differential organizational positioning as enacted through illusive and seemingly genderless processes and abstractions, such as the "ideal worker (Acker, 1990, 1992)" that embodies specific organizational values and adopts valued behaviours that largely subordinate and marginalize women (Benschop & Verloo, 2016, p. 105). For Benschop and Verloo (2016), social construction feminism opened up new possibilities for the development of feminist organization research, in that it recognizes the intrinsic nature of gender inequality in organizations across its structures, processes, relations, and beliefs, and the reliance of organizations in maintaining this gendered order for their "ideal" subsistence.

Benschop and Verloo (2016) conclude their discussion of feminist theory's influence on organization studies with a consideration of post-structuralist feminism. With post-structuralism, the discursive field emerged as a dynamic component of a given social reality in need of critical and reflexive examination. Post-structuralist feminism therefore addressed the dominant discourses of gender and sex, aiming to deconstruct their meaning so as to access their power and influence in creating social realities in which men and women were differentially positioned. Benschop and Verloo (2016) state, "By focusing on discursive practices of gender, poststructuralist feminism deconstructs the binary logic of gender that is hindering more sophisticated and subversive conceptualizations of gender as a performative social practice (Butler, 1990; Poggio, 2006; Pullen, 2006)" (p. 106). It follows that in this feminist theoretical tradition, gender and sex acquire conceptual fluidity. And, conventional static binary notions are problematized, denaturalized, and deconstructed to arrive at a new understanding that considers the subject, "a 'man' or a 'woman' [as] the outcome of the whole complex of performances in specific spatial-temporal settings" (Benschop & Verloo, 2016, p. 106). In organization studies, post-structuralist feminism cleared paths for explorations on the interplay of subjectivities and the enactment of gender in organizations, as well as for reflexive scholarship that accepts the researcher as an agent in the production of knowledge (Benschop & Verloo, 2016, p. 107).

The sway of feminist theory on organization studies is undeniable. Despite the disparate nature of the feminist approaches motivating the study of gender and organizations, they have emerged alongside one another, "sometimes in dispute and sometimes in collaboration" (Newman & White, 2006, p. 63), and thus, are part of an integral whole. A consideration of the concept of women's underrepresentation in organizations therefore gives way to the fact that each "strand of feminist thought" (Benschop & Verloo, 2016) has contributed to and shaped the conceptual construct. Newman and White (2006) remark that "in mapping feminist theory around a number of concepts,…it is modern and post-modern, material and ideal, essential and socially constructed, sometimes reflecting the private, sometimes the public. It is this richness, complexity, and diversity that is compelling" (p. 63). This plurality has guided the development of feminist organization studies as a field of research, (in)forming the study of gender inequality in organizational contexts, and thus permeates the main ideas that converge to establish an understanding of women's underrepresentation in academe.

On Gender

The concept of gender is fundamental to establishing an understanding of women's underrepresentation in any social context, given the designating role it fulfills in casting a definitional mould for women. Gender as a term is largely defined by the function it serves. As Ahl (2004) remarks, "Gender was introduced as a useful tool to differentiate between biological sex (bodies with male or female reproductive organs) and socially constructed sex" (p. 29). Indeed, definitions of gender originate from its distinction from sex; "*sex* refers to the biological difference that distinguish men and women…[and] *gender* refers to the cultural and social meaning of 'male' and 'female'" (Newman & White, 2006, p. 13). Gender emerged as that which is different from but intimately related to sex, such that it augments and further qualifies those features normatively associated with men and with women, and their essential difference therein. Martin (1994) defines gender in contrast to sex:

> Sex is usually assumed to be a dichotomous distinction between males and females that is associated with physiological differences, such as particular chromosomes, a uterus or the production of sperm. Gender, then, is usually defined as a cultural overlay that is associated with and modified or supplements these physiological sex differences. Because gender involves a process of social construction, it is often used as an adjective ('gendered') or a verb ('gendering'), rather than a noun. Gender, like, sex, is presumed to be a dichotomy between men and women. (p. 405)

These definitions touch on the core relational understanding between sex and gender, and between women/female and men/male, which underpins the dominant and normalized conceptualizations of sex and gender that order social contexts. These definitions also introduce the notion of sex and gender as kinds, classifications or categories to which are assigned seemingly fixed and impermeable identification markers. It follows that sex and gender function as mutually dependent concepts that effectively inscribe values, which simultaneously claim to unite and distinguish social subjects, classifying them into groups.

Gender as a Kind

Haslanger (2017) considers gender as one of many "interpretive tools we bring to the world in order to understand it" (p. 158). She contends that gender as a conceptual framework serves a dual function; it is both prescriptive and inscriptive. Haslanger (2017) observes, "In social contexts, our classification may do more than just map pre-existing groups of individuals; rather our attributions have the power to both establish and reinforce groupings that may eventually come to 'fit' the classifications" (p. 162). Gender as a kind or category therefore organizes social beings along specific characteristics and in so doing orders and structures the social environment. In this manner, as Haslanger puts it, gender here functions as an "idea-construction" (p. 163). Gender as a kind or category also enforces the organization of social beings along specific characteristics, and in this sense, functions as an "object-construction" (p. 163). This functional nuance exposes the implications of gender as an "interpretive tool" that not only helps us to make sense of our social positioning, but also largely defines and shapes our potentiality for social membership. Haslanger (2017) asserts, "Being classified as a woman, or a man, or a different sex/gender, or not, has a profound effect on an individual. Such classification [has] a material affect (sic) on…social position as well as … [on] experience and self-understanding" (p. 163). It follows that gender as a kind or category exceeds the purposes of taxonomy.

In her influential article on “gender as an analytic category,” Scott (1986) explores the different “facets” of the term gender as per its usage in historical analyses (p. 1055). She asserts that gender has been used as a category either for the purpose of description or the purpose of theorization (p. 1056), each approach presenting limitations. In reference to the first (i.e. gender as a descriptive category), Scott considers the use of the term gender to redesignate the category women. She maintains that this terminological substitution became a way to bring credibility to an emerging field of research by reframing women’s interests as human interests, effectively depoliticizing the research agenda, making it more palatable as it were. Scott (1986) writes, “In this usage, ‘gender’ does not carry with it a necessary statement about inequality or power nor does it name the aggrieved (and hitherto invisible) party” (p. 1056).[11] The redesignation of the category women served to recontextualize women’s interests as phenomena occurring within a binary social reality, such that considerations pertaining to women came to be viewed as relative to men rather than presented and approached in (artificial) isolation. Consequentially, Scott maintains that gender as a descriptive category replacing the term women furthered a relational understanding between women and men, and moreover, a heteronormative relational understanding between gender and sex. In this usage, gender became “a way of referring to the exclusively social origins of subjective identities of men and women.…a social category imposed on a sexed body” (Scott, 1986, p. 1056). It follows that gender as a descriptive

[11] What is interesting about gender as a descriptive category is that it effectively renders the category women simultaneously invisible and visible. That is, in becoming “gender” interests, women’s interests lose their politicized undertone (Scott, 1986)—they become invisible. However, in becoming gender interests, women’s interests are understood in relation to men’s interests, are seen as distinct from the “norm”. As such, they become visible.

category serves a denotative function, giving way to a series of observations that help to establish and affirm a given conceptual understanding of a social reality. However, this usage of gender as descriptive category addresses neither the reason for nor the function of the relational understandings it forms and perpetuates, and so too, fails to address its implications (Scott, 1986, p. 1057).

Contrastingly, in its second usage (i.e. gender as a category for theorization), Scott (1986) argues that gender as a category acquires critical functionality, providing a lens through which to investigate social phenomena from a feminist viewpoint (p. 1057), helping to dissect those relational dynamics that gender as a descriptive category leaves intact. Observing the practice of historical analysis, Scott maintains that gender has been theorized principally along one of three feminist traditions, namely, patriarchy, Marxism, or psychoanalytic theory, each advancing distinct conceptualizations and thus carrying separate implications. The tradition of patriarchy theorizes gender as a category fundamentally tied to the concept of inequality between women and men, with men's domination over women emerging as the constant (Scott, 1986, p. 1058). The basis of that domination stems from the sexed body, be it from considerations of men's domination over women's reproductive capability or men's power over the sexual objectification of women. This theorization of gender, explains Scott (1986), "assumes a consistent or inherent meaning for the human body – outside social or cultural construction – and thus the ahistoricity of gender itself" (p. 1059). It follows that from this viewpoint, the analytic value of gender as a category remains static, independent of social structures. The opposite is true of gender as theorized from the tradition of Marxism, suggests Scott (1986), whereby gender is viewed largely as a result of fluctuating economic social structures through which power and domination are enacted. She writes,

> the explanation for the origins of and changes in gender systems is found outside the sexual division of labor. Families, households, and sexuality are all, finally, products of changing modes of production….Economic causality takes precedence, and patriarchy always develops and changes as a function of relations of production. (Scott, 1986, p. 1059)

Out of this theoretical tradition, the analytic value of gender as a category emerges as unstable and wholly dependent on socio-economic structures. Finally, with the tradition of psychoanalytic theory, gender becomes tied to the creation of the subject. Gender identity formation stems largely either from the lived experience, as argues object-relations theory, or from an imposed all-encompassing "symbolic order" (Scott, 1986, p. 1063) of language, as purports post-structuralism. According to Scott (1986), neither approach is without its limitations, object-relations theory restricting the sphere of influence on gender identity formation to the family while overlooking the social structures that form and support the family environment, and post-structuralism tying gender identification to a largely instable subject in a constant state of becoming (i.e. construction and deconstruction) and arguably activating universal constructs built on the "constancy of sexual polarity" (p. 1064). Psychoanalytic theory, therefore, also falls short of offering a persuasive usage of gender as an analytic category given its centricity on the subject and its reliance on assumptions of universalism.

For Scott (1986), each theorization presents limitations and challenges to the application of gender as an analytic category (p. 1061). She proceeds to formulate her definition of gender on two foundational premises, specifically, "gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationship of power" (Scott, 1986, p. 1067). In line with the first premise, Scott (1986) argues that gender as a constitutive element integrates (i) available symbolic representations of woman and man, (ii) pervasive normative conceptualizations about the symbolic representations that shape and define their acceptable limitations, (iii) a broad and interrelated system of social structures (e.g. family, economy, religion, education, etc.) and (iv) subject identity (p. 1067). In line with her second premise, Scott (1986) proposes that gendered perceptions establish a referential frame that guides and directs social roles and interactions, such that, "to the extent that these references establish distributions of power (differential control over or access to material and symbolic resources), gender becomes implicated in the conception and construction of power itself" (p. 1069). It follows that gender as a kind or category necessarily encompasses prescriptive and inscriptive functionalities, both of which must be regarded for its analytic potential to be realized.

The accounts of gender as advanced by Haslanger (2017) and Scott (1986) bring to light how gender as a kind or category functions and thus, clarify its analytic reach. These accounts also establish that a certain impetus, a "necessary motivating condition" (Calás, Smircich, & Holvino, 2014, p. 17) as it were, is needed to access the full analytic potential of gender as an interpretive tool and investigative conceptual frame. For Scott (1986), this impetus derives from the quality ascribed to the relation between gender categories in a given social context:

> If we treat the opposition between male and female as problematic rather than known, as something contextually defined, repeatedly constructed, then we must constantly

> ask not only what is at stake in proclamations or debates that invoke gender to explain or justify their positions but also how implicit understandings of gender are being invoked and reinscribed. (p. 1074).

The context of women's underrepresentation in academe, a concept which at its basis makes proclamations that invoke gender to describe an organizational phenomenon (i.e. fewer women at the top), calls for an examination into "what is at stake" and "how implicit understandings of gender are being invoked and reinscribed" when women in elite research and senior administration positions are marked as underrepresented.

Women as Social Group

I now turn my attention to the notion of women as a social group. On this subject, Riley (1988) states that,

> the notion of what a women is, alters; so does the whole conception of what a person is, how a being is unified. A part of this malleable ingredient of being human is the degree to which possession of a gender is held to invade the whole person. And here the critical gender is female; again, it is the difficulties of the women-to-human transition. It is 'women' who are sexualized, it is femininity which comes to colour existence to the point of suffusion. (p. 18)

In this passage, Riley touches on women's positionality as the visible Other. Here, the collective women, not woman, encompasses the "critical gender" which comes to infuse a specific state of collective being, in this instance, a state of organizational collective being. From this perspective, women's underrepresentation emerges as problematic and politically charged, in need of closer examination.

To consider the category women entails considering the broader notion of group. What is a group? Young (2011) addresses this question directly, stating that despite the ubiquitous use of the term in scholarship and everyday discourse, the concept of the social group remains undertheorized in both social sciences and philosophy. Young (2011) regards the group as a complex social phenomenon, contingent on "processes of affinity and differentiation" (p. 47). That is to say, on the one hand, the formation of the group depends on a collective of individuals who hold a particular affinity between one another on account of their social realities. On the other hand, the formation of the group necessitates being at variance with other groups in order to establish a distinct group identity. This relational quality characteristic of social groups extends beyond intragroup resemblance and intergroup differentiation, as resemblance occurs between groups and differentiation within groups, such that the concept of the group must allow for a certain fluidity that makes way for these various correspondences. Regarding gender as a social group, Young (2011) asserts, "Members of each gender have a certain affinity with others in their group because of what they do or experience, and differentiate themselves from the other gender, even when members of each gender consider that they have much in common with members of the other, and consider that they belong to the same society" (p. 43). Here, affinity ought not be equated with attributes or characteristics shared between members of a given group; such equivalences would necessarily lead to normative and essentialist claims about group membership. Rather, affinity derives from a process of identification whereby individuals come to establish a sense of identity by way of their multiple and shifting group identities.

Young (2011) explains that,

> social groups are not entities that exist apart from individuals….Group meanings partially constitute people's identities in terms of the cultural forms, social situation, and history that group members know as theirs, because these meanings have been either forced upon them or forged by them or both. (p. 44)

Conceptualized as products of social and relational processes, groups emerge as dynamic, temporal and heterogeneous phenomena, the products of an ongoing exchange and negotiation of meanings and identities. Still, the concept of the group, or rather the process of affinity upon which its formation partly rests, gives rise to concerns regarding its implications for group membership.

Indeed, literature attending to the topic of group and gender reveals the challenge of affinity discourse surrounding the category women. Butler (1992) approaches the problem of the group construct from a feminist poststructuralist perspective. She contends that the term women through its usage has acquired a "fixed" status, such that it no longer lends itself to an openness of interpretation and a process of "resignification" (p. 16). Alluding to a semiotic understanding of conceptual knowledge formation, she explains the following:

> What women signify has been taken for granted for too long, and what has been fixed as the 'referent' of the term has been "fixed," normalized, immobilized, paralyzed in positions of subordination. In effect, the signified has been conflated with the referent, whereby a set of meanings have been taken to inhere in the real nature of women themselves. (Butler, 1992, p. 16)

Butler (1992) proceeds to advocate for a conceptual disruption of sorts, by means of a process of deconstruction, that frees the term women from its conventionalized oppressive deployment and opens it up to a state of "permanent resignifiability" (p. 16). In so doing, the term would become perpetually fluid, shedding the vestiges of an oppressive and intemporal homogeneity. This openness of meaning and signification bears strong implications, particularly if, as Butler contends, the term women designates more than a mere class or category but rather it designates the collective subject of feminism. In this regard, she acknowledges albeit with resignation the need for the group women in that it serves a specific political function—the mobilizing of feminist agendas. However, she cautions,

> if there is a fear that, by no longer being able to take for granted the subject, its gender, its sex, or its materiality, feminism will founder, it might be wise to consider the political consequences of keeping in their place the very premises that have tried to secure our subordination from the start. (Butler, 1992, p. 19)

Reconciling the notion of group with the category women in a manner that valorizes the multiple and differentiated nature(s) and essence(s) of women as a collective, Butler argues, may very well pose a risk to the foundation of a feminist politics. But even that fear, she maintains, is the product of a structure designed to uphold women's positionality at the margins. For Butler, it remains unclear whether the ends justify the means, in this particular context.

Young (1994) agrees in principle with feminist theorists such as Butler who argue that the concept of the collectivity women presents a fundamental theoretical challenge for the overall feminist project. That is, inasmuch as the conceptualizing of women as a social collectivity carries the immanent threat of feminist essentialism, it also makes possible a feminist politics and therein the discourse that leads to the disruption of systems of domination and oppression. However, to contend with the posed dilemma, Young for her part advocates the need for a "pragmatic" approach to theorizing. In her view, critiques of feminist essentialism originating from the field of feminist studies—a field with which she, as a scholar, identifies—while elucidating, contribute to the problem by insisting on a totalizing theory rather than a practical one. Young (1994) asserts the following:

> A social theory is self-enclosed, in the sense that it offers no particular purpose other than to understand, to reveal the way things are…. Feminists do not need and should not want theory in this sense. Instead, we should take a more pragmatic orientation to our intellectual discourse. (p. 717)

For Young, a pragmatic approach enables the devising of targeted, solution-oriented theorizing, ultimately unconstrained by the weight and burdens of universalist claims. In light of the challenge to feminism presented by the concept of women as a collective, Young is content neither to acquiesce to the inevitability of essentialism nor to reject the notion of the social collective altogether. Rather, her pragmatic resolve leads her to relate the concept of gender to the Sartrean notion of seriality as a way to reconcile the theoretical conundrum, and effectively thwart the normative and exclusionary claims generated by group-based essentialist discourse.

Introduced by Sartre in *Critique of Dialectical Reason* (1960/2004), seriality denotes a state of being produced by what he describes as a fundamental "social reality," that is, the collective.[12] He writes:

> The collective is defined *by its being*, that is to say, in so far as all *praxis* is constituted by its being as mere *exis*; it is a material, inorganic object in the practico-

[12] The collective is one of two social realities. The other social reality is the group. For Sartre, the collective is the base from which all other groups evolve.

> inert field in so far as a discrete multiplicity of active individuals is produced *in it* under the sign of the Other, as a *real unity within Being*, that is to say, as a passive synthesis, and to the extent that the constituted object is posited as essential and that its inertia penetrates *every individual praxis* as its fundamental determination by passive unity, that is to say, by the *pre-established* and *given* interpenetration of everyone as Others. (Sartre, 1960/2004, p. 255)

It follows that, for Sartre, the state of being produced by the collective, serial being, entails the alienation of the subject. In other words, members of the collective, by engaging in the "rule of the series" which in turn procures them membership in the collective, enter a state of "alterity" or otherness that transforms them, bringing them together in a fundamental way despite their collective plurality (Sartre, 1960/2004, p. 256). In his discussion of Sartre's social ontology, Flynn (1984) describes this alienation in terms of interrelated characteristics of otherness that cumulatively erode the subject. He states, the "transformation [engendered by this mode of being] entails, of course, 'alterity,' whose avatars include separation, social impotence, numerical equivalence, pseudoreciprocity, unity in exteriority like a seal on wax, and, above all, what Sartre terms 'passive activity'" (Flynn, 1984, p. 95). In other words, the isolation, objectification, and conformity produced by serial being establish a shared if but only temporally defined identity among the individuals of the collective, an interchangeability as it were. Sartre (1960/2004) maintains that,

> there is identity when the common interest…is made manifest, and when the plurality is defined just in relations to his interest. In that moment, in fact, it matters little if [members] are biologically or socially differentiated; in so far as they are united by an abstract generality, they are identical as separate individuals. (p. 260)

The intangible unity of the collective, therefore, derives not from a shared status or common essential traits; rather, it emerges as the consequence of common action, independently practiced for individual ends, which itself entails a common engagement with practico-inert objects and social structures that both empower and restrict its members, in other words, serial being.

Seriality, according to Young, provides a sound theoretical framework for the conceptualizing of women as a gendered collective. It effectively forestalls the possibility for essentialist claims, the gendered collective amorphously bound only by serial being, that is, an experienced alterity actuated by a passive engagement with continuous structures of domination and oppression from the exterior social field. This lived experience of otherness, individual in its own right, unifies the differentiated collective women within the social collective of the series. In conceiving of gender as seriality, Young also draws on Sartre's differentiation between the social realities of the series and the group to reconcile the notion of the gendered collective with the state of organized collectivity that occurs under feminist political action. She states the following:

> Sartre distinguishes several levels of social collectivity by their order of internal complexity and reflexivity…A group is a collection of persons who recognize themselves and one another as in a unified relation with one another…In acknowledging oneself as a member of a group, an individual acknowledges oneself as oriented toward the same goals as others; each individual thereby assumes the common project as a project for his or her individual action…As Sartre explains it, groups arise from and often fall back into a less organized and unself-conscious collective unity, which he calls the series. (Young, 1994, p. 723-724)

It follows that for Sartre, and for Young, an inherent relation exists between the notions of the group and the series, the former evolving and rising from the latter as the temporal actuation of individual freedom and conscious choice. The conceptualization of gender as seriality, therefore, achieves Young's pragmatic theoretical ends, conceiving of women as a collective without regressing toward essentialist claims, therein conceiving of the possibility for an uncompromising feminist resistance.

However persuasive, Young's theorization invites criticism, her proposal regarded as essentialism under new guises. Stone (2004) rejects Young's conceptualization of gender as seriality on the basis of its likeness to "strategic essentialism" (p. 145), specifically in the manner in which it reveals descriptive essentialist tendencies and thus restores the feminist essentialism it purports to eschew. According to Stone (2004), efforts in strategic essentialism, or the conscious act of relying on false essentialist claims for the sole purposes of advancing specific feminist political aims (p. 142), are inherently flawed. She contends that,

> strategic essentialists…have attempted to resuscitate essentialism by arguing that it can take a merely political and non-descriptive form. But this attempt proves unsuccessful, because one cannot defend essentialism on strategic grounds without first showing that there is a homogeneous set of essentialist assumptions that exerts a coherent influence on women's social experience—which amounts to defending essentialism on descriptive grounds (as well). (Stone, 2004, p. 143-144)

Thus, for Stone, gender as seriality alleges that an exteriorized homogeneous social reality—the objects and structures comprising the practico-inert field—unify women's social being, therein reproducing an instance of descriptive essentialism. She comments, "Young… can only retain a coherent feminine gender by arguing that, although women have no common features, there *are* common features—common expectations—organizing all the social realities that constrain women's lives" (Stone, 2004, p. 145). In Stone's view, Young's conceiving of women as a series therefore fails to establish the "non-unified" type of collective required for the reconciling of an anti-essentialist theory of gender with feminist social ontology.

Stone's refutation of Young's theory provides the context for her proposal of an alternate anti-essentialist approach based on the Nietzschean concept of genealogy. Drawing on the work of prominent feminist theorists, Stone argues that a genealogical frame of analysis supports a reconceiving of women as a non-unified social group that takes shape as women's individually acquired understandings and lived experiences of gender collide, intersecting and interweaving throughout time to establish a composite relational lineage or history. Regarding Nietzsche's concept of genealogy, she explains the following:

> [It] traces how concepts…undergo varying interpretations, where these interpretations—and the concepts which they organize—continually reshape our experience and practices. To study these experiences and practices genealogically is to situate them within a particular group…not because of any essential characteristics that they share with all the group's other members, but just because each member in the group stands in the appropriate historical relationship to (one or more of) the others. (Stone, 2004, p. 149)

Thus, for Stone, women stand in relation to one another through and only through their individual yet interconnected interpretations of femininity, which in and of themselves comprise reinterpretations upon reinterpretations of gender, and so on. Stone uses the metaphor of a tree with interminable interweaving branches that intersect and ramify at multiple points to portray the process by which a complex historical relationship binds women together as a differentiated yet distinctive group. She writes,

> Successive modifications in the meaning of femininity necessarily build upon one another, [thus] leading to the formation of distinct historical patterns of interpretation of femininity, which branch apart from one another in particular directions…As the branching occurs, the process of attrition whereby earlier elements of meaning get worn away will ensure that quite separate cultures of femininity emerge. Women located within these separate cultures…will have ceased to share any experience as women, even though they all identify themselves as feminine. In such cases, women remain connected together only indirectly—via the long chains of overlapping meaning and practice that span the gulf between them. (Stone, 2004, p. 151)

In her feminist appropriation of genealogy, Stone claims to accomplish what Young sets out but ultimately fails to do through seriality, that is, to reconceive of women as a non-unified group so as to counter the challenges anti-essentialism poses to feminism.

Arguably, Stone's critique presents a misreading of Young's theory of gender as seriality. Specifically, in adopting Sartre's notion, Young neither seeks nor purports to establish a non-unified notion of the gendered collectivity women. Indeed, unlike Stone, she does not consider a non-unified collective to be necessary to her overall project, that is, to resolve the theoretical conundrum posed by the concept of women as a social collectivity in light of a feminist social ontology. As such, she is not compelled to refute the fluid, amorphous unity characteristic of serial being, and thus, characteristic of the serial collectivity women as she conceives of it. A brief return to Sartre's *Critique* and more particularly, his reflections on collectives and the nature of unity as per the "rule of the series," further disproves Stone's interpretation of Young's conceptualization. Sartre (1960/2004) explains serial unity as follows:

> Whatever it may be, and whatever the circumstances, the series constitutes itself on the basis of the unity-object and, conversely, it is in the serial milieu and through serial behaviour that the individual achieves practical and theoretical participation in common being. There are serial behaviour, serial feelings and serial thoughts; in other words a *series is a mode of being for individuals both in relation to one another and in relation to their common being* and this mode of being transforms all their structures….To the extent that *the series* represents the use of alterity as a bond between men under the passive action of an object, and as this passive action defines the general type of alterity which serves as a bond, alterity is, ultimately, the practico-inert object itself in so far as it produces itself in the milieu of multiplicity with its own particular exigencies. Indeed, every Other is both Other than himself and Others in accordance with an objective, practical, inert rule of alterity. (p. 266)

It follows that the unity of Young's series is not bound by common expectations directing women's social existence, as Stone suggests, but rather by the common experience of individual alienation elicited by the objects and structures women are called to engage with as they occupy the social field.

Whether theorized through Sartrean seriality or Nietzschean genealogy, the concept of women as a collective problematizes the concept of women's underrepresentation in a manner that projects back onto the organization as a social field of the series or as an expression of a situated composite relational lineage or history of a genealogy. In so doing, it favours an understanding of gender and organizations that regards sex and gender as the results of social processes, fluid and complex constructions, and organizations, constituting environments through which processes are enacted, “produced and reproduced” (Calás, Smircich, & Holvino, 2014, p. 27), presented earlier in this chapter as characteristic of gendering-organizations theorizing. To reiterate, from this theoretical perspective, organizations are not merely stages for the enactment of individual sex/gender relations but rather players in the creation and perpetuation of sex/gender relations, and hence, in the production and reproduction of sex/gender inequality.

Gendering Academe

In order for feminist theory to be considered relevant to the study of organizations, organizations must be deemed sites where women are “disadvantaged” and “marginalized.” The academic organizational environment has emerged as such a site in feminist organization literature. For instance, in her study of women’s positioning and experience in academe, Wylie (2011) argues that gender inequality in academe has been a topic of scholarly investigation since the 1980s, when it was observed that the marked increased presence of women among the student body at all levels of higher education had not impacted the persistent paucity of women faculty in the academic workforce. Simeone (1987, as cited in Wylie, 2011), writing towards the end of that decade (i.e. 1980s), portrays women as “more likely than men to be unemployed, underemployed, or in part-time non-tenure track positions” (p. 165). To this, Wylie (2011) adds, “[women] were disproportionately concentrated in less prestigious institutions; they showed substantially higher rates of attrition, advanced through the ranks more slowly and, at the same rank, were paid less than their male counterparts” (p. 165). Arguably, many if not all of these laments still apply to women’s status and experience in the academic profession today (Alvesson & Billing, 2009; Baker, 2012; Metcalfe & González, 2013).[13] It follows that, as a site of feminist organizational inquiry, academe has the "necessary motivating condition" (Calás, Smircich, & Holvino, 2014, p. 17): it is an organizational environment characterized by persistent gender inequality and sexism.

Scholarship on gender/women in academe attributes gender inequality mainly to normative androcentric policies and a hostile organizational culture that together interfere with the full participation and advancement of women (Bailyn, 2003; Bird, 2011; Wyatt-Nichol, 2011). From these studies emerges a relational understanding between the formal structures (i.e. policies) and informal structures (i.e. culture) of the organization, an interdependency that renders substantive organizational change all the more difficult. Martin (1994) argues that organizational sex inequality in universities as established and sustained by biased "rules, practices and structures" cannot be resolved through the adoption of corrective measures alone since they are legitimized and reinforced by the "rules, practices, and structures" of the organizational culture (p. 404). She contends that transformative change requires consonant shifts in institutional beliefs, policy and practice. In a similar vein, Bird asserts (2011), "Adding on policies that leave intact the structural forces that situate women and men differently in their abilities to succeed…does little to remedy already existing incongruous, gendered bureaucratic structures…and the systemic inequalities they help to produce" (p. 211). In order to begin approximating real change, Bird (2011) puts forth a restructuring of academe that involves creating awareness about gendered organization

[13] In this section, I admit sources from the US in my discussion of university equity practices following Baker (2012) who argues that Canada and the US are countries that "share similar university restructuring processes, patterns of institutional governance, and academic practices, …[and] reveal remarkably analogous trends in…the academic gender gap" (p. 5).

theory at all levels of the organization through sensitivity training and workshops. For Glazer-Raymo (2003), a careful (re)assessment of policy recommendations both in terms of their empirical and theoretical agendas is paramount, and a task especially befitting women in prominent positions in academe. Whether advocating a comprehensive overhaul and revisioning of academe, employee training, or a stronger presence of women senior administrators[14] with a resolute "feminist policy agenda" (Glazer-Raymo, 2003, p. 107), researchers agree that organizational change in academe requires parallel shifts in both workplace policies and culture.

The relation between policy and culture in academe can be further unpacked by exploring a commonly reported (mis)perception from within academe, that is, academic careers are especially well suited to women since they offer superior autonomy and flexibility, and encourage a healthy work-life balance (Bailyn, 2003; Bird, 2011; Wyatt-Nichol, 2011). Indeed, since the 1990s, a series of "family-friendly" policies, such as enhanced provisions for childcare, diversified leave options for primary family caregivers, and tenure "clock stops" to assist faculty having a child to remain in the race for tenure (Wyatt-Nichol, 2011, p. 51) have been introduced and instituted in an effort to encourage and foster greater gender equality in academe.[15] This effort, by way of equalizing policies, proved to be problematic and ineffective as corrective measures, leading to unfavourable implications for women faculty and contributing to a rise in overall hostility within the

[14] However, fewer women advancing through the professorial ranks on account of discriminating gendered structures necessarily engenders fewer women advancing through the administrative ranks, these positions generally calling for a corresponding level of success as an academic.
[15] Here, gender equality is understood to signify gender parity in terms of number of women and number of men.

organizational milieu. The tenure clock stop, for instance, an effort to correct a noticeable gender gap in tenure rates, left the traditional tenure structure intact (with an allowance largely directed at women faculty), and with it, an androcentric policy reinforced as the norm, its corrective measure, framed as the exception. As Bailyn remarks (2003), "the…tenure clock, which requires greatest effort during the childbearing years, is clearly better aligned with men's lives" (p. 143). This policy further deepened the divide between faculty members along gender lines, causing women to retreat and disregard its "equalizing" potential for fear of reproach from colleagues, or for fear of seeming incompetent or incapable of accomplishing their work, fears motivated by a perceived lack of support. As Wyatt-Nichol explains (2011), "Organizational culture, perception, and stereotypes can reinforce bias avoidance behavior and have a chilling effect on formal…policies" (p. 59).

An earlier example of a "family-friendly" (or rather "women-friendly") workplace policy dates back to the rise of part-time academic appointments (notably non tenure-track) in the late 1970s, appointments promoted as particularly advantageous for women, and was used to promote academe as a progressive and increasingly women-friendly work environment (Glazer-Raymo, 2003). Glazer-Raymo (2003) recounts that the new part-time academic appointment was presented as supportive of aspiring women academics, allowing them the opportunity to seek success in their professional (i.e. public) lives while still affording them the time and freedom to fulfill their quotidian role (i.e. private) caregivers. Women seeking faculty positions, specifically younger women with childcare responsibilities, would find in part-time academic appointments a desirable flexible workday as well as a substantially reduced workload (Glazer-Raymo, 2003). Furthermore, the part-time employment model promised to generate a greater number of academic employment opportunities in a strained job market—opportunities with a likelihood of transitioning into full-time appointments at the first signs of an upturn—thus increasing the employment odds for women faculty aspiring to gain entry to the male dominated academy (Glazer-Raymo, 2003). In retrospect, part-time academic employment would fall short of its feminist potential, positioning women at the lower echelons of the professoriate and limiting their access to senior administrative roles in academe.

Organizational policies adopted to correct and redress gender inequality in academe, while having created exceptions around formal structures, have proven problematic in their conception and largely ineffective in their "feminist" purpose, that is, to restructure the organizational milieu so as to facilitate women's equal participation. To what extent, however, is the ineffectiveness of these "equalizing" policies the consequence of the policies themselves, or the effect of the culture in which they are instituted? It follows that a closer consideration of organizational culture is required to better ascertain how it comes to bear on the gendering of academe. "Organizational culture…doesn't lend itself to measurement. Understanding [it]…requires a certain degree of imagination and creativity" (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2008, p. 35). Organizational culture as a concept brings together knowledge from cultural theory and organization theory on the assumption that culture-based research reveals exclusive information about organizations (Smircich, 1983). Smircich (1983) contends that culture in organization studies surfaces in one of two possible ways, as a "root metaphor" or as a "variable" (p. 339). If regarded as a root metaphor, organizational culture is viewed as "something an organization *is*," and if regarded as a variable, organizational culture is viewed as "something an organization *has*" (Smircich, 1983, p. 347). This distinction helps to elucidate concept of organizational culture.

For instance, Ogbonna and Harris (2000) conceive of organizational culture as a root metaphor, as something an organization is. They regard organizational culture as comprised of three separate domains, specifically, “artifacts, values, and basic assumptions” (p. 24). These domains while distinctive are interrelated and come together to form culture, such that “the components of culture interact in a dynamic fashion with assumptions guiding value that influence the generation of artifacts and so on” (Ogbonna & Harris, 2000, p. 24). Contrastingly, Alvesson and Sveningsson (2008) conceive of organizational culture as a variable, as something an organization has. They base their analysis of organizational culture on a theoretical model devised by Hatch and Schultz (2002) rooted in the “I” and “Me” paradigms of Mead’s social identity theory. Hatch and Schultz (2002) distinguish the Me, that is “the self a person is aware of,” from the I, the “something that is not given in the ‘me’” (p. 993), and position organizational culture within the realm of the I—that which “is” yet remains indiscernible to the self. They write, “If organizational culture is to organizational identity what the ‘I’ is to individual identity, it follows that, just as individuals form their identities in relation to both internal and external definitions of self, organizations form theirs in relation to culture and image” (Hatch & Schultz, 2002, 997). For Hatch and Schultz, organizational culture and organizational image are reciprocally constituted, despite their occupying different realms, that of the implicit and explicit respectively. From Hatch and Schultz’s model, Alvesson and Sveningsson intimate that those aspects of organizational culture that escape definition are rendered visible by means of their corresponding organizational image.

The concept of organizational culture quietly permeates research on gender/women and academe, itself a ubiquitous phenomenon that underscores theorizations (Martin, 2004;

Tierney, 2008) despite being generally undertheorized (Bird, 2011; Bailyn, 2003; Martin, 2004; Wyatt-Nichol, 2011). Academic organizational culture, when alluded to in the literature, largely emerges as a root metaphor, as that which the university is rather than that which the university has, comprised of specific "artifacts, values, and basic assumptions" (Ogbonna & Harris, 2000, p. 24). Central to academic organizational culture is the centrality and value of gender-blind meritocracy, for example. Bailyn (2003) remarks, "The belief that merit can be judged completely objectively is a fundamental tenet underlying university practices. Hence the thought that to achieve gender equity one might have to reconsider some of these practices is very foreign" (p. 141). She proceeds to observe, "The academy is anchored in assumptions about competence and success that have led to practices and norms constructed around the experiences of men, and around a vision of masculinity as the normal, universal requirement of university life" (Bailyn, 2003, p. 143). For her part, Martin (1994) writes, "Women often have an extra, invisible job; there are demands on women's time at work that are not shared by men and consequently, are often invisible to men…[i.e.] administrative and service activities related to their gender" (p. 410). As suggest these passages, the organizational culture of academe espouses meritocratic and gender-neutral values that have a discriminatory effect for women. The culture of academe continues to resist its acquired gendered dimension and with it, the implications it perpetuates. In so doing, it contributes to the enduring inhospitable organizational environment for women.

In this chapter, my aim has been to lay the foundation for my research on the concept of women's underrepresentation in academe. I have presented the concept of women's underrepresentation as multifaceted and value-laden. Through my review of literature on feminist organization research, I have touched on the difficult relationship between feminist theory and organization theory, the core assumptions of a feminist theory of organizations, as well as the meta-theories that describe the field of feminist organization research. I have proceeded to examine concepts central to feminist theorizing, that is, gender as a kind and women as a group, drawing from philosophy and political studies to unpack the "interpretive tools" (Haslanger, 2017, p. 158) of women's underrepresentation. Finally, I have put forward the academic organizational environment as suitable for a critical exploration on the concept of women's underrepresentation, the organizational terrain of academe emerging as a site where women are marked and positioned as "disadvantaged." As such, the literature and concepts explored in this chapter mean to offer a perspective of the proposed research landscape for my project on the concept of women's underrepresentation in academe.

Notably absent from this chapter is a discussion of the concept of representation that I have opted to expound in the chapter that follows, alongside the theoretical perspectives and research design for the dissertation, given that it will serve as a conceptual framework that will guide my research findings on women's underrepresentation.

CHAPTER III

Theoretical Perspective, Conceptual Framework and Research Design

The underrepresentation of women emerges as a recurring and undisputed concept in contemporary scholarship and gray literature pertaining to women in elite research and senior administration positions in academe (Madsen, 2012; Maranto & Griffin, 2011; Tessens, White, & Web, 2011). Women's underrepresentation, or rather, the problem of women's underrepresentation, arises as a systemic issue calling for further inquiry into women's participation and inclusion, particularly in prominent university positions. However, underrepresentation as a concept used and deployed to describe women in academe remains largely unobserved. That is to say, the literature espouses, wittingly or unwittingly, a set usage of the term, thereby effectively normalizing its discursive meaning. Consequently, underrepresentation gains a certain "unimpeachable authority" (Garvey, 2014, p. xi) as a fundamental claim of women's state of being in academe.

Existing scholarship, both within and outside the immediate field of higher education studies, suggests women's underrepresentation to denote a lesser than adequate proportion of women as measured along a single corporeally determined quantitative dimension. Whether explicitly or implicitly stated, women's underrepresentation refers to a lesser than adequate proportion of women in relation to men, whatever the adequate proportion might be—a measure typically left unstated—given a specific population. It follows that this accepted understanding of underrepresentation in relation to the category women, by way of the term's extensive and unproblematized usage in the literature, strengthens its conceptual efficacy and legitimacy.

The current study argues the need for greater conceptual clarity. A departure from existing research that refers to women's underrepresentation, it aims to scrutinize rather than presuppose the meaning of underrepresentation, examining closely the implications of the term's usage and deployment. In so doing, it seeks to disrupt the unproblematized claim of underrepresentation and to expose the restrictive dimension it fixes unvaryingly upon the category it demarcates, in this instance, women in elite research and senior administration positions in academe.

In this chapter, I present the theories, concepts and research design that guide my exploration of this unproblematized claim in the organizational literature. I open the chapter with a discussion on the theoretical perspectives of interpretivism and feminism, finding in their integration a philosophical viewpoint that informs my methodological strategy and allows me to unpack the "confused state" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 8) of women's underrepresentation in academe. I contend that an interpretivist-feminist approach leads to a new understanding of the concept of underrepresentation in academe that augments its conceptual reach to include considerations on representation. I proceed to unpack the term underrepresentation as a discursive concept that defines organizational reality for the groups it designates, an example of organizational language "in use." Touching on theory from organizational discourse studies, I contend that the term underrepresentation and the meaning it has come to hold in organizational discourse confines women's organizational exclusion to their corporeality, the implications of which invite considerations on the political nature of representation. This brings me to the conceptual framework of representation from the field of political science. I contend that it holds the potential to open up the discourse—to broaden the conceptual frame of underrepresentation—and with that, the potential to shift organizational beliefs and culture surrounding women in prominent roles in academe. In so doing, I argue that this augmented understanding informs and theorizes in a meaningful and substantive way the systemic paucity of women in elite research and senior administration positions in universities. I close the chapter with a discussion on the research impetus and the dual-study research design for this dissertation, and I present the research method that I will utilize to explore what is said and what is meant, wittingly or unwittingly, when women are described as underrepresented in the literature.

Theoretical Perspectives of Interpretivism and Feminism

My research approach for this dissertation originates from the integration of two separate yet complementary theoretical perspectives: interpretivism and feminism. By way of definition, interpretivism, a reaction to and dispute of positivist ideas of knowledge and knowledge production, aims to produce research that is "meaning-centered" and based in a subjective experience and interpretation of the social world (Scauso, 2020; Gagnon & al., 2021, p. 3, Crotty, 2020, p. 66). As Gagnon et al. (2021) explain, "Interpretivist studies' aim is to understand the very basis and experience of social reality as this is perceived and constructed by individual actors, rather than transforming that reality" (p. 3). Interpretivism, succinctly put, is the study of the social concerned with meanings stemming and constructed from the situated interpretations of individuals—interpreters—as the members of a social group. Feminism, arguably, presents a greater definitional challenge. As McAfee (2018) proposes, feminism is best understood and explained as both "an intellectual commitment and a political movement" (Section 1, para. 1) concerning largely two sets of claims, which she proceeds to coin as normative and descriptive (Section 2.2., para. 1). McAfee (2018) describes the two sets of claims as follows:

> The normative claims concern how women ought (or ought not) to be viewed and treated and draw on a background conception of justice or broad moral position; the descriptive claims concern how women are, as a matter of fact, viewed and treated, alleging that they are not being treated in accordance with the standards of justice or morality invoked in the normative claims. (Section 2.2., para. 1)

For McAfee (2018), the consideration of these normative and descriptive components creates a framework within which all "forms" of feminism can be mapped out, compared and contrasted, while upholding the dual notion of feminism as both a set of beliefs and a political movement (Section 2.1, para. 6). Conceding the plurality inherent to the "umbrella term" that is feminism, McAfee nonetheless settles on the following by way of a singular, encompassing definition: "feminists are committed to bringing about social change to end injustice against women, in particular, injustice against women as women" (Section 2.4, para. 8).

Indeed, pluralism is inherent to both interpretivism and feminism (Crotty, 2020; McAfee, 2018; Scauso, 2020). Neither theoretical perspective is singular and seamless, without its fissures and divisions, some of which run deep and appear seemingly ideologically irreconcilable. Crotty (2020) cautions, "we cannot facilely lump together theoretical stances whose differences are as striking as their commonalities. Nor can we ignore the differences in social research posture and procedure that these stances call for" (p. 160). In speaking of interpretivism and feminism "in the singular" (Crotty, 2020 p. 160), I do not purport to refer to all interpretivist and all feminist theories. Nor is my aim in this dissertation to provide a comprehensive history and comparison of these wide-ranging theoretical stances. Rather, my goal is to highlight how certain traditions from within interpretivism and feminism reveal a certain complementarity and how holding them in balance may offer new lines of research.[16] I rely on Willis' (2007/2012) exploration of interpretivism along five principles to inform my discussion of interpretivism, and to structure and consider its relationship to feminism. I turn to Harding's (1987) foundational text on the characteristics of feminist inquiry to inform my discussion of feminism. For Harding (1987), "the best of feminist research" (p. 8) extends beyond considerations of method and methodology. She writes, "[T]he explanatory power of the results of feminist research in the social sciences…is due to feminist-inspired challenges to the grand theories and the background assumptions of traditional social inquiry" (Harding, 1987, p. 10). In Harding's (1987) view, feminism has "proposed alternative theories of knowledge that legitimate women as knowers" (p. 3) and thus constitutes an epistemology. For the purposes of my research, I retain a viewpoint that aligns with Harding's respective understandings of feminism, and therefore opt to present feminism, and more specifically standpoint feminism, as a theoretical perspective next to interpretivism. Moreover, I argue that in their integration these theoretical perspectives allow for an opening up the research field to new conceptualizations that produce not only a "revisioning" (Crotty, 2020) but also, greater social balance, much in keeping with Buker's (1990) position, a position further explored later in this chapter.

In his study on the foundations of interpretivist research, Willis (2007/2012, Chapter 4) suggests that there are several foundational areas of overlap or correspondence

[16] Precedent for this integrative approach can be found in the work of Buker (1990), for instance, who explores the relationship between hermeneutics, a stream of interpretivist research, and feminist social theory, suggesting that each draws important contributions from the other. I discuss Buker's contribution later in this chapter.

between the theoretical perspectives of interpretivism and feminism, describing them as "compatible" (p. 28). I maintain, however, that interpretivism and feminism are not so much compatible as they are complementary. That is to say, I purport that each theoretical perspective offers balance to the other, such that interpretivism allows for feminism's potential outside of the realm of critical theory and feminism puts before interpretivism "a value orientation" (Buker, 1990, p. 32) or a clear problematic that directs its practical commitment to social action, a point I will address later in this chapter. In his text, Willis (2007/2012, Chapter 4) unpacks interpretivism along five major principles, namely (1) the nature of reality, (2) the purpose of research, (3) acceptable methods and data, (4) the meaning of data, and (5), the relationship of research to practice. The first principle (i.e. "Nature of reality") constitutes an area of correspondence between the theoretical perspectives of interpretivism and standpoint feminism, based on the acceptance of a socially constructed reality deriving from experience and interpretation. For interpretivists, knowledge arises from "culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world" (Crotty, 2020, p. 67). This knowledge, as explains Willis (2007/2012, Chapter 4), is informed by but not the result of an individual experience and interpretation of the social world. Rather, it is the result of the shared experiences and interpretations of individuals belonging to the social group. He writes, "Humans in groups, and using tools and traditions of the group (including language), construct meaning and thus are able to share their understanding with other members of the group" (Willis, 2007/2012, Chapter 4, p. 3-4). This understanding of knowledge construction bears strong resemblance to standpoint feminism, which puts forth a philosophy of knowledge built from women's experiences (Brooks, 2007, p. 55). A reaction to androcentric and positivist research theories and methods, feminist standpoint epistemology offers an “alternative way of thinking” (Brooks, 2007, p. 56) and knowing that centers on women’s lives, their experiences and interpretations of the social world. And while there is a strong commitment to acknowledging and celebrating the diversity of women’s individual standpoints, there is also openness to their intersections and the “communal dialogue” they form (Brooks, 2007, p. 75). Arguably, feminist standpoint epistemology gives way to a social knowledge building process originating in connection and allyship between members of a social group. It follows that regarding the nature of reality, both interpretivism and feminism accept the notion of a socially constructed reality deriving from experience and interpretation.

The second principle (i.e. “Purpose of the research”) presents a point of contrast between the two theoretical positions. Interpretivism regards the purpose of research as the attempt at understanding and explaining the “social-life world” (Crotty, 2020, p. 66). It is a research purpose largely void of political and ideological ends. Feminist standpoint research, contrastingly, is never without political dimension. As Harding (1987) explains, “the goal of [feminist] inquiry is to provide for women explanations of social phenomena that they want and need” (p. 8). She continues, “In the best of feminist research, the purposes of research and analysis are not separable from the origins of research problems” (Harding, 1987, p. 8), that is, research for women born from women’s experiences and more notably, women’s experiences and negotiation of the political nature of social life. Feminist standpoint research captures, reflects, and arises from the view of the “Other” that occupies the margins. In this regard, it differs from interpretivism in that the purpose of its research emerges as narrower, targeted, not to mention inherently politically charged. But in this manner of distinction, standpoint feminism does not stand at odds with the interpretivist perspective. Rather, it may be viewed as an extension or amplification of the interpretive research process, offering new focus and critical impetus.

The third principle (i.e. "Acceptable methods and data") introduces another point of correspondence between interpretivist and feminist theoretical perspectives. Interpretivism, explains Willis (2007/2012, Chapter 4), accepts and values most any method of research. He states, "Interpretivists are antifoundationalists; they believe 'there is no particular right or correct path to knowledge, no special method that automatically leads to intellectual progress' (Smith, 1993, p. 120)" (Willis, 2007/2012, Chapter 4, p. 15). Rather, what distinguishes interpretivism is a belief in, firstly, the subjectivity of all methods and the data they yield, quantitative and qualitative methods alike, and secondly, the primacy of context in the interpretation of data. Standpoint feminism, in many ways, espouses corresponding beliefs. For example, in her text on situated knowledges, Haraway (1988) argues for a feminist perspective rooted in the "politics and epistemologies of location, positioning, and situating, where partiality and not universality is the condition of being heard to make rational knowledge claims" (p. 589). Here we find in feminist theory the emergence of and reliance upon similar themes of subjectivity and context. Haraway (1988) proceeds to explain the root of rational knowledge, from a feminist standpoint:

> Rational knowledge does not pretend to disengagement: to be from everywhere and so nowhere, to be free from interpretation, from being represented, to be fully self-contained or fully formalizable. Rational knowledge is a process of ongoing critical interpretation among "fields" of interpreters and decoders. (p. 590)

What Haraway recognizes as rational knowledge effectively brings together subjectivity and context in a philosophy of knowledge and knowledge creation. It is this concern with the nature of the data that motivates the feminist method of inquiry, rather than a concern with a distinctive set of feminist research methods (Harding, 1987).

Another point of agreement between interpretivist and feminist theoretical perspectives emerges with the recognition of experience and its various narratives as acceptable data in the construction of knowledge. Crotty (2020) describes interpretivists as having an "unalloyed confidence…in accounts of experience turned up by their research" (p. 159). For his part, Willis (2007/2012, Chapter 4) observes the criticism surrounding interpretivism's acceptance of personal accounts as acceptable data, positivists discounting this practice as wholly unscientific, subjective and disruptive to the advancement of scientific knowledge, whilst criticalists being wary of the tainted and distorted nature of experiences as sociocultural by-products. For interpretivists, Willis (2007/2012, Chapter 4) states, "thoughtful reflections of experienced practitioners are a prized source of knowledge and understanding" (p. 15). As abovementioned, standpoint feminism accepts and values women's lived experiences in the construction of social reality. But what is more, it accepts and invites reflexivity in the practice of research, recognizing the co-created nature of research knowledge as that which stems from a confluence of subjectivities, those of the researcher and their subject(s) of inquiry. Hesse-Biber (2007) writes, "Like the researched or respondent, the researcher is a product of his or her society's social structures and institutions. Our beliefs, backgrounds, and feelings are part of the process of knowledge construction" (p. 129). Some researchers, such as Harding, argue that reflexivity leads to greater researcher objectivity (Hesse-Biber, 2007, p. 131), calling for the researcher to be increasingly self-critical and continuously aware, throughout the research process, "of the multitude of ways that race, class, and gender intersect in the individual woman's lived experience, and to be cognizant and watchful of power dynamics and differentials" (Brooks & Hesse-Biber, 2007, p. 18) and with that heightened consciousness strive for greater balance.

The fourth principle (i.e. "Meaning of data") also establishes correspondence between the theoretical perspectives of interpretivism and feminism. Interpretivism seeks to understand and explain how knowledge comes to bear through subjective experience and interpretation in context. Correspondingly, it rejects the notion of objective and universal truths (Willis, 2007/2012, Chapter 4, p. 5). Similarly, standpoint feminism seeks to understand and explain social reality through women's situated experiences and interpretations, purposefully acknowledging through contextual considerations the resonances of difference that position women socially as the subjugated Other. Standpoint feminism is resistant to universal and essentialist claims. However, like interpretivism, it considers and upholds the role of the social group in the construction of meaning and knowledge. Harraway (1988) summarizes the point of compromise as follows:

> There is no single feminist standpoint because our maps require too many dimensions for that metaphor to ground our visions. But the feminist standpoint theorists' goal of an epistemology and politics of engaged, accountable positioning remains eminently potent. The goal is better accounts of the world, that is, "science." (p. 590)

As Harraway suggests, the notion of a singular feminist standpoint, even from the perspective of the individual, is flawed and unattainable. Indeed, a distinctive feminist standpoint is neither sought nor required to arrive at a construction of knowledge that is inclusive and that legitimates all subjects as knowers despite their gender or other markers of social identification.

The final principle (i.e. "Relationship of research to practice") reveals yet another point of correspondence between both theoretical perspectives under consideration. According to Willis (2007/2012, Chapter 4), interpretivism holds research and practice in reciprocity, albeit "open" and "messy" reciprocity (p. 28). That is, interpretivism gives way to knowledge that resists universal and objective truths observed by means of distinctive research methods—interpretivism results in "understanding in context rather than rules and laws" (Willis, 2007/2012, Chapter 4, p. 25). Context-focussed, interpretivist research does not yield neat and generalizable findings easily "exported" and applied to various different settings (Willis, 2007/2012, Chapter 4, p. 25), nor is it the goal of this research. Interpretivist research results in understanding that serves to inform practice while remaining open and receptive to new experiences and interpretations, that is, new knowledge from the social world. Correspondingly, standpoint feminism regards research and practice as closely interrelated. As Harding (1987) describes, "feminist research…generates its problematics from the perspective of women's experiences. It also uses these experiences as a significant indicator of the 'reality' against which hypotheses are tested" (p. 7). It follows that women's lived experiences of the social world drive the research process and in turn, the knowledge that derives from these "situated" inquiries serves to inform feminist practice. Buker (1990) sums it up, "Feminist theory proceeds as praxis—a dialectic between theorising and acting" (p. 30). As she explains, feminist research arises as a response to an immediate need and want to explicate social phenomena, generating knowledge and theories that are then brought back into practice and tested and adjusted accordingly. To recall Harding's (1987) words, "In the best of feminist research, the purposes of research and analysis are not separable from the origins of research problems" (p. 8).

The consideration of interpretivist and feminist principles, as gleaned from the perspective of standpoint feminism, reveals a correspondence between the two theoretical perspectives that can certainly be read as compatibility. However, as I remarked earlier in this chapter, I regard the relationship between interpretivism and feminism as complementary rather than compatible, each perspective bringing balance to the other in such a manner that opens up possibilities for new lines of inquiry and theorizing. I posit that their integration offers new perspectives on the "confused state" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 8) of women's underrepresentation in academe, augmenting its conceptual reach to include considerations on representation. In so doing, I propose that this augmented understanding is necessary to inform a way through the persistent systematic exclusion of women in academe, one based on gynocentric knowledge stemming from women's experiences.

An Integrated Theoretical Perspective

Buker (1990) explores the relationship between interpretivist and feminist research traditions in her study on the dialectic between hermeneutics, a stream of interpretivist research, and feminist social theory, suggesting that each draws important contributions from the other. She asserts the following:

> A hermeneutical perspective encourages social theorists to articulate their values and to celebrate their political purposes. Feminism invites hermeneutics to reconcile its commitment to tradition with its commitment to practical work by challenging them to transformations of society which will value women. (Buker, 1990, p. 37)

According to Buker (1990), hermeneutics "empowers" feminist research, helping it to (re)claim authority in the construction of scientific knowledge originating from women's lived experiences. It helps (re)focus the research toward the meaningful development of gynocentric knowledge and away from the reducing critique of androcentric knowledge (Buker, 1990, p. 37). Hermeneutics, Buker (1990) explains, accomplishes this in two ways: firstly, through an emphasis on the production of "value based research" (p. 27) committed to the betterment of social life, and secondly, through an emphasis on reflective theorizing, a "stance which takes account of its own purposes in the process of conducting social inquiry" (p. 37).

A feminist perspective, in turn, also helps to (re)focus and (re)direct hermeneutical research by offering it substantive political motivation. Buker (1990) explains, "Without politics hermeneutics loses its purpose which is to address practical social problems. Feminism with its various perspectives—class, ethnicity, age, ideology—is the only present political perspective with sufficient scope to give hermeneutics political direction" (p. 25). In other words, feminism gives hermeneutics a cause. It lays before it a problematic, rooted in an intersectional and thus dimensionally complex understanding of gender as both socially perceived and enacted. "Without a goal, a social purpose," Buker (1990) continues, "hermeneutics reduces human experience to the art of reflection and omits action and transformation" (p. 28). Feminism reinforces the relationship between theory and practice; it is a call to action that demands the consideration for and valuing of women's experiences and the gynocentric knowledge that derives from these experiences. Moreover, feminism necessitates an acknowledgement of gender in the act of reflective theorizing. While hermeneutics like feminism recognizes and values the implications of researcher subjectivity in the research process, little hermeneutical research considers gender specifically in its reflective accounts (Buker, 1990, p. 28). A feminist theoretical perspective, therefore, holds hermeneutics to account, positioning gender at the center of scientific social inquiry.

An integrated interpretivist-feminist theoretical perspective, it follows, would entail research for the purpose of producing and advancing a social theory that is critically constructive rather than critically reactive, rooted in women's experiences, self-aware and committed to social action in support of organizational gender equity and inclusion. The purpose of my study on the concept of underrepresentation in academe is an interpretivist-feminist effort. My research means to build gynocentric scientific knowledge surrounding the social constructionist interpretation of a problematic organizational phenomenon arising from women's participation in academe, and to retheorize the problematic within a broader understanding of women's representation. In this manner, it is both political and value laden. And, as reminds Ahl (2004), "Using any perspective is a political, or value based choice…since all science reproduces or challenges a particular social construction of reality, whether admitting it or not" (p. 33). Here, I set out to challenge the unproblematized reproduction of women's underrepresentation in academe, by first raising questions about the soundness of underrepresentation as a concept.

A Question of "Conceptual Goodness"

In his study on concept formation, Gerring (1999) remarks upon the reputed loose terminology and conceptual ambiguity marring the practice of social sciences. He states, "Semantic confusion throws a wrench into the work of social science.…Concepts seem to 'get in the way' of a clear understanding on things. Our conceptual apparatus seems defective" (Gerring, 1999, p. 361). In the case of the concept of underrepresentation as applied in institutional and scholarly discourse across numerous fields of study to describe and explain the positionality of women in organizations, and more specifically, women in academe, the contrary appears to hold true. The semantic certainty and stability with which the term is relied upon in this discourse secures its place within the lexical field and attests to its overall "conceptual goodness" (Gerring, 1999, p. 367).[17] Yet, in this instance, despite its claimed semantic clarity, the conceptual apparatus remains defective; the concept is unreliable on account of its sound construction, which enables it both to elucidate and to obscure the phenomenon being considered. That is to say, the concept of underrepresentation as it emerges in existing discourse, though ill defined, relates to a factual systemic condition, one that merits full consideration and investigation. By the same token, the use of the concept of underrepresentation discursively binds women to a singular quantitative dimension, captured by conventional binary female/male gender statistics. In so doing, the concept also relegates women's organizational positionality to the margins, their condition defined solely by their lesser than adequate proportional measure, whatever that might be.

Thus, semantic clarity and consistency of use do not obviate the need for the close scrutiny of words, their definition and meaning. As Gerring (1999) attests, "no use of language is semantically neutral. The importance of concept formation…may be glimpsed by the familiar observation that one's results are heavily colored by one's definition of key terms" (p. 359). Accordingly, the process of defining underrepresentation—a key term in the body of organizational discourses under consideration—and exploring its potential for meaning becomes central to the analysis of women's state of being in academe.

[17] According to Gerring (1999), "conceptual goodness" can be assessed along 8-points, namely "familiarity, resonance, parsimony, coherence, differentiation, depth, theoretical utility, and field utility" (p. 367). With the exception of differentiation, underrepresentation as a concept clearly satisfies the demands set forth by Gerring's criteria.

The nature of the word underrepresentation provides a sound starting point for an exploration into its definition and meaning. Underrepresentation is loosely categorized as a compound lexeme;[18] it is a multi-morphemic word composed of free morphemes (i.e. under– and –present–) and bound morphemes or affixes (i.e. –re– and –ation). An example of lexical morphology,[19] it is moreover a compound word formed by the free morpheme "under–" and the stem[20] word "represention," itself an instance of derivation, that is, a word formation involving a root morpheme (i.e. –present–) and derivational affixes (i.e. –re– and –ation).

According to the Canadian Oxford Dictionary, the prefix "under–" carries multiple meanings, be it "below; beneath," "lower in status; subordinate," or "insufficiently; incompletely" (Barber, 2005, p. 1490). The derivational affix "re–" means "once more; afresh; anew," or "back; with return to a previous state" (Barber, 2005, p. 1115) while the suffix "–ation" serves to form nouns "denoting an action or an instance of it," or "a result or product of action" (Barber, 2005, p. 70). Together, they transform the root morpheme "–present–", a verb meaning to "introduce, offer, or exhibit especially for public attention or consideration" or to "appear" (Barber, 2005, p. 1059).[21] The stem word "representation" is defined as "the act or instance of representing or being represented," or "a thing that

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[18] See Dressler (2007) for a discussion of compound lexemes.

[19] Underrepresentation is an example of lexical rather than inflectional morphology, the former denoting an instance in which the combination of morphemes establishes a new word and the latter an instance in which the combination of morphemes entails a grammatical modification.

[20] According to Bender (2013), "A stem is a root or a combination of a root and one or more affixes that can take yet more affixes" (p. 14).

[21] Possible definitions for the root morpheme "–present–" multiply when taking into account its potential functions as either noun or adjective. The same can be said about the word "–under–" if considered from its function as noun, for instance.

represents another, or "a statement made by way of allegation or to convey opinion" (Barber, 2005, p. 1141).

The purpose of this simple exercise in linguistic morphology is not to suggest all the possible viable definitions of the word underrepresentation based on available definitional variations—this would seemingly undermine the very process by which knowledge is established, acquired and shared. Instead, its purpose is to demonstrate the multivalence inherent to words from the basis of their internal structure, thus pointing to the complexity involved in resolving words to meanings. It follows that the definition and meaning of a word can be viewed as neither arbitrary[22] nor fixed, as the above segmentation suggests. Rather, they involve a fluid negotiation within set boundaries—lexical parameters, as it were.

Organizational discourse

Whereas the meaning of the word underrepresentation, as I maintain above, necessarily abides by a finite set of lexical parameters to establish "conceptual goodness," so too it relies on a discursive context that observes[23] the meaning(s) from the word "in use" and assigns it a function. Considerations on the concept of underrepresentation in academe thus turn to thoughts on organizational discourse, and more specifically, academic organizational discourse.

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[22] According to New (1969), Austin would argue, "ordinary words are themselves inadequate and arbitrary" (p. 149). I purport, however, that Austin's own method would disprove this position given that there are boundaries tied to the use of ordinary words within a given lexicon. These are definitional boundaries that cannot be done away with at will. As such, while a firm definition of a term is unlikely, in ordinary language, so is totally arbitrary one.

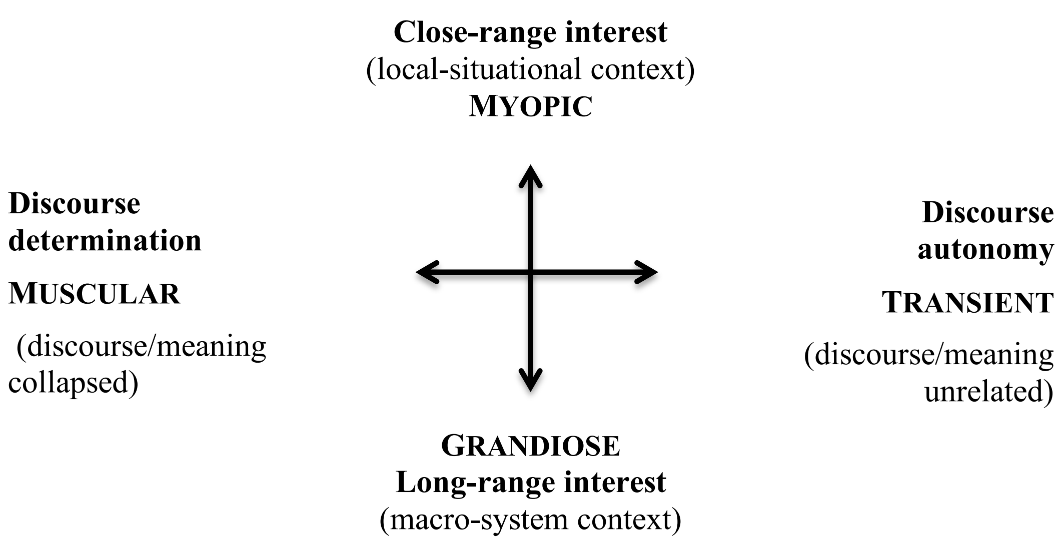
[23] Here I choose the word "observes" as opposed to accepts, which implies a conscious act. In so doing, I intimate that the term remains unproblematized in the literature and everyday use.

The study of organizational discourse presents theoretical and methodological challenges, stemming largely from a lack of consensus among scholars on what exactly is discourse (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000, 2011; Bacchi, 2005; Fairhurst & Putnam, 2014). The term assumes multiple meanings in academic research, lending itself to different definitions per the various ways discourse is examined (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000; Bacchi, 2005). As Fairhurst and Putnam (2014) argue, the study of discourse spans "a broad class of approaches that focuses on the constitutive effects of language; processes of text production, distribution, and consumption; and reflexive interpretive analysis aimed at deciphering the role of discourse in a socially constructed reality (p. 272). Reviewing discourse analysis in organization studies, Alvesson and Kärreman (2000) identify two principal approaches to the study of discourse, and respectively, present two main views of discourse. The first, they propose, regards "the study of the social text (talk and written text in its social action contexts)" and the second, "the study of social reality as discursively constructed and maintained (the shaping of social reality through language)" (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000, p. 1126). The first approach concerns the examination of language as it occurs in daily interactions within organizations, while the second approach pertains to the exploration of language as a determinant of organizational reality.

Alvesson and Kärreman (2000) proceed to develop a matrix that charts along two separate intersecting axes the core perspectives on discourse (see Figure 1). The first axis, labeled "discourse/meaning relation," pertains to the degree of association between language in use and meaning, from strong to weak. They explain, "we refer to…discourse [that] directly implies or incorporates social and psychological consequences as *discourse determination*. We label the other end of the spectrum, where discourse, in principle, stands on its own or is loosely coupled to the social (individual), *discourse autonomy*" (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000, p. 1133). The second axis, labeled "formative range," refers to the environment signaled by language in use, from the micro to the macro. Alvesson and Kärreman (2000) adopt "d-iscourse" to signal the micro dimension, where "language use is…understood in relationship to the specific process and social context in which discourse is produced" (p. 1133), and "D-iscourse" to signal the macro dimension, where "discourse [emerges] as a rather universal, if historically situated, set of vocabularies, standing loosely coupled to, referring to or constituting a particular phenomenon" (p. 1133). With this matrix, Alvesson and Kärreman map the dimensionalities and thereby the extensive range of interpretive nuances that come into play when reviewing literature on organizational discourse or engaging in organizational discourse analysis.

Figure 1

Alvesson and Kärreman's Two Core Dimensions in Discourse Studies



Note. From "Varieties of discourse: On the study of organizations through discourse analysis," by M. Alvesson and D. Kärreman, 2000, *Human Relations*, *53*(9), p. 1130.

Organizational discourse surrounding women's underrepresentation in academe can be examined and charted along either axis. Considering the "discourse/meaning relation" axis, in this instance a case can be argued that the degree of association between language in use and meaning emerges as rather "muscular," underrepresentation denoting a lesser than adequate proportion of women as measured along a single corporeally-determined quantitative dimension. The possibility that the term underrepresentation in the context organizational discourse pertaining to women could hold a meaning other than its current one, and thus a more "transient" discourse/meaning relation, remains wholly unobserved. Regarding the "formative range" axis, interestingly the specific case of the underrepresentation of women in academe, arguably, can be charted at either end of the continuum, depending on the interests and analytic perspective of the researcher. That is, it can be treated as a "close-range discourse," as a phenomenon proper to a local-situational context, in this instance, academe. Or, it can be treated as a "long-range discourse," referring to a more wide-ranging social phenomenon. Taking it one step further, I would claim that both the micro and macro dimensions occur simultaneously in underrepresentation discourse analysis, the macro narrative established through micro discourses. This claim suggests that the continuum drawn along the formative range axis, between "myopic" and "grandiose" discourse studies, may somewhat distort and undercut the constant interrelation of micro and macro discourses.

Bacchi (2005), arguably, touches upon the proximity between micro and macro discourses in her work on "analytic traditions." In a vein similar to Alvesson and Kärreman, Bacchi (2005) also describes the field of discourse theory as unfolding along two "analytic traditions," namely "discourse analysis" and the "analysis of discourses" (p. 199). The former tradition considers discourse primarily from a language-centric perspective, its functionality as communicative medium. The latter tradition adopts a broader view of discourses as the vehicles of sociocultural and sociohistorical schemas that influence our understanding and conceptualization of the world (Bacchi, 2005, p. 199). Accordingly, conceptual alignment may be drawn between the analytic traditions identified by Bacchi (2005) and Alvesson and Kärreman's notions of d-iscourse and D-iscourse. However, Bacchi views the two traditions as closely interrelated despite their separate foci on different aspects and functions of discourse. She writes, "The interests of discourse analysts in discursive structures/meanings indicates sensitivity to the interpretive and conceptual schemas that form the primary focus among those interested in the analysis of discourses" (Bacchi, 2005, p. 200). Correspondingly, Bacchi's view of the relationship between analytic traditions, while striking a parallel with Alvesson and Kärreman's concepts of d-iscourse and D-iscourse, likely would regard the "formative range" axis of their matrix as inherently flawed.

The lack of consensus among scholars on what exactly is discourse and which analytic viewpoint ought to be privileged introduces a layer of complexity to discourse research that when gone unheeded may lead to analytic confusion or lack of clarity. Of further and perhaps more significance to the current dissertation are the implications these separate approaches to discourse, and so the choice between them, hold for the gendered organizational subject. Bacchi (2005) remarks that a tension arises between the two traditions surrounding the agency of the subject, and "whether we ought to think of subjects primarily as *discourse users* or as *constituted in discourse*" (p. 200). The notion of the subject shifts dramatically amid these dueling perspectives of discourse, the subject's power and positioning varying from one end of the continuum to the other, from one who invokes and deploys language with intent to one who emerges as established by and through language in use. Arguably, the discourse surrounding women's underrepresentation in organizations largely intimates the latter perspective, constituting women as Other through a discourse not of women's accord but on the mere basis of their bodily representation read as feminine and thus "lesser than."

Returning briefly to the Canadian Oxford Dictionary, the word underrepresentation is defined as the product of being "provided with inadequate or insufficient representation" (Barber, 2005, p. 1141). The established and now common usage of the word in the literature under consideration appears to correspond with this definition, or thereabouts, that is, a lesser than adequate proportion. However, it is in the relation of the notion of proportion to the concept of representation that the meaning of underrepresentation in the context of women's organizational underrepresentation becomes abstruse and politically charged. That is, proportion here refers the measure of women's organizational inclusion/exclusion by way of their corporeality, the implications of which lead to considerations on the political nature of representation and the corporeal dimension of gender.

The Concept of Representation from Political Theory

What is representation? This deceptively simple question continues to garner much interest among political theorists who, notwithstanding their individual standpoints and theoretical penchants, recognize the intrinsic value of the concept of representation for the study of political thought. Published in 1967, *The Concept of Representation* by Pitkin far surpasses any other text, of and since its time, on the topic of representation in terms of both influence and reach, having acquired an almost canonical status among scholars working on the theory of representation both within and outside the field of political theory (Vieira, 2017, p. 1).

In this work, Pitkin (1967) reflects on the concept of political representation, aiming to resolve, "what representation *is*" by way of "what representation *means*" (p. 2). She uses as a springboard the principles of Austinian "linguistic phenomenology" (Austin, 1956, p. 8) to entertain "the confused state of representation theory" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 8).[24] In others words, she sets out to analyse representation by "proceed[ing] from 'ordinary language,' that is, by examining *what we should say when*, and so why and what we should mean by it" (Austin, 1956, p. 7). In so doing, she espouses a doctrine and method that holds the ordinary uses of language as germane and critical to the development and understanding of philosophical knowledge. On analyses from ordinary language, Austin (1956) offers the following justification:

> First, words are our tools, and, as a minimum, we should use clean tools: we should know what we mean and what we do not, and we must forearm ourselves against the traps that language sets us. Secondly, word are not facts or things: we need therefore to prise them off the world, to hold them apart from and against it, so that we can realise their inadequacies and arbitrarinesses, and can re-look at the world without blinkers. Thirdly, our common stock of words embodies all the distinctions men have found worth drawing, and the connexions they have found worth marking, in the lifetimes of many

[24] Pitkin characterizes her analysis as inspired by Oxford philosophy and the work of J. L. Austin. According to Lesser (2014), Austin believed "the aim of the study of language is not to 'dissolve' problems, but to enable us to see their full complexity and to obtain information that will help towards their solution" (p. 213).

> generations: these surely are likely to be more numerous, more sound, since they have stood up to the long test of the survival of the fittest, and more subtle, at least in all ordinary and reasonably practical matters. (p. 7–8)

For Austin, the words of ordinary language are opaque, ripe with subtleties and infused with history and purpose; they are not to be discounted in the elaboration of philosophical thought but rather contended with, carefully and thoroughly (Austin, 1956, p. 7–8). Only from the investigation of ordinary language can its capacities, its limitations, and its relevance be fully perceived and put to use in the establishment of higher knowledge.

In Austin, Pitkin finds a scientific method aimed at "the careful elucidation of the forms and concepts of ordinary language" (Urmson, 1969, p. 23) and thus, a salient approach upon which to unfold her articulation of the concept of representation. She grounds her investigation in the vocabulary and expressions collected from ordinary language, her field of study extending from the word representation "to the entire family of words on the root 'represent–,' including 'representative' (both noun and adjective), 'represent,' 'misrepresent,' 'misrepresentation,' and 'representational'" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 6), as well as their known alternates. In so doing, she casts representation as a word befitting Austinian-type analysis. That is, Austin did not regard equivalent all words of ordinary language as "good site[s] for *field work* in philosophy" (Austin, 1956, p. 9). In Pitkin's estimation, however, representation as a site of inquiry excels due to its pervasive and controversial usages in both social and political theory. She asserts, "The confusions invite clarification; the importance of the concept seems to make clarification worth while" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 2).

Pitkin's Model of Representation. On the basis of this "language-philosophical" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 8) understanding, Pitkin proceeds to develop a tripartite structure[25] allowing her to observe the different dimensions of the concept of representation. By way of exploring what representation means according to different views, which she tags as "formalistic," "standing for," and "acting for" views (Pitkin, 1967, p. 11), she gains insights into "the making present *in some sense* of something which is nevertheless not present literally or in fact" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 9). For Pitkin (1967), each individual view of representation arrives at persuasive but incomplete account of representation, because each "is partly right, [and] each wrong because it takes a part of the concept for the whole" (p. 38). She deploys a metaphor based on the notion of perspective to further elucidate her viewpoint. Representation, a three-dimensional object, may be photographed from numerous vantage points. Only, these photographs in isolation neither capture the essence nor hint to the wholeness of the object. She concludes, "What is necessary is to interpret each view by identifying its angle of vision, or (to speak less metaphorically) by identifying the context for which it is correct and exploring the assumptions and implications imposed by that context" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 11). From this assertion, it follows that Pitkin supports an integrated understanding of representation that considers the multifaceted nature of the concept.

Formalistic Representation. Pitkin (1967) first defines formalistic views of representation as those "conceiving of representation in terms of formal arrangements which precede and initiate it…[or] formal arrangements that follow and terminate it" (p. 11). The

[25] Pitkin's representation framework is often times described as a 4-part structure. Less commonly, it has been described as a 2-part structure (Saward, 2010). I contend, however, that Pitkin's framework is more accurately described as a 3-part structure, in that she considers descriptive representation and symbolic representation as belonging to 'standing for' representation (see Pitkin, 1967, p. 11).

former, labeled "authorization view," regards the concept of representation in terms of representatives being given the authority to act, ante factum, on behalf of the represented. The latter, labeled "accountability view," regards representation in terms of representatives being held accountable by the represented for their actions, post factum (Pitkin, 1967, p. 11). In both instances, a representative acts on behalf [26] of the represented. Only, the locus of responsibility, as Pitkin explains, shifts from the represented, in the authorization view of representation, to the representative, in the accountability view. So too does the locus of power. Wherein the authorization view of representation situates the power with the representative, the represented left carrying the weight of choices made outside their purview, the accountability view situates the power with the represented, who holds the representative to account. In this sense, Pitkin (1967) considers these views "diametrically opposed" (p. 11).

Their differing perspectives of representation notwithstanding, each formalistic view falls short of the 'whole' concept of representation based on the premise that neither is contingent on the activity involved in representing. Pitkin (1967) explains,

> Their defining criterion for representation lies outside the activity of representing itself—before it begins or after it ends. Indeed, they recognize no such thing as 'the activity of representing'; to represent simply means to act after authorization or to act before being held to account. (p. 59)

So, the question remains: what is representation?

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[26] Later in her text, when Pitkin is exploring the acting for view of representation, she engages in a linguistic distinction between "on behalf of," meaning to act "on the part of" someone else, versus "in behalf of," meaning to act "in the interest of" another. She further explains that this distinction appears to be disappearing. Here, I mean to call upon this distinction to state clearly that what I mean here is "on" and not "in" behalf of.

Standing For Views of Representation. The standing for views of representation, which Pitkin classifies according to two types (i.e. “descriptive representation” and “symbolic representation”) establish representation as that achieved by way of features or qualities, real or figurative, shared by the representative and the represented. It follows that standing for views of representation do not depend on “formal arrangements.” Rather, they augment the conceptual field of representation to account for equally persuasive if more informal associations. Descriptive representation, or “the making present of something absent by resemblance or reflection” (Pitkin, 1967, p. 11), relies on those features perceived as belonging to both the representative and the represented that establish a correspondence and outward likeness between them (Pitkin, 1967, p. 61). In contrast, symbolic representation, “in which no resemblance or reflection is required and the connection to what is represented is of a different kind” (Pitkin, 1967, p. 11), points to the figurative representative-represented relationship in which the qualities of the representative are said to evoke those of the represented. Whereas Pitkin describes formalistic views of representation as being “diametrically opposed,” arguably, it may be helpful to consider standing for views along a continuum of resemblance, ranging from most accurate (i.e. descriptive representation) to most authentic, (i.e. symbolic representation), so as to account for different degrees of perceived association between the representative and the represented. Even so, standing for views of representation, like formalistic views, exist independently from the activity involved in representing, and are therefore found lacking.

Acting For View of Representation. In devising the acting for view of representation, Pitkin seeks to articulate the one dimension she identifies as beyond the scope of both formalistic and standing for views, namely, the activity of representing itself. She describes this view of representation as bound up in those concrete actions taken "in the interest of the represented, in a manner responsive to them" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 209), or put more succinctly, "substantive acting for others" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 143). Theoretically challenging because of its especially broad scope of meaning, the acting for view of representation emerges as largely context-dependent, whereby the terms and validity of the activity itself as well as the authority of the representative performing said activity, in light of the desires and needs of the represented, can only be ascertained when contextualized. Despite the difficulties in defining set parameters for acting for representation, Pitkin warns against adopting too subjective a stance. She states that,

> to the degree that interests, will, welfare, or whatever is supposed to be involved in representing as an activity is regarded as something each man can only define for himself, representing as activity becomes impossible. Only the formalistic, descriptive, and symbolic senses remain. (Pitkin, 1967, p. 208)

Consequently, Pitkin delimits her field of investigation to further her examination of acting for representation, recognizing the need to establish a well-defined context to arrive at valid parameters for substantive representation.

Pitkin's (1967) belief in the "identifiable meaning" (p. 8) of the concept of representation as a complex though coherent whole pervades her text, with every new view revealing yet another dimension, another facet that the previous perspective can allege to neither access nor encompass. Together, these views as she constructs them are meant to capture the whole of the concept of representation. Throughout, representation in the context of political representation provides a "good site for *field work*" (Austin, 1956, p. 9) upon which to explore these dimensions as she has conceived them. But even Pitkin's resolve seems to wane somewhat towards the end of her manuscript. She writes the following:

> To say that all the views…are related in the sense of being views of the same, single concept, is not to say that they are mutually interchangeable...Something absent can be made present in many different ways…but not everything can be made present in every way…Indeed, the perfection of one kind of representation, 'making present,' may preclude the perfection of other kinds in any particular case. And not every kind will even be possible in every context. (Pitkin, 1967, p. 226-227)

This allowance reveals a fissure in Pitkin's integrated conceptual framework. What becomes of representation in those contexts that do not lend themselves to a multi-dimensional rendering of the whole concept? What is representation then? What does it mean if it can only be partially accessed and scrutinized?

Rehfeld's Ontology of Representation. Working towards a contemporary ontology of representation, Rehfeld for his part means to displace if not debunk Pitkin's treatment of the concept of representation as a unitary whole. Like Pitkin, Rehfeld is interested in the concept of representation proper, what representation is. Only, his overarching project—to develop a useful conceptualization of representation that facilitates the meaningful description, measurement, and evaluation of social and political phenomena (Rehfeld, 2017, p. 60)—relies on a process of disambiguation dependant on the refutation of an integrated concept of representation. He proposes, instead, the concurrence of multiple concepts of representation to account for what he considers various distinct phenomena. In Rehfeld's estimation, these "independent ideas" constitute unitary and distinct constructs of representation. He maintains that,

> there is simply no reason to presume that the very different conceptual ideas that these words denote must share some common covering or overlapping idea, not that the creation of a covering concept like "representation" would be of much use to normative and empirical scholarship. (Rehfeld, 2017, p. 58)

Rehfeld contends that trying to preserve a single all-encompassing construct only sustains to the "confused state of representation" to which Pitkin refers in her manuscript. Doing away with this "gross concept" (Rehfeld, 2017, p. 58) of representation, in his view, enhances both the theoretical applicability and utility of each concept of representation, their conceptual goodness, thus increasing the potential for analytic clarity.

Despite his critique of Pitkin, which admittedly goes beyond this one point, Rehfeld's reflections on representation show traces of Pitkinian insight throughout and speak to the deep-seated influence of her text on the study of representation, particularly within the field of political theory. Like Pitkin, Rehfeld's underlying approach to the study of representation is of a linguistic nature. He devises four possible "analytically distinct" concepts of representation, discernible by word class, namely,

> The Represented (noun): those who are 'stood-in-for'; the Representative (noun): individuals who posses the institutional authority or social power to 'stand-in for' the represented…; Represent (verb): the actions that comprise the specific function which a representative had the social power to perform, and lastly, Representative (adjective or adverb): the descriptive correspondence between two things. (Rehfeld, 2017, p. 52)

Arguably, Rehfeld's categories approximate Pitkin's views of representation, the Represented (noun) aligning with the accountability view, the Representative (noun) with the authoritative view, Represent with the acting for view, and Representative (adjective or adverb) with the standing for views. Although Rehfeld's development of each category bears his own mark and serves an analytic purpose all his own, the linguistic observations underpinning his theorizing nevertheless conjure up Pitkin's language-philosophy approach.

Moreover, from this linguistic reading of representation emerges yet another point of convergence, albeit more opaque, between Pitkin and Rehfeld's respective theories. For Rehfeld (2017), the disambiguation of the concept of representation by way of positing multiple concepts of representation likewise hinges on a "pragmatic fidelity to the way we speak," that is, "a condition that limits our use of words to ways that are recognizable to most speakers of the language" (p. 52). Redolent of Pitkin's nod to Ordinary Language philosophy, Rehfeld's stock in pragmatic fidelity further binds his theory of representation to the significance of words and their usage in the establishment of conceptual knowledge. He writes, "our ordinary language is admittedly unclear….[W]e are not looking for 'real' or revealed meanings of words but rather constructing a useful concept that bears a pragmatic fidelity to the way we speak" (Rehfeld, 2018, p. 227). Perhaps seemingly contradictory, this statement actually upholds the appropriateness of ordinary language to convey meaningful elaborations on concepts such as representation. Indeed, the lack of clarity it relates to ordinary language is not regarded as inherent but rather, as a consequence of its misuse, that is, the imprecise or the contrived usage of words, or yet again, unnecessary appeals to archaic terminologies. Therefore, pragmatic fidelity in Rehfeld's work emerges as constitutive for sound concept formation, a necessary criterion as it were, beholden to a systematic albeit commonsensical application of "recognizable" language in theoretical discourse.

The linguistic fundaments guiding Pitkin and Rehfeld's individual conceptualizations on representation establish the centrality of words and their meanings to the development of their respective theories. Language is not only the means through which their work unfolds, but also "the substance *upon which*" (Gerring, 1999, p. 359) their work entails. Essentially, words are the subject of their investigations, their precision of use and soundness of meaning foci for their evaluations. Irrespective of Pitkin and Rehfeld's individual findings and conclusions, the ordinary words of representation constitute their analytic starting point. Briefly returning to Austin's philosophy, he famously remarked, "ordinary language is *not* the last word: in principle it can everywhere be supplemented and improved upon and superseded. Only remember, it is the *first* word" (Austin, 1956, p. 11). And so, Pitkin and Rehfeld's analyses augment and inform an understanding of representation in a manner that requires consideration when examining related concepts, such as the focus of this present study, and their potential for meaningful elaboration, that is, supplement and improvement.

Saward's Performative View of Representation. Whereas the individual theories of Pitkin and Rehfeld originate with the ordinary words of representation, the concept as reframed by Saward (2006; 2010) attends to the "performative" dimension of representation as established through iteration. According to Saward, representation's conceptual potential is realized only when it is viewed as the product of a dynamic process through which the terms of the representative-represented relationship are proposed and acknowledged. It follows that his theoretical position diverts the analytic focus from what he designates a "presence approach" to the conceptualization of representation (i.e. Pitkin; Rehfeld), a perspective largely concerned with defining "core meaning" and determining forms and typologies, to an "event approach" that views representation as the product of action, a performance, as it were (Saward, 2010, p. 39). He asserts, "In the event approach… representation is seen as a thing that is done…Here, meaning is implicated in invocation and enactment…it involves a process of citation or reiteration of existing practices and understandings, even as innovations and adaptations occur" (Saward, 2010, p. 42). The performative dimension as expounded by Saward seeks to uncover the constituting force of representation, revealing in its processes a conscious act of proposal and appeal to familiar and repeating patterns of convention so as to elicit acceptance. From his account of the performative, what representation does emerges as conceptually significant as what representation is, if not more so. Guided by this shift in perspective, Saward develops the "representative claim framework," an analytic model designed to expand the conceptualization of representation to include the performative.

The representative claim framework as devised by Saward (2010) derives from a tripartite understanding of the representative process built on a subject–object–referent model (p. 45), or as Saward describes this linear process, "a subject stands for an object which is in turn an account of a referent" (p. 35). To this model, he introduces two additional elements, "maker" and "audience," and in so doing, alters the phenomenon of representation from that which occurs (i.e. a "presence approach") to that which is made to occur (i.e. an "event approach"). He proceeds to outline the progression of the representative claim as follows: "A maker of representations (M) puts forward a subject (S) which stands for an object (O) which is related to a referent (R) and is offered to an audience (A)" (Saward, 2010, p. 37). Following this augmented model, the performative dimension of representation, its staged nature as the enactment of a maker's creation that may or may not be realized successfully at the moment of audience reception, opens up the conceptual field to include aspects beyond statements of fact, or representational forms and types. On the performative aspect of representation, Saward remarks that,

> representing is performing, is action by actors, and the performance contains or adds up to a claim that someone is or can be ‘representative’. To an important extent, representation is not something external to its performance, but is something generated by the making, the performing, of claims to be representative. (Saward, 2006, p. 302)

By introducing the performative to the concept of representation, Saward establishes the claim-making function of representation, thus revealing the concept’s constitutive force by means of conscious invocation and enactment. Saward’s account of the performative invites a return to Austinian language philosophy, Austin’s speech-act theory regarded as foundational to discussions about the performative, his from the perspective of language.

Austin’s Performative Language

“Performative language” is attributed to J. L. Austin, who presents the notion in *The William James Lectures* he delivers at Harvard University in 1955, lectures subsequently reproduced in print and published posthumously under the title, *How to do things with words* (1962). In his opening lecture, Austin distinguishes between two types of utterances, “constatives” and “performatives.” Concisely, constatives denote utterances that describe—truly or falsely—a state of fact, whereas performatives constitute utterances that carry out an action, that “perform,” and are assessable as neither true nor false. Regarding the performative specifically, Austin (1962) states, “The name is derived, of course, from ‘perform’, the usual verb with the noun ‘action’: it indicates that the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action—it is not normally thought of as *just* saying something” (p. 6–7). Examples of performatives he puts forth include the pronouncing of wedding vows (i.e. “I do”) at a wedding ceremony or the naming of a ship (i.e. “I name this ship”) during the christening ritual for a vessel (Austin, 1962, p. 5). The notions of constative and performative utterances, and the dichotomy between them, establish the premise for Austin's heuristic exposition on the "uses of language" (Austin, 1962, p. 100) as captured in the totality of the lecture series. As the distinction between the two types of utterances is scrutinized and proven ultimately inadequate, Austin (1962) lays the groundwork for his "general theory" (p. 147) of speech acts that attends instead to "how many senses there are in which to say something *is* to do something, or *in* saying something we do something, and even *by* saying something we do something" (Austin, 1962, p. 94).

According to Austin (1962), all utterances involve "doing something" (p. 91) and as such fulfill a performative function. His theory of speech-acts comprises three different classes of "overlapping" (Austin, 1962, p. 149) speech acts, namely, the "locutionary," the "illocutionary," and the "perlocutionary." The locutionary act, explains Austin (1962), is a "full unit of speech" created by the sum of performing a "phonetic" act (i.e. "uttering certain noises"), a "phatic" act (i.e. "uttering certain vocables or words" according to syntactic rules), and a "rhetic" act (i.e. using words "with a certain more or less definitive 'sense' and a more or less definite 'reference' which together are equivalent to 'meaning'") (p. 92–94). In essence, therefore, the locutionary act is the act "of uttering" an intelligible and meaningful utterance. The illocutionary act, for its part, pertains to the act of effecting a certain force "in uttering" an utterance. Austin here refers to the notion of "conventional" force, or, the communicative dimension of the speech act that conveys a particular intention and holds a particular rationale in light of context and "weight of precedent" (Millikan, 2005, p. 1). Lastly, the perlocutionary act consists of the act of eliciting an effect "by uttering" an utterance. The effects or consequences of a speech act correspond with its intentionality but may or may not achieve successfully the intended outcome. By way of an example, Austin states, “We can…distinguish the locutionary act ‘he said that…’ from the illocutionary act ‘he argued that…’ and the perlocutionary act ‘he convinced me that…’” (Austin, 1962, p. 102). Speech-act theory, therefore, provides a frame in which to consider the multiple uses of language, each class producing and fulfilling a specific function through action, or doing something, by which the performative and thus constitutive potential of language is activated.

A parallel emerges between Austin’s constative/performative distinction and Saward’s contrast between the presence and event approaches to the conceptualization of representation. Specifically, the constative utterance and the presence approach attend to a descriptive dimension, whereas the performative utterance and the event approach attend to a productive dimension. In both instances, these dimensions arguably arise as the products of theoretical abstraction rooted in separate but ultimately correlated attributes of the conceptual whole. Regarding the constative/performative distinction, Austin (1962) remarks that,

> with the constative utterance, we abstract from the illocutionary (let alone the perlocutionary) aspects of the speech act, and we concentrate on the locutionary…With the performative utterance, we attend as much as possible to the illocutionary force of the utterance, and abstract from the dimension of correspondence with facts. Perhaps neither of these abstractions is so very expedient: perhaps we have here not really two poles, but rather an historical development. (p. 144–145)

Through his general theory of speech-acts, Austin seeks to converge both poles, so to speak; the “new” concern with the performative supplementing, improving, and superseding an analytic philosophical tradition largely if not solely focused theretofore on the constative. In a similar vein, Saward expresses a need to extend beyond a presence approach in the consideration of representation, arguing that the contemporary context demands a more exacting approach that contemplates the concept's intertextual sensibilities. He maintains the following:

> Representation may well have a core meaning…[but] to say that 'representation means this,' pointing to a specific instance or practice, is not the most interesting or important point to make about representation. It is less about pinning down meaning, more about asking how meanings are generated and contested. (Saward, 2010, p. 39)

Saward's claim-based schema, like Austin's speech-act theory at its time of origin, challenges existing ontologies and formulates a new analytic approach that privileges the comprehensive study of an integrated and dynamic conceptualization of representation.

The literature on the concept of representation from within the field of political studies and its relation to language philosophy provides a conceptual framework for the present exploration on the meaning of underrepresentation as it is used in academic organizational discourse and scholarship surrounding women in academe. That is to say, my research means to bring into underrepresentation's conceptual fold the complexities attributed to representation, inferring that what underrepresentation is and does must necessarily derive from what representation is and does. Regarding underrepresentation from a language-philosophical stance that observes the problematic first expounded by Pitkin, revisited by Rehfeld, and reconfigured by Saward, inevitably gives rise to questions concerning the term's unimpeachable authority as a fundamental claim of women's state of being in academe.

The concept of underrepresentation in the context of women's underrepresentation, comprises but part of the conceptual whole. That is to say, an examination into "*what we should say when*, and so why and what we should mean by it" (Austin, 1956, p. 7) with regards to women's underrepresentation also invites considerations on the notions of gender as a kind and women as a social group, both discussed in Chapter II of this dissertation. Indeed, conceptual clarity hinges on the interweaving of these notions; the way in which women's underrepresentation relates gender to the collective and the collective to a specific state of organizational being. This leads to considerations on the political nature of women's underrepresentation. In light of this perspective, an unproblematized understanding of underrepresentation as that which denotes a lesser than adequate proportion of women as measured along a single corporeally-determined quantitative dimension can no longer carry the same theoretical clout. There emerges a confusion surrounding the meaning of underrepresentation that requires clarification, an examination of "*what we should say when*, and so why and what we should mean by it" (Austin, 1956, p. 7). To recall Pitkin, "confusions invite clarification; the importance of the concept seems to make clarification worth while" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 2), such being the case of the concept of underrepresentation in the context of this dissertation. Here, I propose to take up the work of bringing clarification to the term underrepresentation as it is deployed in organizational discourse. To this end, I undertake two qualitative research studies from an interpretivist-feminist theoretical perspective, the findings of which will be discussed using Pitkin's representation framework in the final chapter of this dissertation.

Research Design and Method

Grounding the discussion of women's underrepresentation in a Canadian context, the 2012 Council of Canadian Academies report, "Strengthening Canada's Research Capacity: The Gender Dimension," put forward observations regarding the university environment that guided my research design for this dissertation. The report, which presents the findings of an 18-month study on the status of women in university research careers in Canada, drew my attention initially because relatively little is available by way of research dedicated to gaining a clearer understanding of the "factors" influencing the career paths of women in universities. The report demanded my closer attention because it espoused an unproblematized use of the term underrepresentation much in keeping with the prevalent use of the term in existing organizational literature pertaining to women, both within and outside of academe. An excerpt from the executive summary exemplifies the report's general use of the term:

> Despite decades of women's underrepresentation on campus, gender parity in terms of student enrolment was reached in 1989. Women now outnumber men as undergraduate and master's students, and represent nearly half of all PhD students. Although women have outnumbered men at the student level for over 20 years, these changes have not necessarily been reflected to the extent one would expect in the ranks of the professoriate, particularly at the levels of full professor and senior administration. (Council of Canadian Academies, 2012, p. xiii)

Early on in the report, it was apparent that underrepresentation in the context of the report would retain its normalized meaning and usage, that is, proportionally fewer women in comparison to men as per a body count along conventional binary female/male sex categories. And, any consideration of its implications for the group it designates, that is, women in academe, would remain unobserved.

With my focus directed at the language of the report, I discerned from the same excerpt a subtle hint at a division within the academic organizational milieu at the highest ranks, between researchers and the members of the administration. This division is noteworthy, particularly given the task with which the expert panel overseeing the study was charged. The following question was directed at the expert panel to serve as the focus for their study:

> What policies and what societal, cultural, and institutional, economic, and other relevant factors influence the career trajectory of women researchers in Canadian universities and underlie gender disparities observed in Canadian university researcher's statistical profile, by discipline area, rank, duty/position/stature, salary, tenure, research funding and any other relevant indicator? (Council of Canadian Academies, 2012, p. xiv)

Despite the defined objective of the assignment, which was to evaluate the career paths of women researchers, the expert panel nonetheless felt compelled to broaden their assessment to include a discussion on the dearth of women in senior administration positions in academe. The view of the expert panel, as stated in the report, was that "the paucity of women in leadership positions makes it difficult for other women to envision themselves as leaders.…Mentorship and sponsorship initiatives provide women with role models who defy gendered expectations and offer advice and support" (Council of Canadian Academies, 2012, p. xviii, p. 141). Arguably, the proportionally fewer number of women in comparison to men holding senior level administration positions in Canadian universities, in the view of the expert panel, was suggestive of an unwelcoming organizational landscape for women.

The language-centered observations I drew from the report provided not only a jumping off point for my research, but also influenced the dual-study research design of this dissertation. The expert panel's distinction between women researchers and women leaders in university administration prompted me to consider the concept of women's representation from two distinct angles, as captured by two independent data sets. A dual-study research design, I estimated, would allow for both a more focused and more wide-ranging examination of women's representation in academe. The first of the two studies, presented in Chapter IV of this dissertation, examines the gender dimension of women in elite research positions in Canadian universities through the lens of the Canada Research Chairs Program (CRCP), relying on institutional literature available for consultation on the CRCP website. The second study, presented in Chapter V, considers the gender dimension of women leaders in university administration[27] through the lens of women's lived experiences of the field as garnered from interviews with women in Canadian top research-intensive universities. In both studies, my research purpose was to acquire an understanding of women's representation from within the field, how it is conceived of and measured, so as to uncover the implications of the underrepresentative claim[28] as it pertains to women included in these groups.

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[27] I define leadership roles in university administration as a range of positions, beginning with deans and working up the organizational hierarchy, culminating with the position of university president. I discuss my reasoning for this definition later in this chapter (see *Data Set for Study 2, p. 104)*.
[28] Here, I borrow from Saward (2006; 2010) and adapt his expression, the "representative claim."

Thematic Analysis as Research Method

In order to accomplish my research objective, I selected thematic analysis (TA) as a research method for both qualitative studies. TA is defined as “a method for systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a data set” (Braun & Clarke, 2012, p. 57). Braun and Clarke (2006) describe TA as a “foundational method for qualitative analysis” (p. 78), prevalent in qualitative research yet not recognized widely as a research method in itself. In their view, some scholars regard TA as a research practice or tool used in the context of more established research methods, such as discourse analysis or narrative analysis for instance (Braun & Clarke, 2006). However, Braun and Clarke (2006; 2012) argue for the validity of TA as a research method in itself, maintaining that much of the analyses performed under the guises of more established or recognized qualitative research methods in fact more closely approximate instances of TA, both in their research purpose and findings.

Braun and Clarke (2006; 2012) go on to describe the benefits of TA as a qualitative research method. They argue that TA offers the researcher “accessibility” and “flexibility” beyond that of other qualitative research methods (Braun & Clarke, 2012, p. 58). Specifically, TA allows for a systematic approach to data analysis outside specific theoretical or conceptual frameworks; it independently takes shape along the perspective selected by the researcher as most relevant to the research purpose and question. As Braun and Clarke (2012) emphasize and portray advantageously, “TA is *only* a method of data analysis” (p. 58), thereby lending itself to broad applications in a variety of fields of research. The accessibility of TA ties in to its flexibility as a research method. Braun and Clarke (2012) explain that TA can assume many forms, based on the “choices” it places before the researcher for consideration. They further elucidate:

> TA has the ability to straddle three main continua along which qualitative research approaches can be located: inductive versus deductive or theory-driven data coding and analysis, an experiential versus critical orientation to data, and an essentialist versus constructionist theoretical perspective. Where the researcher locates their research on each of these continua carries a particular set of assumptions, and this delimits what can and cannot be said in relation to the data as well as how data can and should be interpreted. (Braun and Clarke, 2012, p. 58)

It follows that TA fulfills a wide range of research purposes on account of its accessibility and flexibility. Correspondingly, in order for TA to emerge as an effective research method, it requires the researcher to clarify their positioning along the three continua so as to qualify the analysis that they will produce. Braun and Clarke (2012) stipulate that these choices do not present either-or propositions for the researcher but rather operate within ranges that help to define and orient the researcher’s findings.

As shown in Table 1, Braun and Clarke (2006; 2012) describe TA as a six-phase process. Throughout this multi-phase analytic process, the researcher is called upon to engage with the data “recursively” to refine the themes shared across the data set, and to deliver a persuasive final analysis that relates back to the research question (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 86). TA consists of a non-linear qualitative research method that begins with an initial familiarity with the data and develops from the continuous realignment of that data throughout the entire analytic process. Analysis continues to occur even at the final phase, the presentation of the analytic findings directly impacting the how the thematic organization of the data is understood in relation to the purpose of the research and the research question, thus influencing whether or not the TA emerges as successful.

Table 1

Braun and Clarke's Phases of Thematic Analysis

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarize yourself with your data	Transcribing data, reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Note. From "Using thematic analysis in psychology," by V. Braun and V. Clarke, 2006, *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*, p. 87. Copyright 2006 by Taylor & Francis. Reprinted with permission.

I proceeded to select TA as a research method for my dissertation on the basis of its accessibility, flexibility and focus. TA would provide a clear multi-phased process for data analysis, while allowing me the flexibility to bring my own carefully considered and researched set of assumptions to the different phases of the analytic process. That is, TA would allow for my critical orientation toward the data, my theoretical approach to coding and analysis, and my interpretation of the data informed by an integrated interpretivist-feminist theoretical perspective and the conceptual framework of representation. TA would also offer the breadth needed to accommodate my dual-study research design, a design that I deemed both relevant and persuasive for the study of women's representation in academe from the basis of the reviewed literature. Lastly, the focus of TA would align with my research objective, thus producing findings best suited to my research question. As Braun and Clarke (2012) remark, "Through focusing on meaning across a data set, TA allows the researcher to see and make sense of collective or shared meanings and experiences. Identifying unique and idiosyncratic meanings and experiences found only within a single data item is not the focus of TA" (p. 57). In adopting TA, I would access a research method that looks to uncover the shared meanings and experiences that qualify the state of being of a collective; in the context of this dissertation, women in senior research and administration positions in academe.

Study 1: Framing the Gender Dimension of Women in Elite Research Positions in Academe. In Chapter IV of this dissertation, I present the findings of my study on the CRCP, which involves the review and TA of gray literature pertaining to evaluations of the program over its multi-year history. My research objective was to ascertain how women and gender are conceived and measured, and therefore "represented," at the level of the institution by way of this literature. The program evaluation reports and related documents that I reviewed and included in my study, I maintain, are highly relevant to the discussion of underrepresentation in the context of women in prominent research careers in Canadian universities. Specifically, the CRCP constitutes a highly prestigious federal funding program that recognizes excellence in research. Canada Research Chairholders are regarded as top in their field, as Canada's foremost academics, and the universities with the greatest number of chairholders, Canada's leading research institutions. It follows that the CRCP's stance on gender, as expressed in the program evaluations and related documents that it has chosen to share on its website, is not only authoritative but also pervasive throughout the Canadian academy; what the CRCP has to say about elite women researchers has tremendous influence and reach.

Paradoxically, the CRCP's stance on gender emerges as all the more significant in light of the stringent criticism it has faced throughout its 20–year history in what regards its perceived inequitable allocation of chairs along gendered lines, largely disadvantaging women researchers. This criticism stirred an institutional response from the CRCP that resulted in a gender-based analysis (GBA) of the program in its early years, and multiple assessments of the program's gender dimension in the comprehensive program evaluations that followed. The institutional discourse around gender and the CRCP as comprised in these program evaluations and related documents are the result of this on-going systemic issue, and thus together constitute a rich archive of information for the study of women's representation in academe.

Data Set for Study 1. The data sources for my study of the gender dimension of the CRCP consisted of reports accessed via the CRCP website that detail and evaluate the program's performance since its inception. Additionally, I included into the data set documents related to these evaluations, specifically the CRC Steering Committee

(Committee) responses to these reports. Given the influence of the CRCP gender controversy on the evaluation of the program's performance throughout its history, I included in the data set the GBA of the program as well as the human rights complaint filed against the CRCP, these written records helping to establish the institutional context. Table 2 presents a list of the documents included in the data set. The program evaluation reports vary in length and touch on all aspects of the program; gender is but one component of the program review and typically examined alongside other factors. Generally, the reports present a description or profile of the CRCP, the approach and framework used for the program evaluation, the key findings from the analysis of quantitate and qualitative data, and finally, a list of conclusions drawn from the evaluation process and recommendations. The corresponding response documents prepared by the Committee focus on the conclusions and recommendations presented in the program evaluation reports, and describe if and how the program's governing body would implement changes to the program to ensure its continued effectiveness. Of the data sources included into the data set for this study, the GBA and the human rights complaint differ considerably from the lot, the former consisting of the only CRCP evaluation report dedicated to the study of gender, and the latter, a legal document detailing specific allegations brought against the CRCP for its allegedly discriminatory structure leading to the inequitable treatment of historically disadvantaged groups, as evidenced by the dearth of women chairholders.

Table 2

Study 1 Data Set: List of Reviewed CRCP Gray Literature

Document description	Author	Year
Performance measurement and evaluation framework	Circum Network Inc.	2001
3rd year program review	Hickling Arthurs Low (HAL)	2002
Response to HAL Report	CRC Steering Committee	n.d.
GBA of the program	Nicole Bégin-Heick & Associates Inc.	2002
Complaint filed to the Canadian Human Rights Commission concerning the CRCP	Rosemary Morgan, Legal Counsel, CAUT	2003
5th year program evaluation	Malatest & Associates Ltd.	2004
Response to Malatest Report	CRC Steering Committee	n.d.
10th year program evaluation	Science-Metrix Inc.	2010
Response to Science-Metrix Report	CRC Steering Committee	n.d.
15th year program evaluation	Goss Gilroy Inc.	2016
Response to Goss Gilroy Report	CRC Steering Committee	n.d.

From these data sources, I set out to examine and trace, by means of TA, the gender dimension of the CRCP by analyzing the shape and measure of gender as articulated in and conveyed by institutional discourse surrounding the program. Following the multi-phase structure of TA, I proceeded to systematically review and code the data sources by identifying "where" the topics of women and gender were broached in the gray literature, using the keywords "women" and "gender," and then advanced to determine "how" they were discussed. A search of the evaluation reports and corresponding institutional responses yielded over 200 mentions of the keywords combined, which I then proceeded to analyze thematically to ascertain their meaning within the broader context of the documents. I purposefully reviewed the evaluation reports and institutional responses in chronological order, beginning with the earliest, anticipating that the institutional discourse would change or evolve in some way over time. My research objective for this study was not to evaluate so much as to uncover the conceptualization of women's representation as established in gray literature on the CRCP, so as to better ascertain its implications for elite women researchers in academe.

Study 2: Framing the Gender Dimension of Women in Senior Administration Positions in Academe. In Chapter V of this dissertation, I present the findings of my study and TA on women in senior administration careers in Canada's top research universities. My research objective for this second study was to access women's understanding of their individual organizational identity and organizational representation in academe so as to establish how gender is constructed and articulated from the basis of women's lived experienced within academe. To this end, I conducted semi-structured interviews with women holding leadership positions in administration in Canadian research-intensive universities, concentrating on the notions of organizational identity and organizational representation to help guide the conversations with respondents.[29] I worked from interview transcripts to organize and analyze respondents' remarks thematically, centering on statements pertaining to women's organizational state of being. In so doing, I sought to gain access to gynocentric knowledge constructed from women's lived experiences, a partial "view from somewhere," so as to admit their "situated knowledges" into the consideration of the concept of underrepresentation as it has come to mark and position women in academe (Haraway, 1988, p. 590). Again, my overarching research objective was to arrive at an

[29] Also discussed in the context of these interviews was the topic of personal academic homepages. Due to a shift in research focus for this dissertation, responses pertaining to personal academic homepages were disregarded at the data analysis phase.

arguably more complete understanding of what is meant and deployed by the concept of women's underrepresentation by discerning what is understood as women's representation.

Data Set for Study 2. I began the interview participant selection process by defining eligibility criteria for interview participants. Firstly, I defined senior administration in academe as a range of positions, beginning with deans and working up the organizational hierarchy, culminating with the position of university president. This definition is somewhat narrower than the definition of senior administration espoused by the Senior Women Academic Administrators of Canada (n.d), which also includes directors of research institutes or other academic units in this group. My purpose for restricting the definition was to achieve a certain balance across the data set, research institutes and other academic units varying considerably in both number and structure among different universities. I then proceeded to create a list of research-intensive universities in Canada. To this end, I referred to the annual ranking by RE$EARCH Infosource Inc. (2015), "Canada's Top 50 Research Universities." My reasoning for this was twofold. On the one hand, I wanted to initiate my search for participants from the basis of a manageable subset of the eligible participant pool. I estimated that the top ten research universities from this list would yield a meaningful sample of eligible participants from which to initiate the recruitment process. On the other hand, I also had an interest in Canada's top research universities given the focus of the first study, that is, the gender dimension of the CRCP. In concentrating my sample to leading research universities in Canada for the second study, I postulated that I could establish a correspondence between data sets, thereby further strengthening the correspondence between the two studies.

Indeed, my original estimation proved correct; this approach generated 130 possible participants (see Table 3), 122 of which I retained as eligible participants.[30] I excluded the eight eligible participants from the University of Ottawa on the basis of the contact I had with the participants in the context of my employment in the Office of the Vice-President, External Relations, at the University. I deemed this prior and potential on-going contact with the eligible participants in the context of my job as a conflict of interest and thus chose to omit them from my study. Upon receipt of ethics approval, I proceeded to reach out to the eligible participants that I had identified for my study via email invitation. A total of 21 eligible participants, or 17%, confirmed their willingness to be interviewed. From these, 10 held positions as vice-presidents and 11 held positions as deans. Together, the confirmed participants spanned six of the nine research-intensive universities included in my study.

Table 3

Study 2 Data Set: List of Top 10 Research Universities in Canada and Total Eligible Participants

Rank	University	Total eligible participants by position		
		President	VP/AVP	Deans
1	University of Toronto		12	5
2	Université de Montréal		8	8
3	University of British Columbia		8	3
4	McGill University	1	6	5
5	University of Alberta		12	3

[30] I inferred the gender-identity of potential participants by referencing the university Web pages where they were featured and by drawing on the use of pronouns used to describe the potential participants in their senior administrative functions. I interpreted the participant's acceptance to participate in my study as a confirmation of their gender-identity as women working in academe.

Rank	University	Total eligible participants by position		
		President	VP/AVP	Deans
6	Université Laval		4	3
7	University of Calgary	1	10	6
8	McMaster University		12	
9	University of Ottawa		4	4
10	Western University		11	4
Total		2	87	41

With 21 confirmed participants for my study, I proceeded to schedule the interviews, offering the participants the option to be interviewed in person, by telephone or video call. I sent participants a consent form as well as an interview guide to peruse in advance of the interview.[31] These documents served the purpose of communicating to participants the purpose of my study, the structure of the interview, the questions that I planned to cover, the measures that would be taken to ensure participant confidentiality and anonymity, as well as details pertaining to the planned use and conservation of the data. All participants gave their consent and chose to be interviewed by telephone call. The interviews took place between July 2016 and January 2017, and ranged between 30 min and 60 min in duration.[32] The interviews were audio recorded and then transcribed using QSR International's automated transcription software NVivo Transcription. The transcriptions were revised and edited orthographically for greater accuracy and consistency, generating a level of detail considered

[31] The original interview guide comprised three segments: the first section focused on organizational identity, the second section, on organizational representation and the third, on personal academic homepages. The final section of the interview on personal academic homepages was omitted from the analysis and findings of the study due to a shift in research focus for the dissertation.
[32] The portions of the interview used for this study averaged 30 minutes in duration. For accuracy, I reference the range of duration of the full-length interviews.

appropriate for TA (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Lastly, the transcriptions were redacted to preserve respondent anonymity.

In this chapter, I have presented the elements that underpin my research process for this dissertation. I have introduced the theoretical perspectives of interpretivism and feminism, which I have brought together to describe the philosophical viewpoint that informs my methodological strategy for an exploration of women's underrepresentation. I have suggested that an interpretivist-feminist approach allows for a new theorization of the concept of underrepresentation that includes considerations on women's representation, and thus holds the potential to disrupt a problematic organizational claim that (re)incribes women as the disadvantaged Other, the "critical gender" (Riley, 1988, p. 18).

With this theoretical perspective in mind, I have proceeded to unpack the final "interpretive tool" (Haslanger, 2017, p. 158), the term underrepresentation, completing the process initiated in Chapter II with my discussion on the concepts of gender as a kind and women as a social group, alongside the necessary motivating condition, systemic sex/gender inequality, of the academic organizational environment. I have examined the nature of the word underrepresentation, considered its conceptual efficacy, and introduced an on-going debate in organizational discourse studies that speaks to the power and persuasiveness of the term as an example of language "in use." In describing the organizational exclusion of women singularly by means of their corporeality, I have argued that underrepresentation as a term "in use" invites considerations on the politics of underrepresentation as they apply to women in elite research and senior administration positions in academe. In so doing, I have suggested the relevance of the concept of representation to my exploration of underrepresentation. I have presented a review of significant research on the concept of representation from within the field of political studies, touching on its relation to language philosophy, which reveals the complexity of representation, and so too, the complexity of what is said and what is meant, wittingly or unwittingly, when the concept is deployed in discourse surrounding women in prominent university roles. I will revisit the conceptual framework of representation in the final chapter of this dissertation (i.e. Chapter VI); it will serve as a guide for the discussion of my research findings.

In the final sections of the current chapter, I have restated my research impetus for this dissertation, and presented my choice of research design and research method. I have outlined the two studies that I have undertaken in the context of my dissertation, the first on the gender dimension of women in elite research positions in Canadian universities as garnered from gray literature pertaining to the CRCP, and the second, on the gender dimension of women leaders in university administration as gleaned from interviews with women in senior administration positions in top ranked Canadian research-intensive universities. In both studies, I have set out to understand the implications of the underrepresentative claim as it pertains to women in academe by seeking out an understanding of women's representation from within the field, how it is conceived of and measured. I have proceeded to explain my reasoning for using TA as a research method to examine the data from each study, TA allowing for my critical orientation toward the data, my theoretical approach to coding and analysis, and my interpretation of the data informed by an integrated interpretivist-feminist theoretical perspective and the conceptual framework of representation. Lastly, I have emphasized how TA as a research method aims to uncover the shared meanings and experiences of a collective, which aligns with my research aims for this dissertation.

The following chapter (i.e. Chapter IV) presents the findings of the first of two studies. This study, as I have mentioned, involves the review and TA of gray literature pertaining to evaluations of the CRCP over its multi-year history. My research objective is to ascertain how women and gender are conceived and measured, and therefore "represented," at the level of the institution by way of this literature.

CHAPTER IV

Framing Representation: Women in Elite Research Positions in Academe

The Canada Research Chairs Program (CRCP) presents a vivid and contemporary case for review when considering the representation of women in elite research positions in Canadian universities. The program provides a rich contextual frame within which to examine the concept of representation through the lens of gender, and more specifically, through the lens of institutionalized gender—gender as conceived by the institution. The program also offers an opportunity to explore the relationship between gender and representation as it regards an elite subset of the Canadian professoriate (Grant & Drakich, 2011, p. 62), that is, the Canada Research Chairholders.

In this chapter, I establish how the institutional discourse of the CRCP constructs and deploys an understanding of how gender is "represented" at the level of the institution. I explore the shape and measure of gender as described in the program's institutional discourse, and how this construct informs and delimits the criteria for women's representation. In so doing, I scrutinize the implications for women researchers in the Canadian academy.

This chapter is organized into three sections. I open with a brief description of the CRCP, its scope and overarching objectives. I proceed with a discussion of the gendered controversy that arises in the early years of the program regarding the perceived discriminatory allocations of chairs. This sets the background for my thematic analysis (TA) of select sources of gray literature pertaining to the CRCP. Specifically, I review program evaluation reports and corresponding institutional response documents available for consultation on the CRCP website. From the basis of these documents, I produce a TA that by brings to light the gendered assumptions that are espoused and deployed in the institutional literature around women's representation.

Overview of the CRCP

Announced in 1999 and launched in 2000, the CRCP is a federal funding initiative aimed at augmenting Canada's research capacity by supporting eligible Canadian higher education institutions to become centres for world-class research through the creation of elite professorships—Canada Research Chairs (CRCs) (Side & Robbins, 2007). These chairs constitute a means to attract and retain premier established researchers and premier early-career researchers who, through their individual notable contributions, collectively impact and intensify research excellence in Canada by "improv[ing] our depth of knowledge and quality of life, strengthen[ing] Canada's international competitiveness, and help[ing] train the next generation of highly skilled people through student supervision, teaching, and the coordination of other researchers' work" (Canada Research Chairs, 2019a). In essence, the CRCP constitutes a core program of a comprehensive national strategy aimed at ensuring Canada's foothold and success in the quickly evolving and increasingly expanding global knowledge economy.

The program began with an initial investment of $900 million in funding from the Government of Canada for the creation of two thousand CRCs to be allocated over a five-year period, specifically by 2004-2005 (Side & Robbins, 2007, p. 163).[33] Additionally, the program also received $250 million in federal monies from the Canada Foundation of

[33] Universities were given up to three years to fill the position after the chair had been allocated. This indicates that the goal of two thousand chairs, while allocated in the prescribed 5-year period, would be expected to the filled by the 8th year of the program (i.e. 2007-2008).

Innovation (CFI), also to be allocated over the same five-year period, to provide research infrastructure support for chairholders (Circum Network, 2001, p. 1). In an effort to recognize and foster excellence in research at all levels of the academic career trajectory, the CRCP was designed around a two-tier chair structure, specifically Tier 1 and Tier 2. Whereas a Tier 1 chair would support an established researcher, a renowned leader in their field, a Tier 2 chair would support a highly promising emerging researcher with potential for world-class research in their field (Side & Robbins, 2007, p. 164). Funding would be distributed to eligible institutions per chair appointment, with $200,000 annually for a period of seven years, renewable indefinitely,[34] for each Tier 1 chair, and $100,000 annually for a period of five years, renewable once, for each Tier 2 chair (Circum Network, 2001, p. 9). Institutions would also receive an additional $125,000 per chair from CFI to cover infrastructure expenses.

From the onset, the CRCP aimed to cultivate research excellence in all fields of research, allocating its funding along three discipline groups instituted as the Canadian Tri-Council granting agencies, with 45 % earmarked for disciplines belonging to the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council (NSERC), 35 % for disciplines belonging to the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR), and 20 % for disciplines belonging to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) (Circum, 2001, p. 7). Moreover, chair allocations for eligible institutions would be proportional to the Tri-Council funding previously awarded them,[35] with a number of chairs reserved for smaller modestly funded institutions in an attempt to ensure an inclusive if not equitable and even distribution of

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[34] This would later change to renewable once. See Circum Network, 2001, p. 9.
[35] A three-year average. See Circum Network, 2001, p. 8.

chairs throughout the country in a variety of degree-granting institutions (Circum, 2001, p. 8). All eligible institutions would be required to submit applications for individual chairs for evaluation by peer review alongside an institutional strategic plan outlining their research priorities to demonstrate how the chair would fit within and contribute to the institution's overarching strategic objectives for research. An excerpt from the Canadian federal budget plan of 2000 captures effectively the original intent of the program in terms of breadth and reach:

> From Memorial University in St. John's to the University of Victoria, the Canada Research Chairs will strengthen Canada's academic research base and help Canada play a leading role in natural sciences and engineering, health, and the social sciences and humanities. They will increase the capacity to generate new knowledge in every part of the country. This outcome is particularly important for Canada's smaller universities as they continue to develop their research programs. This initiative will encourage today's leading researchers to stay in Canada. It will also provide opportunities to promising young researchers from across Canada and attract researchers from around the world to pursue their careers in this country. (Department of Finance, 2000, p. 110)

Twenty years into the program, this multimillion-dollar federal investment toward developing and fostering research excellence in Canada endures. Now regarded a pillar of the Canadian research funding structure, the prestigious CRCP is considered "relevant, successful and well-implemented" (Canada Research Chairs Steering Committee, n.d.-c) not to mention "effective and cost-efficient" (Canada Research Chairs Steering Committee, 2016). As maintain Siler and McLaughlin (2008), "the CRC program represents a substantial infusion of government money and influence into the research practices, graduate programs, and status hierarchies of Canadian academics" (p. 94). The program's permanence speaks not only to the value proposition it brings to the Canadian research landscape and thus the need it fulfills, but also to the effectiveness of its design and implementation that, arguably, ensure the objectives of the program are met year after year.

Gender, Controversy, and the CRCP

The early years of the CRCP program received strong criticism in response to a low nomination rate among women academics (Birchard, 2004; Kondro, 2003; Neuman, 2003; Side & Robbins, 2007; Siler & McLaughlin, 2008). "Women are being left behind in the Canada Research Chairs Program" reads the headline of a bulletin published by the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) in 2001 following the release of the first series of nomination statistics indicating chair distribution by gender (*Women are being*, 2001). The bulletin constitutes an example of early public criticism about the CRCP. It also links the criticism of the program to a broader discourse and inquiry on women and academe. It claims that,

> the data [on nomination statistics] was provided at the request of Wendy Robbins, vice-president of feminist issues at the Humanities and Social Sciences Federation of Canada, along with colleagues Judy Stanley and CAUT's equity officer and legal counsel, Rosemary Morgan. The three women have spent the last several months gathering and collating data on the status of women in higher education. (*Women are being*, 2001, paras. 2–3)

Arguably, the gender dimension of the CRCP commands interest and scrutiny largely as a result of the elevated concerns with gender equality and women's full inclusion in all spheres of life characteristic at the turn of the 21st century.

The criticism emanating from outside the CRCP corresponds with measures adopted by the program early on that suggest the latter's interest in ascertaining the reasons for the low nomination rate among women. Among the first measures is a gender-based analysis (GBA) commissioned by the program's governing body. According to the consulting report,

> in the course of the first three cycles, the Canada Research Chairs Secretariat observed that women appeared to be nominated for Tier 1 and Tier 2 Chairs in lower proportions than men and in lower proportions than might be expected from their representation among Canadian university faculty. Consequently, they requested and analysis of gender issues surrounding the Program. (Nicole Bégin-Heick & Associates, 2002, p. 4)

Notably, years later, Robbins (2010) argues that heavy public criticism and echoes of an imminent human rights complaint motivated the CRCP's commission of the study on gender (p. 7). However discordant the recollections, together they reveal the contentious milieu in which unfolds the controversy on gender and the CRCP.

Although the low nomination rate among women academics triggers the controversy and sustains it throughout the history of the CRCP to present day, the very nature of the program as a federally funded initiative subjects it to heightened scrutiny and criticism. The perceived exclusion of women in the CRCP contradicts the Canadian Government's efforts and commitment toward gender equality, a commitment reaffirmed with the signing of an international declaration in Beijing in September 1995. Canada, a member state of the

United Nations, congregated in Beijing along with 188 other governments for the occasion of the Fourth World Conference on Women—a gathering that also marked the quinquagenary of the founding of the United Nations. From this conference originated the *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* (Beijing Declaration) that called governments in attendance to enter into a commitment to achieve gender equality across all areas of life and to improve the status of women around the world. The Beijing Declaration states the following:

> We, the Governments participating in the Fourth World Conference on Women…[r]ecognize that the status of women has advanced in some important respects in the past decade but that progress has been uneven, inequalities between women and men have persisted and major obstacles remain, with serious consequences for the well-being of all people…[d]edicate ourselves unreservedly to addressing these constraints and obstacles and thus enhancing further the advancement and empowerment of women all over the world, and agree that this requires urgent action in the spirit of determination, hope, cooperation and solidarity, now and to carry us forward into the next century. (UN Women, 1995, 2014, p. 8)

The Canadian Government answered the call by committing to actively work toward improving gender equality across all domains (Human Rights Complaint, 2003). It produced the report, *Setting the Stage for the Next Century: The Federal Plan for Gender Equality*, wherein it declared its statement of commitments, presented its vision, and outlined its objectives, effectually unveiling a "blueprint" for achieving substantive progress toward gender equality (Status of Women Canada, 1995, Executive Summary, para. 18). The federal plan states the following:

> The Government of Canada is resolved to improve the status of women in Canada and around the world by adopting strategies that advance gender equality, that help women attain economic autonomy and well-being and that provide security from violence to their health and person. (Status of Women Canada, 1995, Executive Summary, para. 18)

It follows that the CRCP, a new and sizeable federal funding program launched in the years immediately following The Federal Plan, on account of its reported exclusion of women, called into question the government's resolve. That is to say, the low nomination of women chairs within the CRCP presented as evidence of the Canadian Government's failure to deliver on its commitment toward advancing gender equality in Canada.

While the perceived gender inequality stemming from the low nomination of women chairs presents as compelling evidence, it likewise presents as the symptom of an inherent flaw impeding substantive progress toward gender equality. The CRCP, a federal initiative, adopts a stance and approach regarding gender equality that mirrors the stance and approach of the Canadian Government, which research suggests proves essentially ineffective. According to McNutt (2010), Canada's approach centers on GBA to examine and inform current and future policy to ensure gender equality (p. 6). A perusal of *Setting the stage* verifies McNutt's affirmation. The first objective of the blueprint, "Implement Gender-Based Analysis throughout Federal Departments and Agencies," "informs and guides the legislation and policy process at the federal level and, hence, underpins gender equality in all sectors addressed in the subsequent objectives" (Status of Women Canada, 1995, Executive Summary, para. 9). GBA, a policy instrument used to achieve gender equality policies, means to render visible the differential outcomes individual policies may produce for women and men, and so, point to how policies must be rectified to create gender equality (McNutt, 2010, p. 4). As explains McNutt, “The purpose of gender-based analysis, like all other policy analytic techniques, is to provide good advice to decision-makers. It is not a form of critique but rather an evidence-based policy tool employed to systematically gather data and conduct research” (p. 5). GBA advances the view that gender equality, like gender inequality, is the result of policies, so that a change in policy necessarily produces a corresponding change in its outcome. But as McNutt remarks, “Gender policy equality seeks equality in policy outcomes, not equality in processes or institutional structures” (p. 10). It follows that a gender equality approach centered on policy alone fails to destabilize the gendered relations that underpin and create inequalities in the first place.

For McNutt (2010), in order to achieve transformative results, a gender equality agenda requires an “integrated” gender mainstreaming strategy that combines various policy tools such as GBA and entails a coordinated effort across all sectors (p. 2). The Canadian Government, while committed to gender equality and the principles and values it promotes, appears disinclined to engage in the level of institutional reform required to implement a gender equality strategy such as gender mainstreaming, the consequence of which results in a “current gender equality policy regime [that] advances the mainstreaming of GBA, not the mainstreaming of gender equality” (McNutt, 2010, p. 8). McNutt goes on to argue that the policy equality approach demonstrates a misconception of the sources of gender inequality, a misalignment between approach and desired outcomes, and perhaps most critically, a debilitating limitation to the ability to produce meaningful change. Thus, when the CRCP encountered criticism of gender inequality and turns unsurprisingly to GBA to evaluate its program guidelines and structures, it engaged in an inherently flawed standardized institutional practice that carries severe limitations in its ability to impede structural discrimination.

Bégin-Heick Gender-Based Analysis. Nicole Bégin-Heick & Associates Inc. (i.e. "Bégin-Heick") performed the first GBA of the CRCP in June 2001, a preliminary program assessment commissioned by the CRCP[36] in response to the low nomination rate of women to the program and perhaps also in response to growing public criticism. The following year, Bégin-Heick completed a more comprehensive GBA of the program, an update at the request of the CRCP, the details and findings of which are summarized in a consulting report presented to the CRCP in November 2002. This consulting report is organized into four sections, namely "Program Profile," "Gender-Based Analysis of the Canada Research Chairs Program," "Examination of the Canada Research Chairs Program Success Rates by Gender," and "Identification of Requirements for Data" (Nicole Bégin-Heick & Associates, 2002, p. 2).

The opening section (i.e. "Program Profile") briefly describes the CRCP, its mandate and objectives, as well as its structure. It is significant that the section includes a table listing the respective responsibilities of the CRCP and the recipient universities, that is, universities with chair allocations. The purpose for this inclusion is, however, unstated and therefore unclear. The table establishes governance as the main function of the CRCP, and the recruitment and nomination processes as the core responsibilities of the recipient universities (Nicole Bégin-Heick & Associates, 2002, p. 9).

[36] I have chosen to treat the CRCP (the program) as an entity that includes its governing body. I will only specify the governing body (i.e. the "Committee") when it is significant for the clarity of the prose.

The second section (i.e. “Gender-Based Analysis”) comprises the analysis of statistical “gender data” pulled from available sources. Specifically, data include program nomination statistics from the first eight nomination cycles taking place from 2000 to 2002, and demographic information on the Canadian university population gathered largely from Statistics Canada. Given the high number of chair nominations emanating from the Canadian professoriate, a correlation between the two sources of statistical information constitutes the primary assumption guiding the statistical GBA. The report states the following:

> For the first eight Canada Research Chairs cycles, most (albeit not all) universities drew on their existing professorial resources: 84% of Tier 1 and 74% of Tier 2 nominees were drawn from Canadian universities. Therefore, the Canada Research Chairs cycle results were compared with the complement of faculty at Canadian universities. (Nicole Bégin-Heick & Associates, 2002, p. 4)

The results of the analysis advance a series of observations based on different points of comparisons between the data sets, relying on the validity of the guiding assumption that a direct correspondence exists between the make-up of the CRCP chair nominations and the make-up of complement segments of the Canadian university population, quantified solely on the basis of conventional male/female binary sex demographics. The analysis includes various considerations, for example, female academic pool by academic rank, female CRCP nomination rate by tier level, discipline group, and female award success rate. Ultimately, the analysis directs the lens onto recipient universities and their nomination trends by sex and tier group. The section concludes with a recommendation directed at recipient universities, remarking that “all institutions need to continue to actively recruit and nominate women and some institutions will need to increase their efforts significantly” (Nicole Bégin-Heick &

Associates, 2002, p. 22). As expected, the GBA intimates that a change in practice (or university nomination policy, as it were) is required to produce a different outcome, indirectly suggesting that gender inequality indeed occurs in the CRCP but as a result of flawed nomination processes which are the responsibility of recipient universities.

The third section (i.e. "Examination of the Canada Research Chairs Program Success Rates by Gender") presents the performance rating of the CRCP according to gender, the assessment of which relies on two separate measures, the percentage of nominations by conventional male/female binary sex categories, tier (i.e. Tier 1, Tier 2) and Tri-Council discipline group (i.e. SSHRC, NSERC, CIHR) approved for chairs and the percentage of nominations referred for further review to an adjudication committee. The findings reveal that 15% of the nominations for male Tier 1 chairs were referred to the adjudication committee compared with 7.5% of the nominations for female Tier 1 chairs. In contrast, 24% of the nominations for male Tier 2 chairs were referred to the adjudication committee compared with 30 % of the nominations for female Tier 2 chairs. At the level of nomination approval, the data establish that Tier 1 and Tier 2 nominations for male and female were comparable. Notably, the assessment of success rates omits the total number of nominations by sex category, tier and discipline group, a measure that would expose the considerable gap between the number of male and female nominations brought forward for consideration. Focussed on the selected data for the review, this section of the report concludes, "Overall, the chair selection process does not discriminate against female nominees, as there is little difference in success rates between male and female nominees" (Nicole Bégin-Heick & Associates, 2002, p. 23).

The final section (i.e. “Identification of Requirements for Data”) of the report provides additional information on the statistical data used throughout the analysis. More significantly, it makes recommendations for future program assessments surrounding gender and “other equity issues” (Nicole Bégin-Heick & Associates, 2002, p. 24), although it fails to specify what the latter exactly means. It suggests that the CRCP collaborate with other agencies engaged in similar assessments, so as to learn from them how to best exploit the various sources of data available to them. The report asserts, “A wealth of data exists at Statistics Canada, however, determining what might be useful requires due consideration and an in-depth knowledge of the various data sets available” (Nicole Bégin-Heick & Associates, 2002, p. 24). It furthermore proposes for consultation a list of resources from outside Canada that provide statistical analyses on higher education. As a final recommendation, the report advises the inclusion of qualitative data derived from a self-identification questionnaire of chairholders, “to improve the quality of the data as the program unfolds” (Nicole Bégin-Heick & Associates, 2002, p. 24), and thus intimating the value—albeit nondescriptly—such data could bring to a program gender equality assessment. Interestingly, with its recommendations, the report undercuts the weight of its assessment on the whole, both in terms of its analytic framework and the conclusion it draws. On the one hand, the report argues the adequacy of statistical data in measuring and evaluating the program’s gender dimension and other unspecified equity issues. On the other hand, it calls for “due consideration” and a learned approach to statistical data gathering, therein suggesting the relevance of the context from which the data emanate. Moreover, it proceeds to encourage the capture of socio-organizational data as collected through questionnaires. Ironically, its own approach to gender-based analyses precludes these points of interest altogether, as though they arise independently from statistical demographics, and so, remain secondary or inconsequential to the primary purpose and concern of the assessment. From all accounts, the GBA as presented in the report appears lacking.

Indeed, the Bégin-Heick report offers a partial rendering of the program's gender dimension, but it does so in two regards, both of which are correlated. Firstly, as already argued, the study retains a narrow understanding of gender as that which can be gauged and evaluated accurately and more persuasively, wholly, by means of statistical data centered on conventional binary sex categories. In so doing, it considers neither the gendered organizational climate of contemporary universities in Canada nor the long recorded history of systemic discrimination experienced by women in academe. For example, an excerpt from the report reads as follows:

> Between 1987 and 1998, the number of doctoral degrees awarded to women more than doubled (112%). The number and proportion of female faculty has increased significantly in all discipline groups, since 1980. The highest proportion of female faculty is at the lower ranks, since the enhanced recruitment of female faculty is a relatively new phenomenon. In 1999, only about 14% of full professors were women compared to 31% at the associate and 42% at the assistant professor ranks. (Nicole Bégin-Heick & Associates, 2002, p. 4)

Despite the statistical accuracy of the data presented in this passage, the analysis fails to provide meaningful context, causing the analysis be incomplete and the data to be opaque at best, (mis)leading at worst. Secondly, the assessment advances a particular understanding of gender as conceived and measured by the institution. Here, gender materializes as a dimension read off the body, its nature and measure undifferentiated from conventional binary sex demographics. It is assessed proportionally, be it for instance the proportion of female to male chair nominees or the proportion of female chair nominees to female pool of researchers. Throughout, gender is framed problematically, that is, as an issue in need of assessment and resolution. These assumptions regarding gender at the level of the institution are pervasive, as the ensuing TA of CRCP reports in the final section of this chapter will demonstrate.

Human Rights Complaint. The GBA of the CRCP appears to accomplish little in terms of assuaging public criticism of the program, or bringing about change to the program's gender dimension, as will corroborate the TA of CRCP reports in the next section of this chapter. In fact, criticism of the Bégin-Heick report surfaces shortly after, in February 2003, in a complaint filed to the Canadian Human Rights Commission concerning the CRCP. Thereafter, discourse on the gender dimension of the CRCP heightens to the scale of full-blown controversy.

The complainants, eight professors in the employ of separate Canadian universities across the country, allege the following:

> [The CRCP] discriminat[es] contrary to s. 5 of the CHRA against individuals (academics) who are members of the protected groups set out in s. 3 of the CHRA, in particular: sex, age, race, sexual orientation, colour, persons with disabilities, national, ethnic origin, and family status. (Human Rights Complaint, 2003, The Allegations/Complaints, para. 1)

Their allegations take aim at the program's structure which, in their view, ignores the obligations of all federally funded initiatives surrounding equity measures generally, and gender equity measures specifically following the Beijing Declaration.[37] The complaint states the following:

> Industry Canada has failed to ensure (contrary to the federal government's 1995 Gender-Based Analysis commitment that all future programs would be reviewed and constructed to guarantee gender equality) that the structure of the CRC's is free of gender and other prohibited grounds of discrimination. The failure to ensure a gender-bias free and discrimination free structure is evidenced in the process as well as in the results. (Human Rights Complaint, 2003, Background and Reasonable Grounds, para. 8)

The complainants furthermore contend that the Bégin-Heick report, in particular, ought not refute their allegations against the program given the integral flaw of its analysis that miscomprehends the notion of systemic discrimination and its bearing on the data considered. The complaint specifies that,

> [the Bégin-Heick] report teems with the 'individualistic' paradigm and doesn't put the matter into a historical context.…Of course [the] 'proportion of women nominated for Chairs was commensurate with their proportion within the pool from which nominees were selected' reinforces the existing problem. (Human Rights Complaint, 2003, Background and Reasonable Grounds, para. 18)

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[37] As mentioned earlier in the chapter, Canada, a member state of the United Nations and a participant among the 189 governments that congregated in Beijing on the occasion of the Fourth World Conference on Women—a gathering that also marked the quinquagenary of the founding of the United Nations—entered into a commitment as elaborated in the Beijing Declaration to work toward the elimination of discrimination against women and to take action in favour of realizing gender equality across all platforms.

The complainants' critique of the Bégin-Heick report points to a general discontentment with the manner in which the concept of gender is considered and assessed at the level of the institution, that is, individualistically, an approach that undermines largely any attempt to improve the status of members of the protected groups and to achieve equal rights.

Unlike the Bégin-Heick report that focuses solely on statistical demographics and nomination results, from which it extrapolates observations and draws conclusions about the gender dimension of the CRCP, the human rights complaint looks beyond the statistical results of the nomination cycles, at the program's structure to allege the grounds of discrimination against protected groups, and particularly, women researchers in academe. According to the complainants, the CRCP as a federally funded and regulated program is responsible for ensuring its compliance to the equity provisions set out in the Canadian Human Rights Act (CHRA) and the Employment Equity Act (EEA) as well as to the obligations of the Canadian government further to its commitment to the Beijing Declaration. In this regard, the complainants position the program as fundamentally negligent, it "preclud[ing] equitable treatment of minority interests and issues and allow[ing] the recipient universities to maintain the status quo of disadvantage" (Human Rights Complaint, 2003, Background and Reasonable Grounds, para. 10). In awarding CRCs to universities rather than individual academics or groups of academics, the program by way of its structure arguably renders itself complicit in the universities' failure to meet the obligations and commitments surrounding federal equity assurances, as it were. From this standpoint, the complainants proceed to specify the ways in which the CRCP, structurally, supports an institutional bias against academics from protected groups, women researchers particularly, thereby failing to consider and adopt corrective measures in favour of an equitable awarding practice.

Of the six contentions forming the complainants' allegation, two categories can be extrapolated. A first category pertains specifically to the structural components of the program. It thus implies that informed changes to these components could redress, in part, the gender issues surrounding the CRCP. For instance, the structural exclusion of members of the protected groups[38] from the program could be precluded if, on the one hand, the program recognized the historic systemic discrimination characteristic of the organizational environment where the federal monies were destined, and on the second hand, consequentially integrated corrective processes that levelled the playing field, so to speak, for all eligible candidates rather than feigning equitable awarding practices by treating all applicants "equally."[39] As another example, the structural exclusion of members of the protected groups from the program could be impeded if recipient universities respected the original intent of the awarding criteria as devised by the program and in turn, if the program strictly reinforced said awarding criteria. A cessation of the practice of awarding Tier 2 CRCs to Tier 1 level candidates as a secondary measure to attract or retain world-class researchers would offer assurances that emerging star researchers, the intended holders of Tier 2 CRCs, would gain full access to the total number of available Tier 2 appointments at any given time.

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[38] Protected groups as per section 3 of the CHRA.
[39] This is a central principle of GBA, and later GBA+, the approach favoured and adopted by the Canadian federal Government post-Beijing 1995 to evaluate and redress its programs and policies to ensure gender equity.

Four separate contentions form the complainants' claim against the CRCP on the basis of its structure (see Table 4), that is the dual-tier framework, the awarding criteria, the allocation by disciplinary group, and the open selection process. In order to corroborate their claim, the complainants rely on demographic statistics along conventional binary sex categories to substantiate the inadequacies and discriminatory nature of the program, statistics not unlike those presented in the Bégin-Heick report. Again, as previously mentioned, this standpoint suggests that, in the very least, a restructuring of the CRCP along these four criteria would create meaningful and transformational change toward redressing the program's "gender and other equity issues" (Nicole Bégin-Heick & Associates, 2002, p. 25). In so doing, the complainants' position the CRCP as a gendering institution rather than an institution surrounded by gender issues. This is significant in that it reverts the authority and arguably the responsibility to the program as an institution, dispelling the notion that the liability regarding equity measures belongs strictly with the recipient universities.

Table 4

Contentions on basis of CRCP structure

Program structure	Attributes	Demographics	Outcome
Dual-tier framework	Tier 1 – Rank: experienced researcher/world leaders in their discipline Value: $200K/year Term: 7 years/renewable indefinitely[40]	Fewer number of eligible candidates from protected groups for Tier 1 awards.	Structural exclusion of members of protected groups.

[40] This is no longer the case. At the time of the human rights complaint, the award for Tier 1 chairs was renewable indefinitely (see Circum Network, 2001). Currently, Tier 1 chairs are only eligible for one renewal. In both instances, renewals were subject to peer review.

Program structure	Attributes	Demographics	Outcome
	Tier 2 – Rank: emerging star researchers Value: $100K/year Term: 5 years/renewable once[41]		
Awarding criteria	Flexible practice that allows for Tier 1 candidates to be awarded Tier 2 chairs, as a secondary measure to recruit/retain leading researchers. Tier 1 – Awardees: Full professors Tier 2 – Awardees: Other ranks	Diminished opportunities for emerging researchers and members of the protected groups who are more numerous in lower professorial ranks.	Structural exclusion of members of protected groups.
Allocation by disciplinary groups	Distribution of chairs valuing disciplinary groups differently. NSERC 45% CIHR 35% SSHRC 20%	Greater number of eligible candidates from protected groups in SSHRC disciplines – the least favoured disciplinary group.	Structural exclusion of members of protected groups.
Open selection/ appointment	Unrestricted selection and appointment processes for recipient universities	Lack of oversight and transparency	Members of protected groups left at risk of exclusion

[41] This is still the case. The attributes for Tier 2 chairs have not changed since the inception of the program.

Two additional contentions, which concern the ways in which the CRCP discriminates against members of the protected groups (see Table 5), round out the complainants' claim, namely institutional bias and a misapprehension of institutional culture surrounding the program. These final contentions pertain to specific limitations that, when left unconsidered and unrecognized—as with the CRCP—enable and give rise to the structural inadequacies of the sort outlined in Table 4. In this manner, these final two contentions are best described as foundational rather than structural.[42] Characteristic of a systemic organizational milieu that has favoured historic disadvantage, these program limitations reflect a broader cultural (mis)conception of gender that is not easily redressed through a review of practices and procedures. Instead, they serve to perpetuate inequity regimes, sustaining the balance of power that has established the norm within which the program operates, seemingly successfully. The complainant's write the following:

> The failure of the CRC program to require that the Chairs are selected and appointed in a manner which gives voice to diversity and expands knowledge and policy beyond the existing power elite and interests of a patriarchal international (globalization) policy, precludes equitable treatment of minority interests and issues and allows the recipient universities to maintain the status quo of disadvantage. (Human Rights Complaint, 2003, Background and Reasonable Grounds, para. 10)

It follows that foundational contentions of this nature resist meaningful and substantive change, thus assuming the pervasive quality of such paradigms that come to shape and normalize the culture of organizations.

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[42] This distinction is not made in the original complaint.

Table 5

Contentions on basis of CRCP limitations

Program limitations	Actions	Motivation	Outcome
Institutional bias	Averseness to target-setting according to binary sex categories	Fear of lowering program's prestige by setting targets for women	Discriminatory narrative about women and institutional marginalization of members of protected groups, particularly women.
Misapprehension of institutional culture surrounding the program	Partial statistical demographic analysis to assess and evaluate gender dimension of the program	Demonstrate equivalence between nomination results (by binary sex categories) and the "notional pool" of eligible researchers in Canadian universities (by binary sex categories)	Erasure of systemic discrimination against members of protected groups, particularly women in academe.

The human rights complaint against the CRCP presents the gender dimension of the program in a manner quite distinct from the Bégin-Heick report, in that it reaches beyond partial and individualistic considerations and evaluations of gender to include and address the nature of the gender phenomenon as established by the program, how it originates and to a certain extent, why it originates as it does. In this regard, the complaint greatly surpasses the efforts that precede it in its consideration and positioning of gender. Specifically, gender as a concept and performance indicator emerges from the institution rather than as an issue surrounding the program. Consequently, gender as institutionalized by the program resides inside rather than outside its scope of direct accountability.

Despite its central significance in the consideration of the gender dimension as established by the CRCP, the language of the complaint fails to illuminate a problem of definition that arises commonly in institutional discourses about gender, specifically the muddling of the separate constructs of gender and sex. Returning briefly to the allegation brought forward by the complaint, it states that the CRCP "discriminat[es] contrary to s. 5 of the CHRA against individuals (academics) who are members of the protected groups set out in s. 3 of the CHRA, in particular: sex, age, race, sexual orientation, colour, persons with disabilities, national, ethnic origin, and family status" (Human Rights Complaint, 2003, The Allegations/Complaints, para. 1). From the basis of the complaint proper, discrimination on the grounds of gender, is not argued. Rather, discrimination on the basis of sex, among others, is declared. Interestingly, section 3 of the Canadian Human Rights Act (CHRA) decisively distinguishes between gender and sex. It proclaims the following:

> For all purposes of this Act, the prohibited grounds of discrimination are race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, age, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, marital status, family status, genetic characteristics, disability and conviction for an offence for which a pardon has been granted or in respect of which a record suspension has been ordered. (Canadian Human Rights Act, 1985, pp. 1–2)

Why gender identity and expression are omitted from the complaint proper remains open to question and conjecture. However, the Act establishes language that favours the conceptual precision if not the clarity between the constructs of gender and sex, a distinction the complaint, as written, appears to circumvent.

Further evidence of the complaint's oversight for this conceptual distinction surfaces in its qualification of the sex-disaggregated statistics referenced in support of its allegation against the CRCP. Specifically, the complaint maintains that the CRCP fails to retain and monitor statistical data that pertains to members of the protected groups and their inclusion in the program, with the exception of statistics on gender (Human Rights Complaint, 2003). This assertion blurs the conceptual line between gender and sex long drawn and argued in feminist academic literature, particularly since the rise of second wave feminism. The CRCP, at this juncture in the program's history, collected sex-disaggregated statistical data, not statistics on gender, "gender identity or expression" necessarily encompassing qualitative criteria that extend beyond the limitations of parameters defined by "F" (i.e. female) and "M" (i.e. male). The European Institute for Gender Equality defines sex-disaggregated data as "data collected and tabulated separately for women and men. They allow for the measurement of differences between women and men on various social and economic dimensions and are *one* [emphasis added] of the requirements in obtaining gender statistics" (European Institute, n.d.). This resource goes on to assert that statistics on gender encompass a great deal more than sex-disaggregated data that alone neither capture nor reflect the complex structures of inequality in which data arise and are conceived. Following this definition, the complaint thus misses an opportunity to raise the distinction between the constructs of gender and sex, and correspondingly, the distinction between their measurements and evaluations at the level of the CRCP specifically, and the level of institutions, generally. Such a distinction would permit neither a direct correlation between gender and sex nor the use of sex-disaggregated data as the sole key performance indicator in the measurement and assessment of diversity, inclusion, and equity at the level of the institution. Such a distinction would curb the individualistic usage of statistical data that subsumes and/or equates women to female, gender to sex, holding potentially harmful consequences for members of the protected groups set out in section 3 of the CHRA, in this instance, academics identified and allegedly disadvantaged on the basis of their sex and gender identity or expression, that is, women researchers in academe.

Institutionalizing Gender: CRCP Reports

A review of the CRCP, its scope and overarching objectives, and the controversy surrounding the program's perceived discrimination against members of the protected groups, particularly along gendered lines, provide the context for my study on the gender dimension of the CRCP. My objective for this study was to arrive at a more complete understanding of the concept of representation as it pertains to women in prominent university research careers. That is, I set out to determine how women and gender are discursively conceived and measured, therefore "represented," at the level of the institution. To this end, I worked from the basis of gray literature, specifically, program evaluation reports and corresponding institutional response documents released over the CRCP's multi-year history. I used TA as a method to guide my review of the data sources. As discussed in Chapter III, TA is described as "a method for systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a data set" (Braun & Clarke, 2012, p. 57). Following the multi-phase structure of TA, I concentrated on "where" and "how" the topics of women and gender were discussed in the gray literature. Anticipating a growth or evolution in the gender discourse over time, I chose to review the evaluation reports and institutional responses in chronological order. From the coding phase emerged three clear and consistent themes across the data set, specifically, sex/gender equivalency, proportional equality/equity, and problematizing women. That is, the data sources treated gender and sex as interchangeable categories, identifiable and thus measurable by means of conventional male/female binary sex categories. The measure of equality/equity referred to a proportional relational understanding between the two sex categories, women marked as a "lesser than adequate proportion" when compared with men. Finally, gender as a topic was framed as an "issue," a problem in need of resolution, and women, the "critical gender" and thus, problematic Other. In producing the final analysis, I chose to present my findings following the order in which I reviewed the records rather than by theme. In so doing, this approach allowed me to demonstrate the evolution of the institutional discourse around women and gender over a given period—a period spanning approximately 15 years, as determined by the evaluations and responses currently available for review.

Circum Proposal

The earliest report, prepared by Circum Network Inc. (Circum) in December 2001 for the Chairs/Networks of Centres of Excellence (NCE) Evaluation Steering Committee (i.e. the "Committee") summarizes the findings of a review of the CRCP completed with the intent to propose evaluation options in anticipation of the program's scheduled mid-term (i.e. third year) and final (i.e. fifth year) performance assessments. Arguably, an examination into the CRCP's notion of gender begins with this proposal that suggests how gender is viewed and positioned as an organizational phenomenon and measurable performance criterion within the program's overall evaluation framework.[43]

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[43] While an argument can be made that these suggestions are a reflection of Circum and not the CRCP, an equally convincing argument can be made that Circum is an authority in the field entrusted by the CRCP to undertake this evaluation, and to this end, reflects trends in the "field" as to how gender is conceived of and measured. Another argument that can be made is that Circum, from the basis of the materials it was provided by the CRCP, generated

Following a review of CRCP materials, interviews with key informants, and a review of existing literature, and in compliance with program evaluation standards as set forth by the Treasury Board of Canada, Circum identifies three categories of issues along which to organize the CRCP's future evaluation framework, namely, process issues, short-term impact issues and long-term impact issues (Circum Network, 2001, p. iv). The proposal categorizes gender equity as a process issue. Other process issues include the following: "program take-up, the allocation formula, the peer review process, selection criteria, … the disposition of reserve chairs through an open competition and the efficiency of the CFI and CRC interface" (Circum Network, 2001, p. iv). Together with the program take-up and allocation formula, gender equity rates high on the priority scale and is recommended for evaluation at both the third year and fifth year marks. Although the proposal recognizes gender equity to be a "complex issue," gender equity as a process issue for evaluation is kept to one assessment question, that is, "does the make-up of the pool of Chairs holders reflect an effort to attribute Chairs equitably between genders?" (Circum Network, 2001, p. 15), and measured along two performance indicators, specifically, the "proportion of women among chair nominations and awards compared to the proportion of women among feeder groups, and reasons for lack of female nominations" (Circum Network, 2001, p. 26). The proposal proceeds to reference a special study on the CRCP's gender dimension authored by Bégin-Heick,[44] and recommends

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this as a plausible and reasonable approach to gender—so this approach would be "in-line" and substantiated by the reference materials they were provided with to complete their program review.

[44] Given the timeframe, this refers to the preliminary report completed by Bégin-Heick that analyzed data from the first three nomination cycles of the CRCP. A copy of this document has not been found for review. It is however referenced in the more comprehensive report completed by Bégin-Heick the following year (2002, p. 6).

that the program's gender equity evaluation include similar "special studies" at both the third year and fifth year intervals (Circum Network, 2001, p. 35).

This proposal, even when considered in isolation from other available reports and response documents, reveals basic assumptions about the gender dimension from the perspective of the program as an institution,[45] what gender entails and how it is measured, and upholds these assumptions despite acknowledging the "high priority" need for a closer and more specialized learned assessment (Circum Network, 2001, p. 35). In so doing, it suggests that these assumptions are accepted and sound premises upon which further inquiries are required. The first assumption, the equation of gender to conventional binary sex categories, emerges as a given; neither an attempt at a working definition of gender as a concept nor a discussion about its contentious definition, as established in contemporary scholarship, is offered. This, as previously mentioned, ties gender to the sexualized body and carries serious implications for women, whether or not they fit the preconceived, arbitrary and shifting mould(s) of femininity. The second assumption, based on the first, suggests that gender equity derives from a proportionate "body-count" (Calás, Smircich, & Holvino, 2014, p. 25) between two groups, in this instance, between the "feeder group" of eligible women and the number of women nominated to chair holder status. Gender equity, in this instance, marginally addresses the program's structure and processes insofar as they uphold or threaten the maintenance of an arbitrary demographic proportion, therein implying that this indicator reveals an accurate and complete measure of the CRCP's gender equity profile. A third

[45] Again, here it can be argued that these assumptions reflect Circum's understanding of the gender dimension and not the program's. Only, if the program sought Circum to perform such an analysis, it can also be argued that the program understood Circum to be an authority in this type of organizational assessment.

assumption and final assumption derives from the a priori belief that there exists a dearth of women applicants. This third assumption thus binds the previous two assumptions, in how it quantifies the notion of women and how it understands dearth proportionally, and moreover positions the gender dimension of the CRCP as a problem from the outset.

From the sources of gray literature, it remains unclear whether or not the Committee adopts outright the recommendations of the Circum proposal for the program's performance measurement and evaluation framework. The proposal does not appear on the CRCP's publications webpage, which arguably includes a comprehensive collection of pertinent program assessments and corresponding Committee responses. Rather, the proposal is referenced incidentally in the program's third year evaluation report, prepared by Hickling Arthurs Low (HAL) in 2002 for the Committee, and described as putting forward an initial "broad" evaluation framework further to which is devised a "detailed study plan" for the mid-program review (p. ii). The Circum proposal's level of influence on the program's performance measurement and evaluation notwithstanding, it nevertheless reveals a standard for how gender as a concept is unpacked and managed, how gender is institutionalized as it were, in the early years of the 21st century in Canada.

Any expectation that the human rights complaint against the CRCP would impact visibly subsequent performance measurement and evaluations of the program's gender dimension fades quickly with a perusal of the reports that follow it, specifically at the 3rd, 5th, 10th and 15th year intervals of the program. Discussed here below in greater detail, the reports largely adopt and advance an understanding of gender that aligns with the industry standard as presented in the Circum proposal. The reports on the whole hold the concept of gender to pre-established assumptions, that is to say, gender as that which is read off the body, its nature and measure undifferentiated from conventional binary sex demographics, as that which is accurately read and measured proportionally from a body- count, and lastly, as that which emerges problematically as a gender/women's issue in need of special attention. The program evaluations fail to engage comprehensively and critically with existing reports concerning the gender dimension of the program; they neither question nor attempt to unpack the concept of gender as materialized through the process of institutionalization. As a result, these program evaluations actively and effectively contribute to the strengthening of prevalent notions about gender and to the positioning of gender as a phenomenon extrinsic to the institution, surrounding it as it were, rather than a phenomenon intrinsic to the institution, and thus, of the institution's making.

HAL Report

The stated objectives of the third year program review completed by Hickling Arthurs Low (HAL) are twofold: "examine the structure and operations of the Program; and identify potential adjustments that would improve the likelihood of achieving Program objectives" (Hickling Arthurs Low, 2002, p. 1). The HAL report presents the findings of its review along six topic areas, one of which specifically pertains to gender, specifically, the "distribution of Chairs to women and men" (Hickling Arthurs Low, 2002, p. 3). It maintains that the information gathered for this topic area stems largely from two key study questions, "does the make-up of the pool of chairholders reflect an effort to distribute Chairs appropriately between men and women?" and "what has been the up-take of the Chairs Program and its CFI component" (Hickling Arthurs Low, 2002, p. 2). From the outset, these study questions reveal inadequacies inherent to the review, namely a narrow scope of inquiry that restricts its examination of gender to the notion of chair distribution, and, perhaps more significantly, a (mis)use of language that positions gender as a problem beyond the scope of the CRCP and its governing body.

With the first study question, the HAL report replaces the already questionable notion of proportional distribution with that of “appropriate” distribution, a subjective measure left unaddressed and therefore undefined by the report. What is more, the first study question reduces the program’s sphere of responsibility to that of an effort to act in favour of this elusive notion, that is, the appropriate distribution of chairs among men and women. In so doing, the review effectively releases the CRCP from any accountability to implement viable and proven corrective measures toward greater gender equity. With the second study question, the review identifies up-take as central to the CRCP’s gender problem, surmising that modifications to program’s offerings could positively influence chair attraction and retention among eligible applicants, women and men. Here again, the notion of up-take releases the CRCP from responsibility as it places the obligation with the applicant rather than the institution. From the basis of the key questions guiding the study, the gender problem and thereby its resolution manifest outside the program; the program assumes the burden of attempting to redress gender balance and achieve an appropriate distribution of chairs, whatever that may entail, but nothing more. Its potential to effect change is limited to a sphere of influence.

Organized into three sections, the presentation of the findings pertaining to the topic area dedicated to the examination of gender (i.e. “Distribution of Chairs to women and men”) includes considerations on balanced distribution, program perspectives, and program processes. The first section (i.e. “Balance of Chairs between women and men”) constitutes the core of the report's examination on the appropriate distribution of chairs,[46] and principally consists of a descriptive summary of the Bégin-Heick report, its design and results. The HAL report negligibly critiques the Bégin-Heick report, highlighting a few instances where the author's conclusions might call for further analysis. In failing to examine the Bégin-Heick report with a view to ascertain its merits and/or limitations as it were, the HAL report effectively upholds the authority of that study, both its approach and corresponding assessment of the CRCP's gender dimension, thereby contributing to the perpetuation of the study's underlying assumptions. This section concludes with a brief reference to observations deriving from interviews performed for the HAL report, reporting "a positive attitude in the universities towards ensuring gender balance in their nominations of Chairs" (Hickling Arthurs Low, 2002, p. 10). The report provides no additional framework surrounding the interviews and its components directed at the examination of gender.

The second section (i.e. "Gender difference in perceptions of the program") analyses the results of a chairholders survey. Indeed, here the HAL report distinguishes itself from the Bégin-Heick report, introducing qualitative research tools into its evaluation methodology, specifically a chairholders survey that includes open-ended questions and an interview component with select respondents. In so doing, it admits into its study observations from 499 collected surveys and 85 interviews with a wide range of CRCP stakeholders, namely "program managers, representatives of universities (both with and without chairholders in

[46] Later in the report, in section 4.5.1 to be specific, the term "balance" is used. This term is also left undefined. What is more, the relationship between the terms appropriate and balance is not specified. The reader is left to assume that the report considers the terms interchangeable. This is problematic, given that the terms are in no way equivalent unless explicitly defined as such.

position), representatives of university associations, and researchers who were awarded Chairs but declined to accept them" (Hickling Arthurs Low, 2002, p. iii). Arguably, in what regards the examination of the program's gender dimension, the addition of qualitative data ought to yield findings heretofore unexplored by the Bégin-Heick report that, for its part, espouses the primacy of statistical data and draws its observations wholly from quantitative data sources.

However, as evidenced by the findings presented in this topic area of the report, the qualitative data gathered for the review sidesteps potentially revealing if not pertinent lines of inquiry. In the first section, the report omits details about the interviews altogether, limiting its presentation to an uncorroborated observation. In the second section, the report discusses the results of open-ended survey questions. It focussed on chairholders perceptions about the prestige and value of the chair and about the nomination process, the latter alluding to fair process but falling short of stating it explicitly. The report attests that,

> a higher percentage of women Tier 2 chairholders (26%) than men (%15) expressed concerns with the nomination process. The most frequent comment from women (Tier 1 and Tier 2) responding to the survey was that the position were not openly promoted to all eligible faculty members. (Hickling Arthurs Low, 2002, p. 32)

Interestingly, chairholders' perceptions regarding program equity measures remain unexamined.

The third and final section (i.e. "Gender-related factors") raises one factor, parental leave, in the context of the CRCPs nomination and assessment processes. Review findings suggest that the program fails to explicitly consider temporary shifts in research productivity as a result of parental leave, thus potentially negatively curbing the nomination of women researchers that decide to have children. Despite these findings, the report advances a positive view of the program, as supported by the qualitative data gathered. It maintains the following:

> [The CRCP] is seen by those consulted as a very successful initiative. It is providing universities with an incentive to develop further research capacity following a planned and coordinated approach. It is helping to create and develop centres of research excellence that are leading to a strengthened and more internationally-competitive research environment in Canadian universities and related research institutions. (Hickling Arthurs Low, 2002, p. iii)

In summary, the HAL report, despite its mixed methodology, adopts a study approach that demonstrates the prevalence of established, deeply engrained assumptions about gender and the (mis)comprehension they propagate. It follows that the integration of qualitative data, in this particular instance, falls short of generating findings that validate or disprove earlier assessments. In light of its review objectives as they pertain to the program's gender dimension, the HAL report offers at best a partial examination of the structure and operations of the CRCP, and yields insufficient findings to identify potential program adjustments leading to program improvements in light of gender objectives. The review concludes that "an appropriate representation of women and men researchers among chair holders" continues to present a challenge for the program (Hickling Arthurs Low, 2002, p. 14). Of the five key recommendations presented in the HAL report, one specifically addresses the gender dimension of the program. The corresponding recommendation states, "Given the current profile of Chairs appointments, that the Chairs Secretariat and the universities closely monitor issues related to filling chair positions, including rate of recruitment, attraction and retention, and take-up by women and by men" (Hickling Arthurs Low, 2002, p. 15). Returning to the notion of program "up-take," the review proposes elements such as securing infrastructure support for chairholders beyond the 2000th appointee, broadening funding opportunities for chairholders, amplifying opportunities for spousal employment, and intensifying promotional activities on the international plane. How such structural changes to the program might lead to a more appropriate or balanced number of women chairs remains unstated, and thus, unclear.

This is the report's only recommendation regarding the program's gender dimension, save its concluding statement that reads as follows:

> Universities are making considerable efforts to achieve a balance in Chairs appointments between women and men, but more needs to be done. To assist in this, the Chairs Secretariat should also facilitate the sharing of policies and practices in this area. (Hickling Arthurs Low, 2002, p. 17)

Even in its final remark regarding gender, the review directs the scope of responsibility away from the program and its governing body, assigning the latter the role of advisor to help guide recipient universities in their institutional struggles with the gender issue.

Response of the CRC Steering Committee to the HAL Report. In its response to the findings presented in the HAL report regarding the ongoing dearth in nominations of women to chair positions, the CRC Steering Committee (i.e. the "Committee")[47] voices its discontent. In light of the report's recommendation, the Committee proceeds to instate three corrective measures in an effort to effect perceptible change. Firstly, it determines a need for

[47] The CRC Steering Committee changed its name, formerly the Chairs/Networks of Centres of Excellence (NCE) Evaluation Steering Committee.

the continued gathering of varied statistical data, including the addition of statistical information from universities "on the representation of women and men as Canada Research chair holders" (Canada Research Chairs Steering Committee, n.d.-a, p. 1). Secondly, as a complement to this reporting requirement, the Committee mandates universities develop a gender equity strategy to be integrated into their existing Strategic Research Plan Summary document, a compulsory document required from CRCP recipient universities. In its effort to achieve transparency and accountability, arguably, the Committee insist upon public accessibility of both the statistics and revised plan summaries from universities, to be posted on the program website. Lastly, the Committee calls for the review of its public documents to correct any passages that may be considered to deter women from participating fully in the CRCP. From the basis of these measures, the Committee expects to access the information it deems necessary to obtain an accurate read and to closely monitor the "progress made towards a more equitable representation of women as nominees to the Chairs Program" (Canada Research Chairs Steering Committee, n.d.-a, p. 1). Moreover, it anticipates these corrective measures to yield the information needed to position the Committee for future oversight should progress towards greater gender equity be deemed, once again, unsatisfactory. The Committee expresses no concern or discontent in the manner in which the report considers and measures the gender dimension of the program.

Malatest Report

"The program is on the right track" (R.A. Malatest & Associates, 2004, p. vii), concludes the fifth year evaluation of the CRCP. In what regards the gender dimension of the program specifically, the statement brings to mind questions if not raises serious concerns about the conception of gender at the level of the institution, its measure and assessment, and their implications for women faculty members. Similarly to the third year CRCP evaluation, the fifth year evaluation prepared by R. A. Malatest & Associates Ltd. (i.e. "Malatest") in partnership with Circum[48] draws its findings from multiple quantitative and qualitative data sources. These include statistical reports, stakeholder interviews, chairholder surveys, comparative program analyses, case studies, and data requests from universities. The Malatest report presents the findings of its evaluation along four "evaluation issues" namely relevance issues, overall results/effects, results/effects at the institution level, and design issues (R.A. Malatest & Associates, 2004, p. 12–13). It categorizes gender as a design issue, together with a broad range of topics that include the following:

> The appropriateness of the allocation formula…, [the] effect of the newly introduced corridor of flexibility (which allows universities to use a specified number of unused Chairs for any combination of tier that respects the budget and in any discipline group), …and [the] use of CRCP funds by universities. (R.A. Malatest & Associates, 2004, p. 12)

Further to this elaboration, the notion of design issue remains undefined and therefore subject to conjecture.

The Malatest report concentrates its examination of gender on the equitable distribution of chairs, or rather, the proportional distribution of chairs among women and men as determined by "feeder groups." The report probes, "does the make-up of the pool of chair holders reflect *an effort* [emphasis added] to distribute Chairs equitably between men and women?" (R.A. Malatest & Associates, 2004, p. 58–59). From this evaluation question,

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[48] This goes to the confirmation of the relevance of the Circum proposal in the context of the CRCP evaluation process.

it devises three correlated performance indicators, specifically, “the proportion of women among chair nominations and awards compared to the proportion of women among feeder groups; [the] reasons for rate of female nominations; and, [the] qualitative assessment of universities’ efforts to increase women participation” (R.A. Malatest & Associates, 2004, p. 58-59).

Administrative and university annual reports, GBA, and stakeholder interviews comprise the data sources for these key performance indicators. When taken together, these data sources hint at the potential for new observations regarding the CRCP gender dimension by widening the assessment field to include qualitative elements heretofore overlooked or disregarded by earlier program assessments. However, the observations guiding the Malatest report leave intact established assumptions about gender, bypassing the potential of a broader scope of inquiry. Throughout the report, the gender/sex distinction remains unaddressed, the notion of gender equity as that which is satisfied by a proportionate distribution between feeder groups and nominated chairholders remains undisputed, and gender persists as an issue surrounding the program, one extrinsic to it, as it were.

The role of the Committee in what regards the gender problem transitions from that of “advisor” (as established by the HAL report) to “governing body,” as established by the Committee’s response to the HAL report and the Malatest report. Now, as governing body, rather than advise recipient universities, the Committee scrutinizes at arms length the universities’ implementation of measures dedicated at achieving greater gender equity in their respective nomination of chairs. The Malatest report states the following:

> With respect to the gender balance, the Chairs program’s monitoring of the gender balance among Chairs…indicates that 54% of universities expected to show

> significant growth in the number of Chairs held by women between 2003 and 2005. As of 2003, universities appear to have realized some progress; CRCP administrative data shows a steady change in the percentage of female Chairs from 2000 (14.1%) to 2004 (32.0%). (R.A. Malatest & Associates, 2004, p. 44)

From this, the overall performance of the CRCP in terms of gender equity, while still under the purview of the Committee, emerges quite clearly as the responsibility of recipient universities, thus effectively distancing the CRCP and its Committee from any direct accountability.

Arguably, the report further reinforces the Committee's role by categorizing the program's gender dimension as a design issue. Whereas one might expect a design issue to pertain to elements of the program proper, its structure and processes, in this instance design issues also point to the implementation of the program by recipient universities. The report makes the following observation:

> Stakeholders interviewed in particular with respect to the gender issue questioned the attention provided to the issue of gender parity during the planning *or* [emphasis added] design phases of the program. Indeed, some universities that reported being successful in terms of recruiting women for chair positions identified specific planning concerning gender representation during early stages of implementation. (R.A. Malatest & Associates, 2004, p. 45)

By omitting a clear definition of what constitutes a design issue, the report intimates that planning or design phases may occur at the moment of program implementation, therefore outside the direct reach and accountability of the program and the Committee. Although interviewed stakeholders may have raised questions regarding the gendering structure and processes of the CRCP, these questions are left unspecified in the report and the focus diverted to the recipients universities and their direct influence over the program's progress towards gender equity goals. The Malatest report makes the following conclusion:

> With respect to the gender balance, progress is being made towards the targets identified in the gender based analysis. However, the information provided in the annual reports does not specify the number of expected female chair nominations by discipline. This makes comparison against the targets identified in the gender-based analysis impossible. (R.A. Malatest & Associates, 2004, p. 50)

The study's primary concern, the proportional distribution of chairs among women and men as determined by feeder groups, or more specifically, the demonstrable effort toward such a proportional distribution, continues to be founded upon a partial understanding of gender that derives from existing assumptions left unexamined. Unsurprisingly, the recommendation of the report pertaining to the gender dimension of the CRCP involves greater specificity of collected data and increased oversight of recipient universities. The report suggests the following:

> Increase the monitoring of the gender distribution among chair awards. Specifically, the program should request additional information (through annual reports) about the number of chairs positions expected to be filled by women by discipline and tier group, as the GBA done by Bégin-Heick was specific to discipline/tier combinations. In addition, the program should monitor whether universities are meeting their targets identified in the annual reports. (R.A. Malatest & Associates, 2004, p. 51)

It follows that gender as a phenomenon of the institution persists as that which can be adequately read and measured off the body, a problem that can be resolved by reaching targets, particular body-counts, aimed at achieving proportional distribution.

Response of the CRC Steering Committee to the Malatest Report. The Committee agrees with the recommendation presented in the Malatest report, supporting the notion of increased tracking and monitoring of the gender distribution of chairs. It views the tracking and monitoring of gender balance as reliant on the statistical information collected following each nomination cycle, the annual data collected from recipient universities, and on updated gender research achieved through "periodic special studies" (Canada Research Chairs Steering Committee, n.d.-b, p. 6).[49] The Committee commits to run studies that will expand and refine the gender knowledge collected and considered thus far throughout the history of the program. Specifically, it plans for an update of the Bégin-Heick GBA, as well as for a combination of quantitative and qualitative gender-based studies that aim to yield information about the available pool of women candidates for chairs, the negative views about the program that lead to the rejections or resignations of chairs, the reasoning behind universities chair allocations, and the impacts of the academic career trajectory on chair nominations.

The Committee, however, views tracking and monitoring measures insufficient to address the gender imbalance among chairs. It follows that it commits to further intensifying the level of accountability it demands from recipient universities by introducing penalizations for unmet gender balance objectives. It attests, "The Secretariat will monitor whether and to

[49] The original source document has an error in pagination. Document begins on p. 2, shows two p. 6, and last page of the document is unpaginated. Citation appears on the first p. 6.

what extent these targets [for female chairs] are met. The Secretariat will impose sanctions, such as imposing moratoria on new nominations or removing chair allocations, on institutions that fail to meet their targets" (Canada Research Chairs Steering Committee, n.d.-b, p. 6). On the one hand, the position of the CRCP before the gender dimension of the program appears decisive and resolved to provoke change. On the other hand, the change it commits to enforce as a response to the "persistent gender distribution problem" (Canada Research Chairs Steering Committee, n.d.-b, p. 6), one solely contingent on the notion of proportional distribution, fails to recognize the fractional understanding of gender it elicits. The response of the Committee to the Malatest report suggests that the program's conception of gender at the level of the institution remains much unchanged since the inception of the program five-years prior. More so, it shows that the widespread assumptions driving the institutional mindset on gender persist, arguably thwarting meaningful change toward securing women's full participation in the CRCP.

Science-Metrix Report

The 10th year program evaluation performed by Science-Metrix Inc. (i.e. "Science-Metrix") denotes a discernible shift in the understanding, evaluation, and discussion about gender and the CRCP. With this latest report, concerns regarding the equity of the program, of which gender constitutes but one aspect, replace earlier concerns about the proportional distribution of chairholders along gender lines. By means of adopting new language and concepts, Science-Metrix repositions the discourse on gender in such a manner that further veils the underlying and pervasive assumptions defining how women are conceived and measured at the level of the institution.

Building on an evaluation draft prepared by Goss Gilroy Inc. (i.e. "Goss Gilroy") and in consultation with key stakeholders, Science-Metrix identifies five focal issues that together form its comprehensive program evaluation framework. Equity, specifically, the "equity of the program for the four designated groups (women, members of visible minorities, persons with disabilities, and Aboriginal people)" (Science-Metrix, 2010, p. 8), emerges as one of the five evaluation issues and as the context in which the discussion about gender is positioned throughout the evaluation. For each evaluation issue, Science-Metrix develops research questions to help direct its inquiry, thus designating the scope of its assessment, the priority area(s), as it were. In what regards the equity evaluation issue, the question devised establishes the notion of systemic discrimination as the priority area by asking, "are there any systemic barriers in accessing the program by the four designated groups (women, members of visible minorities, persons with disabilities, and Aboriginal people)?" (Science-Metrix, 2010, p. 9). It follows that the inquiry into the program's gender dimension means to consider those impediments that may obstruct women's full participation in the CRCP, and thus, sets up an expectation that the evaluation will move beyond the matter of proportional distribution, the central concern of earlier program assessments. Furthermore, by introducing systemic discrimination as the priority area of its inquiry on equity, the Science-Metrix report acknowledges of the troubled and complex gendered history of the CRCP up until that point, and produces a meaningful shift in the discourse.

The Science-Metrix report opens its discussion of the gender issue with a reference to the human rights complaint filed in the early years of the program, as well as the Canadian human rights settlement agreement reached between parties in 2006. Without entering into specific details about the nature of the complaint or the terms of the settlement agreement, the report states, "the CRCP agreed to implement a series of measures and actions to address the equity issues…raised [in the complaint]" (Science-Metrix, 2010, p. 111). The report proceeds to suggest, albeit indirectly, that its approach to the examination of equity aligns with the stipulations of the settlement agreement.[50] This alignment, most notably, occurs at the level of language. That is to say, the 10th year report admits into its lexicon terms such as "protected groups" and "systemic barriers," terms readily found in the settlement agreement and largely unobserved in CRCP assessments up to that point. As a result, the overarching purpose of the evaluation issue on equity assumes a new approach to the consideration of gender, to "address the issue of systemic barriers affecting the CRCP that may inhibit access to the program or the success of chairholders who are members of the four designated groups: women, members of visible minorities, persons with disabilities, and Aboriginal people" (Science-Metrix, 2010, p. 111). The linguistic correspondences and the conceptual congruencies between the Science-Metrix report and the settlement agreement demonstrate the direct influence the latter document holds over the former in shaping the design and intent of the evaluation's findings on the program's equity.

The Science-Metrix evaluation adopts a multi-method approach and derives its findings from various data sources including interviews and focus groups, surveys, bibliometric analyses and case studies. The section of the evaluation on equity relies on two separate studies, firstly, a then-current gender and diversity analysis of the CRCP produced by the Higher Education Strategy Associates (HESA) and secondly, a study of equity issues

[50] The report refers to the efforts of the CPCR to meet the obligations of the settlement agreement. While it does not enumerate such obligations or evaluate the CRCP's performance in this regard, the report concentrates on showing what the CRCP has accomplished to date.

completed by Science-Metrix for the purposes of the 10th year report. Findings from both studies form the basis of the discussion about the equity issues related to the CRCP. Interestingly, the report foregoes a description of the HESA study and chooses to offer a descriptive account of the study of equity issues. It states the purpose of the study, specifies its data sources, and stipulates its research foci. The report states the following:

> The goal of the study [is] to assess the extent to which systemic barriers [are] perceived to exist, to better understand the extent to which any biases and barriers are concentrated in the CRCP or mirror those that exist within federal granting programs or academia more generally, and to assess the impacts these barriers have or could have on members of the designated groups in the context of the CRCP. (Science-Metrix, 2010, p. 111)

The study concentrates on data collected from various qualitative interviews and surveys completed by members from the four protected groups to build its observations, which it proceeds to present along research parameters that subsequently come to form the evaluation's key performance indicators for the section on equity. Specifically, the research parameters consist of the following:

1. Presence/absence and systemic barriers and their intersections in barriers and their intersections in CRCP chair nomination, review, or retention;
2. Impacts of barriers that may have influenced the designated-group scholars' capacity to access and succeed in the CRCP;
3. Extent to which barriers are concentrated in the CRCP concentrated in the CRCP or mirror any that are present or pervasive in all federal granting programs; and,

4. Effectiveness of CRCP action to attenuate or redress issues of equity and inequity in its design and delivery. (Science-Metrix, 2010, p. 144)

Although the references to the findings of the HESA study constitute a significant part of the report's discussion on equity, the discussion appears clearly designed upon the study of equity issues performed by Science-Metrix and therefore puts into question the weight and neutrality of the evaluation findings.

The validity of the findings on equity notwithstanding, the Science-Metrix report marks a linguistic and conceptual turn in the study of the gender dimension of the CRCP. With the previous two scheduled program reviews, the HAL report and the Malatest report, the shape and measure of gender as defined in the program's institutional discourse emerge rather discernibly. Fixed to a conventional binary view of the sexualized body and therefore read and measured accordingly, a problem resolved by achieving proportional distribution through gender targets, and an issue that surrounds the CRCP rather than one that is produced by the program, women's representation as defined by means of these discourses informs and delimits women's participation in the CRCP and as such, holds direct implications for women chairholders. With the Science-Metrix report, the shape and measure of the gender construct becomes somewhat obtuse, veiled by a discourse that redirects focus from the topic of sex/gender to the topic of equity. The following report findings, specifically 50, 51, and 51, address illustrate this conceptual move toward equity that necessarily reframes henceforth considerations of the program's the gender dimension:

Finding 50: Systemic barriers were reported by about 15% of chairholders in designated groups. The nature of these barriers is such that they are inherent to all chair programs and the wider academic environment. However, the selection and nomination process used by the universities is a weak point in the CRCP's design in this regard.

Finding 51: The representation of women among CRCP chairholders increased from 14% in 2001 to 25% in 2009. However, women and members of visible minorities continue to be under-represented in medium and large institutions. Data are too limited to assess the representation of persons with disabilities or Aboriginal people.

Finding 52: The measures implemented by the CRCP to monitor equity issues are justified, and they are helping the CRCP to effectively address these issues in its design. Additional efforts by the CRCP and universities would help further reduce or prevent the under-representation of designated groups. (Science-Metrix, 2010, pp. 113–118)

When viewed in light of the human rights settlement agreement of 2006, the report's findings on equity suggest a distinctive effort by Science-Metrix, as commissioned by the CRCP, to expand and deepen its areas of concern. Nevertheless, the edified discourse leaves previous assumptions shaping women's representation intact, undisputed. As establishes the second finding of the report, gender remains equated to conventional binary sex categories, and the concept of representation directly linked to the sexualized body. The reference to the underrepresentation of women and other visible minorities hints at the persistent understanding of equity as being tied to the notion of proportion. As suggests the remaining findings presented in the report, gender continues to be framed as an issue or problem, despite being further defined and expanded upon with the development of the related discourse on systemic barriers. Finally, the problem of gender stays outside the direct reach of the program, and rather emerges as either a result of the ampler academic context or the general procedural ineffectiveness demonstrated by recipient universities. In summary, how gender is represented at the level of the institution, its shape and measure, and how this construct informs and delimits the criteria for women's representation within the program undergoes little to no change in spite of the considerable shift in discourse that occurs with the Science-Metrix report.

The report concludes with a series of recommendations for the CRCP, two of which address albeit indirectly the equity issues identified through the evaluation process, specifically recommendations 5 and 6. These recommendations strengthen the roles assigned the CRCP in earlier program reviews, as an advisory and governing body. They read as follows:

> Recommendation 5: Provide advice and guidance to universities on best practices for CRCP implementation, and establish a formal, accessible, and open mechanism in order to assist chairholders' interactions with the CRCP and/or their universities in cases where there is a perception that the award is not being adequately managed.
>
> Recommendation 6: Require that universities be more transparent in their chair selection and renewal processes to both increase the success of chairholders and minimize unintended effects among non-CRCP faculty. (Science-Metrix, 2010, pp. 124–126)

Again, as previously observed with existing program reviews, this report by way of its recommendations effectively distances the CRCP from any direct accountability towards possible inequitable processes and practices. It plainly situates program performance as the responsibility of recipient universities. Of equal or greater significance, the language of the recommendations, like the language of the evaluation findings, exemplifies a conceptual turn in the discussion that further obscures the understanding and functioning of gender at the level of the institution. Whereas the evaluation findings embed the discussion of gender within a discourse on equity, systemic barriers, and the perceived experiences of members of the four protected groups, the recommendations merely imply an applicability to the equity evaluation issue presented in the report, favouring terms such as openness, fairness, and transparency, arguably redirecting the discourse further away from core concepts such as gender that arguably continue to require close study and careful (re)consideration.

Response of the CRC Steering Committee to the Science-Metrix report's recommendations on equity. The Committee acknowledges the two recommendations put forward by Science-Metrix that pertain obliquely to equity. In its response to each recommendation, the Committee emphasizes the role of the CRCP as it relates to its equity performance, as one of advisor and governing body. In so doing, it positions recipient universities as fully accountable for the outcome of efforts and measures implemented to work toward women's equitable participation in the program, whatever that measure of participation may be. In response to the first recommendation, it maintains the following:

> The Steering Committee…does not believe that it is program management's role to intervene in the employer-employee relations that exists between the university and its chairholders… [P]rogram management will, in partnership with institutions, explore mechanisms to increase monitoring of chairholders' progress, to quickly resolve any issues arising, and to ensure that the program is achieving its objectives. (Canada Research Chairs Steering Committee, n.d.-c, p. 3)

In response to the second recommendation, it reaffirms its advisory function yet again, stating that it will encourage universities and collaborate with them to instate better, more transparent, processes in order to alleviate concerns, be they “real or perceived” (Canada Research Chairs Steering Committee, n.d.-c, p. 4). Notably, much in the same vein as the report recommendations, the response of the Committee avoids references to the program evaluation findings on equity presented in the report, and expresses no concern or disproval of the approach adopted by Science-Metrix in the assessment of the program’s equity standing.

Goss Gilroy Report

Submitted to the NSERC-SSHRC Evaluation Division, the 15th year program evaluation prepared by Goss Gilroy constitutes the most current assessment of the CRCP and focuses predominantly on the award competition cycles from fiscal periods 2010–2011 to 2014–2015 (Goss Gilroy, 2016, p. i). It relies on a multi-method approach, from quantitative methods such as surveys and bibliometric analysis to mixed and qualitative methods such as case studies and interviews, to carry out the program evaluation. The report identifies three evaluation issues, namely relevance, performance, and design/delivery, which are in turn explored by a series of 10 evaluation questions. Notably, neither the evaluation issues nor the evaluation questions guiding their consideration broach the topics of gender, equity, or transparency, such as observed in earlier program evaluations. The report proceeds to identify four “report themes” along which it presents its findings, specifically, “(1) overall success and relevance; (2) institutional packages for chairholders; (3) link with strategic areas of research; and (4) program design and delivery” (Goss Gilroy, 2016, p. 3). In its presentation of the report themes, it neglects to offer descriptions of each theme or to specify the evaluation questions they speak to. As a result, it remains largely unclear until near the conclusion of the report to which one of the four themes the discussion around gender, equity, and transparency "belongs."

Ultimately, from the evaluation findings, the topic of equity emerges as an element of program design and delivery (i.e. report theme 4), a positioning reminiscent of the Malatest report and its treatment of gender as a program design issue. The finding states, "While most components of program design and delivery were found to be appropriate, some components may require some attention. In particular, more work is needed to address barriers to access to CRCP for designated groups" (Goss Gilroy, 2016, p. 27). The Goss Gilroy report, like the Science-Metrix report, adopts terms such as "barriers" and "designated equity groups (women, visible minorities, people with disabilities and Aboriginal Peoples" to address on-going equity challenges linked to the program (Goss Gilroy, 2016, p. 27). In contrast to earlier CRCP program evaluations, however, the Goss Gilroy report concentrates its discussion of equity on "program access," which it proceeds to measure and evaluate by means of institutionally determined equity targets prescribed by the CRCP, the individual performance of recipient universities contingent on meeting set targets (Goss Gilroy, 2016, p. 27). The report contends the following:

> All participating institutions are expected to establish a fair and transparent recruitment and nomination process for its chair awards....[CRCP management] has a set of measures in place to encourage equitable practices, including monitoring of recruitment practices, establishing equity targets and an exemplary equity practices recognition process. Despite these measures, the majority of institutions do not meet equity targets for many designated groups. (Goss Gilroy, 2016, p. 27)

Indeed, according to the report, over half of universities do not meet the equity targets established by the CRCP formula, to the exception of the target quantifying the participation of Aboriginal Peoples in the program, with 18% of universities not meeting their set targets. Interestingly, this pattern in the data remains unexplored.

By limiting the focus of its evaluation on equity to program access, the Goss Gilroy report effectively delimits the role and potential scope of responsibility assigned the CRCP. That is to say, the report approaches the subject matter of equity and presents its evaluation findings in a manner that draws attention to the role of the CRCP as advisory and governing entity, and situates program performance, including the meeting of equity targets, as the responsibility of recipient universities. In so doing, the additional work required to address barriers to program access for designated groups, as maintains the report, transpires as the work of the universities, not of the program. Consequently, the gender dimension of the program, understood as the number of women in the context of equity targets, continues to surround the CRCP—a peripheral problem viewed as beyond the limits and reaches of the program. As substantiates the Goss Gilroy report from a series of interviews with key stakeholders, the barriers impeding equitable program access to members from the designated groups originate from cultural bias from within and/or outside of universities, a dearth of qualified and competitive candidates from the designated groups, and/or an uneven "selection pool" across all academic disciplines (Goss Gilroy, 2016, p. 28), phenomena put forward clearly as beyond the sphere of influence of the program. In passing, the report suggests that interview data may point to a lack of understanding among stakeholders regarding equity targets, their nature and function, but engages no further in a discussion about the interview data. The slim analysis and discussion included in this section of the report specifies neither how women or other members of designated groups are represented by means of equity targets, thus leaving existing assumptions about gender intact. Here again, the evaluation delimits members of the designated group women as counted along conventional binary sex categories, as held in an arbitrary albeit defined measure understood to quantify their equitable inclusion into the program, and as the source of a systemic problem surrounding the program. Notably, the report makes and sustains these assumptions largely through an underlying gendered discourse driven by suggestion.

The report concludes with a series of recommendations, one of which pertains to the evaluation finding regarding the widespread underperformance of recipient universities in meeting CRCP equity targets. The report states the following:

> Management should require institutions to adopt greater transparency in their processes for allocation of chair positions and selection and renewal of chairholders, in order to ensure institutions have greater accountability in terms of meeting their equity targets…While respecting the freedom of institutions, program management should require institutions to adopt transparent processes/criteria for nominee selection/review and chairholder renewal. This would include a requirement that such processes be made publicly available. (Goss Gilroy, 2016, p. 32)

In sum, the report's recommendation works to reinforce the overarching message of the evaluation, that is, the appropriate role of the CRCP remains one of advisory and governing body whose scope of responsibility regarding the program's gender equity strictly lies in its effort to hold recipient universities to account by calling for intensified measures of transparency. In terms of its recommendation, the Goss Gilroy report offers no new insights for a way forward, mirroring the conclusions of earlier reports.

Response of the CRC Steering Committee to the Goss Gilroy Inc. Program Evaluation. In its response memorandum directed at the CRCP 15th year evaluation, the Committee acknowledges the program design and delivery limitations specified in the evaluation report, to which it offers an opening disclaimer. The memo reads as follows:

> The evaluation…confirms that the CRCP operates in a complex environment…Program management recognizes and would like to draw attention to the fact that some of the recommendations are likely tied to the larger postsecondary research context. Because of this, the CRCP alone cannot address them fully. (Canada Research Chairs Steering Committee, 2016)

It is in this context that the Committee expresses agreement with the recommendation for increased transparency from recipient universities regarding chair allocations, selections and renewals, as suggests the report. In an effort to compel greater accountability from recipient universities toward meeting specified equity targets, the Committee arrives at the following conclusion:

> That the Tri-agency Institutional Programs Secretariat be mandated to work with the Management Committee, using the evaluation findings and considering other input received, to develop a strategy to promote adherence to equity targets by universities, in collaboration with the CRCP Advisory Committee on Equity Policy, as soon as possible. (Canada Research Chairs Steering Committee, 2016)

Of the seven evaluation recommendations presented in the Goss Gilroy report, only the recommendation pertaining to the increased oversight of compliance to equity targets receives a high priority rating from the Committee, supporting their promise to effect meaningful change toward equitable program access. The response memorandum states the following:

> The Steering Committee wishes to reiterate program management's strong commitment to equity and ensuring that all qualified candidates have access to the program… Therefore, the consideration of future changes to the program will be made using an "equity lens" to ensure that equity gaps within the program are addressed. In the meantime, we invite institutions to sustain, review and intensify their efforts in order to address, as soon as possible, the underrepresentation in the program of individuals from the four designated groups. (Canada Research Chairs Steering Committee, 2016)

Both the decision of the Committee and its stated mission center around the CRCP's role as governing body to mobilize universities to abide by prescribed equity targets. In this manner, it feels that it will achieve its promise and fulfill its obligation.

As with earlier program evaluations, the response of the Committee focuses systematically on the recommendations of the evaluation report, bringing into question neither the findings nor the conceptual underpinnings of the evaluation, thus promulgating and reinforcing underlying assumptions about gender, how it is considered and constructed at the level of the institution, and how gender's accepted representation particularly as it related to the group women therein feeds into broader institutionally-driven notions, such as the equitable measure of designated groups.

In this chapter, I have explored how the institutional discourse of the CRCP constructs and deploys an understanding of how gender is "represented" at the level of the institution. Through a TA of program evaluation reports and corresponding institutional response documents available for consultation on the CRCP website, I have uncovered the program's criteria for women's representation, that is, the shape and measure of women's institutional gender. From select sources of gray literature, I have identified three recurring themes—sex/gender equivalency, proportional equality/equity, and problematizing women. Together, these themes reveal the gendered assumptions perpetuated by the institutional literature around women's representation, assumptions that regard gender and sex as interchangeable, equity as a proportional measure between the two marked categories read off the body, and women as the "critical gender," the disadvantaged and problematic Other requiring institutional attention and action. I have prefaced my TA of gray literature pertaining to the CRCP with a description of the program, its scope and overarching objectives, as well as a discussion of the gendered controversy regarding the perceived inequitable allocations of chairs that has marred the program since its inception.

In so doing, I have demonstrated how the CRCP presents a significant case for review when considering the representation of women in elite research positions in Canadian universities. I have cast a light on the deeply engrained assumptions that drive its institutional understanding and management of gender, and demonstrated how little these assumptions have evolved over the span of fifteen years and numerous program evaluations. Unless the understanding of representation changes, augments to allow for a multi-faceted view of women elite researchers and the various dimensions through which they participate and perform through their roles, the discourse surrounding gender and the CRCP, and arguably, gender and women researchers in elite positions in Canadian universities, is not likely to evolve sufficiently to support substantive organizational change toward gender equity and inclusion.

In the chapter that follows, I turn my attention to women in senior administration careers in Canada's top research universities. Using TA, I present the findings of my interviews with a group of women from the field, concentrating on their lived experiences of leadership to access the gender dimension of women in senior-level positions from their viewpoint. The purpose of this next study is to determine how women consider themselves to be represented in the workplace and to establish the value of this knowledge in augmenting the discourse on women's underrepresentation in academe.

CHAPTER V

Framing Representation: Women in Senior Administration Positions in Academe

Literature pertaining to women's underrepresentation in academe, largely concerned with women in prominent and leadership roles within universities, espouses a limited understanding of women's representation. As I have demonstrated through my study on the Canada Research Chairs Program (CRCP), this literature presents a singular view of women's representation centered on women's visible sexed bodies, and implies a singular take on gender equality/equity in organizations as that which derives solely from a proportional measure, one in which women have consistently emerged as the lesser than adequate proportion when compared with men. It follows that this limited (and limiting) view of women's representation has positioned women at a disadvantage, marking them as the critical gender.

In the previous chapter, I examined the representation of women in elite research positions in academe through program evaluation reports and corresponding institutional documents concerning the CRCP, a federal funding initiative that has come to define the standard of research excellence in Canada. In this chapter, I direct my focus to a parallel constituency of elite women in academe, specifically, women occupying senior level positions in university administration. I present the findings of my study on the gender dimension as gleaned from the perspective of their lived experiences of leadership. With this study, my aim is to effectively augment the discourse surrounding women's underrepresentation in academe by considering women's stories of representation. This chapter is organized into two sections. The first section includes a discussion on gender and leadership as explored in feminist organization research, concentrating on the (de)masculinization of the leadership construct and its implications for women leaders. From this literature, I take up the notion of “female disadvantage” as described figuratively in glass ceiling and chilly climate literature, maintaining that women leaders in university administration confront both types of disadvantage in the workplace. The second section discusses the scientific value of “situated knowledges” (Harraway, 1988) and self-representation in the consideration of women’s representation. I proceed to share the thematic analysis (TA) of semi-structured interviews with women in senior administration positions in Canadian research-intensive universities. I work from thematically organized interview materials to access a perspective of women’s representation from within, to access a partial “view from somewhere” (Haraway, 1988, p. 590). Thus, I am arguing for the inclusion—the valuation—of what Haraway (1988) has coined “situated knowledges” in the consideration of the concept of (under)representation as it has come to mark and position groups of high-achieving women in academic professions.

Gender and Leadership

The topic of gender and leadership as explored in feminist organization studies provides partial context for the analysis of representation as framed by women in senior administration positions in academe. Scholarship on gender and leadership is vast, spanning several decades and numerous disciplines, from management and organization studies, to political science, to psychology, to women’s studies, for instance. At its basis, this scholarship examines on some level the correlation between gender and leadership, and more notably, the correlation between women and leadership. As remark Billing and Alvesson (2014), “Leadership and gender [research] is on the whole ‘biased’ towards females, it fairly seldom includes a direct interest in the experiences and subjectivities of men and management" (p. 200). Indeed, the interest in masculinity in this field emerges mostly in reference to the traditional conception of leadership, conceived by men from their experiences as leadership practitioners and therefore viewed as embracing masculine standards—standards that have come to define the fundaments of effective and thus "good" leadership (Billing & Alvesson, 2014; Elliott & Stead, 2008). Consequently, scholarship on gender and leadership has developed around women's relation to these standards, bet it, for example, their (in)aptitude to lead, their (in)effectiveness as leaders when compared with men, their characteristics as leaders that liken or distinguish them from their male counterparts, always with a view to those engrained standards of leadership excellence recognized as masculine—the constant, as it were. That said, the literature on gender and leadership, in its concern with women's full access to leadership and its problematization of the traditional masculine leadership construct, can be regarded largely as feminist in both tone and overarching purpose.

As Vetter (2010) contends, however, the study of women leaders de facto neither entails a feminist theory of leadership nor forms the basis for such a theory. She maintains that existing studies on women leaders fall short in this regard; they appear to be either "theory-thin" or to rely on other feminist theories closely related to leadership to frame the issues (Vetter, 2010, p. 3). The reason for this, Vetter posits, stems from a fundamental conflict between the tenets of feminism and the nature of leadership. This conflict creates a "theoretical conundrum" that challenges the makings of a feminist theory of leadership (Vetter, 2010, p. 3). She states, "Feminism requires leadership to advance the goals of women, and yet it encounters profoundly masculinist conceptions of leadership that are often ill-suited to the needs of women" (Vetter, 2010, p. 3). For Vetter, a change of perspective is needed to conceive of a feminist theory of leadership, one that divests from “masculinist conceptions” and privileges feminist theories and perspectives to give way to new conceptions. She writes, “Feminist theories can inform action by clarifying the origins of various leadership practices and providing alternatives to them when needed” (Vetter, 2010, p. 9). To date, the literature on gender and leadership has not fully moved away from the “masculine ethic” of leadership, although the idea of a “de-masculinization” is beginning to gain traction (Billing & Alvesson, 2014, p. 201). Whether or not this shift will originate a feminist theory of leadership remains questionable; whether or not this shift will introduce alternatives that will create opportunities for women to gain full access to leadership remains uncertain.

The theme of leadership de-masculinization arises in the work Eagly, Gartzia, and Carli (2014) on the “female advantage” in women’s relation to the practice of leadership. They remark on the changing terrain of leadership as a result of rising skepticism towards the effectiveness of the traditional masculine model of leadership, (stereo)typically associated with an autocratic and task-oriented leadership style. This change, they observe, makes way for an alternative feminine model of leadership, (stereo)typically associated with a more democratic and interpersonal leadership style. In this regard, women leaders appear to hold a certain edge, an advantage as it were, when compared with their male counterparts.

Despite this changing terrain, Eagly, Gartzia, and Carli (2014) caution that, “as long as leadership remains culturally masculine, the context of leadership is different for women than men. In particular, prejudicial reactions may penalize women but not men even when their behaviors are equivalent” (p. 154). Here, Eagly, Gartzia, and Carli echo Vetter’s concern and moreover, demonstrate the need for a feminist theory of leadership to redefine women's participation in leadership. They contend that women leaders continue to confront "descriptive stereotypes" and "prescriptive stereotypes" that impact their perceived effectiveness as leaders by subjecting them to a "double standard" and a "double bind," respectively (Eagly, Gartzia, & Carli, 2014, p. 160). Descriptive stereotypes, or the "consensual expectations about the attributes of members of a social group," effectively undermine women's potentiality for leadership on the basis of the masculine conception of leadership that emerges at odds with the stereotypical attributes assigned to the feminine gender role (Eagly, Gartzia, & Carli, 2014, p. 160). As a result, women leaders face general distrust in their abilities to lead, their career trajectories often unfolding along a series of management roles either deemed low risk and low reward, or high risk, with greatest potential for failure (Eagly, Gartzia, & Carli, 2014, p. 160–161). Eagly, Gartzia, and Carli (2014) write, "The preference for women in risky contexts derives not from the perception that women would be generally more effective…but from beliefs that traditional feminine traits would enable women to manage people during the crisis, and if necessary, to take the blame for failure" (p. 161).

Additionally, women leaders also encounter prescriptive stereotypes, or the "consensual expectations about the attributes that members of a social group ought to have," which hold them to a standard of leadership that they must negotiate constantly (Eagly, Gartzia, & Carli, 2014, p. 160). If their leadership style is perceived as too autocratic, they face criticism for disrupting the feminine gender role that prescribes them to be collaborative and nurturing leaders. If their leadership style is perceived as too democratic, they face criticism for lacking the fortitude and decisiveness needed to be effective leaders (Eagly, Gartzia, & Carli, 2014, p. 161). In the double standard and the double bind rests the feminine disadvantage. Eagly, Gartzia, and Carli (2014) remain skeptical of leadership studies that promote a "female advantage," suggesting that this research generally lacks theoretical depth and analytic rigor (p. 154). Nevertheless, they acknowledge the shifting culture of leadership, one largely based on emerging androgynous styles of leadership, alternatives that offer new possibilities to women leaders and that carry the potential to disrupt the status quo, which remains one of "female disadvantage" (Eagly, Gartzia, & Carli, 2014, p. 165–166).

Elliott and Stead's (2008; Stead & Elliot, 2009) position corresponds with that of Eagly, Gartzia, and Carli. In their view, the practice of leadership remains structured by norms and values established by men's experiences despite the increased number of women occupying leadership roles in organizations, and despite trends in leadership style that have theoretically opened up leadership culture to admit women—or more particularly, women that lead according to a culturally accepted feminine style. Elliott and Stead (2008) problematize the tendency to label as feminine a more relational and participatory leadership style, arguing that it "leads to the normalization of women as care givers," a characterization that has traditionally excluded women from leadership roles (p. 163), and arguably, to this day keeps women in lower-level positions despite alternative leadership models. Models of leadership "*decreasingly* associated with masculinity" (Elliot & Stead, p. 163) or those tagged as gender neutral and thus viewed as more inclusive of women, such as post-heroic models that conceive of leadership as a "social process" and a "shared practice" with a focus on mutual knowledge building (Stead & Elliott, 2009, p. 21) do not offer women any particular advantage. Elliott and Stead (2008) explain:

> Even though these new models emphasize the relational, distributed nature of leadership, organizational reward systems on the whole demand to see evidence of

> individual achievement and success. The heroic leader continues to attract attention…[while] the wider social networks and relational practices that helped them to achieve prominence [are ignored]. (p. 164)

Stead and Elliott's concerns extend beyond the ongoing privileging of masculine values and norms in the practice of leadership. Theirs also pertain to a marked dearth of documented women's experiences in leadership discourse, which they contend poses a greater threat to the inclusion or full participation of women in leadership culture. They state, "If theoretical developments—even those labeled postheroic—have not entirely been able to overcome binary understandings…that position leaders as either…masculine or feminine…then discourses of leadership in society more broadly generally continue to be reinforced by…masculine images" (Stead & Elliott, 2009, p. 22). Like Eagly, Gartzia, and Carli, Stead and Elliott also echo Vetter (2010) in expressing a concern with the masculine paradigm of leadership and its problematic implications for women leaders as well as leaders who identify outside the normalized male-female gender binary. Here again, the need for a feminist theory of leadership resonates loudly.

Billing and Alvesson (2014) also engage in a skeptical reading of the field's trend towards "de-masculinization," unsure of the advantage this presents women leaders. All the more, they bring into question the very knowledge that has derived from efforts at correlating gender and leadership on the whole. They contend that the scholarship has developed along two diametrically opposed positions, the "no-difference camp" and the "gender-stereotypic camp," the former positing that men and women lead in similar ways whilst the latter sustaining that men and women's practice of leadership is fundamentally different (Billing & Alvesson, 2014, p. 204). Billing and Alvesson caution that these studies, while abounding and persuasive on both sides of the divide, have proven generally inconclusive and lead to problematic truth claims about gender and leadership. They write, "Maybe…we are posing the wrong questions. Establishing general, abstract correlations between sex and leadership may be misleading or at least a not very informative enterprise" (Billing & Alvesson, 2014, p. 205). They purport, rather, that gender and leadership are fluid and dynamic social constructs, the values of which are intangible and ever changing, largely driven by trends in organizational culture and ideology. So too, the meaning of gender and leadership's assigned currency is ambiguous at best. They write:

> We can say that there has been a change in emphasis…in the writings of gender and leadership, from 'women are the same and as good as men' to 'women are different from and, in some ways, better than men' with regard to management jobs and leadership. What this change of emphasis reflects or means is very hard to tell, but it would be a mistake to say that this is simply about progress in scientific rationality and now, finally revealing the truth about women and leadership. (Billing & Alvesson, 2014, p. 206)

They suggest that posing the right questions, in lieu of focusing on the unearthing or evidencing of absolute truths about gender and leadership, ought to focus on revealing the series of relational dynamics that stem from the gendering of leadership along a masculine/feminine divide, the implications of which continue to severely disadvantage women in organizations.

Metaphor of the Glass Ceiling

"Female disadvantage" in the workplace has been captured and discussed figuratively, and arguably most compellingly, through the metaphor of the glass ceiling.

Cited widely in popular and academic literature since the latter decades of the 20^{th} century (Barreto, Ryan & Schmitt, 2009; Kulik & Rae, n.d.), the metaphor means to describe women's organizational "vertical segregation" (Ahl, 2004, p. 18) resulting from invisible structural and cultural barriers obstructing women's advancement toward the senior echelons within organizational hierarchies. Certain descriptions of the glass ceiling place emphasis on the "vehicle" of the metaphor, for instance, "the *ceiling* implies that women encounter an upper limit on how high they can climb on the organizational ladder, whereas *glass* refers to the relative subtlety and transparency of this barrier, which is not necessarily apparent to the observer" (Barreto, Ryan & Schmitt, 2009, p. 5). Other descriptions emphasize the "tenor," for example, "a set of impediments and/or barriers to career advancement for women…[that] span a constellation of variables that materialize into conscious and sub-conscious discriminatory practices" (Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009, p. 460). As the substantiation of the glass ceiling effect, the concept of women's underrepresentation in leadership roles in organizations has gained both influence and legitimacy as a result of the rise of glass ceiling narratives (Barreto, Ryan & Schmitt, 2009; Buzzanell, 1995). What is more, the metaphor has effectively redirected the narrative surrounding women's underrepresentation. As Kulik and Rae (n.d.) assert, "the metaphor has shifted causal explanations for women's underrepresentation away from women themselves…and catalyzed activity in the academic and political spheres that, for the first time, identified organizations as the source of the underrepresentation problem" (p. 12). It follows that the metaphor of the glass ceiling can be regarded as a conceptual turn in women and leadership scholarship, defining the zeitgeist of the era in in which it originated (Kulik & Rae, n.d.) and forthwith altering the understanding and discourse on sex/gender inequality in the workplace, one centered around women's underrepresentation.

Admitted into the cultural vernacular and prevalent in the literature on women and leadership, the metaphor of the glass ceiling nevertheless has met with stringent criticism. Buzzanell (1995) regards the metaphor as deployed in the literature as a "problem for women" (p. 333). She argues that it misrepresents the extent of women's marginalization in organizations by directing focus toward "glass ceiling effects" and away from "glass ceiling processes" (Buzzanell, 1995, p. 333). She defines glass ceiling effects as "the differential promotion, development, reward, power, and work structures based on gender" and glass ceiling processes as "the language and interaction patterns associated with gender ideologies in which women are devalued" (Buzzanell, 1995, p. 333). The focused concern on glass ceiling effects, she maintains, produces "quick-fix solutions" that fail to expose and disrupt oppressive patriarchal structures. For instance, solutions such as workplace initiatives aimed at achieving sex/gender demographic parity particularly at the leadership level, or training geared to support women's advancement toward leadership roles, while disputably corrective—or even reformist in their intent— serve to "create an illusion of change" rather than substantive change itself (Buzzanell, 1995, p. 329).

For Buzzanell, attending to persistent sex/gender inequality in organizations begins with acknowledging problematic gendered meanings and understandings established, activated and normalized through language. She remarks, "Contemporary glass ceiling approaches cannot address fundamental issues unless they situate gender in language, discourse practices, and social interaction because language is the critical factor in the ways 'we think about gender relations or equally important, do not think about them'" (Buzzanell, 1995, p. 328). Buzzanell proposes a feminist "reframing" of the glass ceiling as "a process and consequence of traditional gendered interactions in organizational settings" (p. 349). In so doing, she reconceives the metaphor as a figurative by-product of biased organizational environments, produced by and (re)producing problematic gendered discursive practices. Her reframing effectively redirects the research focus from glass ceiling effects to glass ceiling processes, challenging the alleged neutrality of deeply engrained binary gender constructs that establish patterns of "thinking, interacting, and organizing" in the workplace (Buzzanell, 1995, p. 349) and that position and retain women at a disadvantage. Theoretically persuasive, Buzzanell's is a feminist reconceiving of the glass ceiling that advocates for a reimagining of the traditional organizational milieu and opens the field of women and leadership studies to call for alternative models, new ways of "thinking, interacting, and organizing" (Buzzanell, 1995, p. 349) as it were, that change the discourse and reposition women away from the margins. Her feminist critique stands apart from the bulk of the literature largely concerned with the definition and implications of the glass ceiling, or yet again, its relevance in contemporary women and leadership research.

Indeed, the growing number of women holding leadership positions in organizations has brought the accuracy and validity of the glass ceiling metaphor into question. Eagly and Carli (2007), for example, claim that the metaphor no longer symbolizes the reality experienced by women within organizations; the barriers once obstructing women's ascension to positions of leadership have proven surmountable and the glass ceiling, pervious. They maintain that "paths to the top exist, and some women find them….Glass ceiling beliefs that deny women high positions solely on the basis of their sex now strike most decision makers as unfair" (Eagly & Carli, 2007, p. 6). In lieu of the glass ceiling, they propose a new metaphor—the "labyrinth"—as a more accurate figuration of women's present-day path to leadership, a trajectory comprised of endless and unpredictable tortuous bends (Eagly & Carli, 2007, p. 5). Barreto, Ryan, and Schmitt (2009), for their part, disagree with Eagly and Carli's evaluation of the glass ceiling metaphor. They maintain that the glass ceiling not only endures as an accurate and valid metaphor for women in organizations but moreover, its persuasiveness and effectiveness as a symbol has initiated a tendency in women and leadership literature toward new metaphors and figural language—such as the labyrinth, for instance—that further distinguish the types of barriers women continue to encounter throughout their organizational lives. They contend:

> One could mistakenly conclude that these metaphors have arisen because the notion of the glass ceiling is outdated and a corresponding need arose to characterize women's situation differently. However, in our view, the proliferation of metaphors is better viewed as a reflection of the need to provide a more specific analysis of the variety of barriers that women currently face. (Barreto, Ryan, and Schmitt, 2009, p. 6)

The tendency toward new metaphors emerges in the literature on women in academe, the particular organizational terrain portrayed through the metaphor of the "chilly climate."

Metaphor of the Chilly Climate

The metaphor of the chilly climate, like the metaphor of the glass ceiling, means to describe figuratively the organizational terrain as experienced and perceived by women of the organization, in this instance, women working in academe. Suggestive of an unfriendly or unwelcoming organizational environment, the chilly climate metaphor portrays academe rather unfavourably on account of characteristic inhospitable treatment of women that bears negatively on their effectiveness and advancement in the workplace, a sort of lateral segregation,[51] as it were. Coined by Hall and Sandler in the early 1980s (Council of Canadian Academies, 2012; Prentice, 2000; Wylie, 2011), the chilly climate metaphor captures the growing awareness of "the combined effect of a number of practices—each of which is relatively inconsequential or even trivial when taken alone—which cumulatively communicate a lack of confidence, lack of recognition and devaluation, and which result in women's marginalisation" (Prentice, 2000, p. 196). Chilly climate research prompted repudiation from its critics who called into question the validity of the evidence imparted and the claim of prejudicial implications for women working in academe. As Wylie (2011) explains, responses ranged from the "denial of the facts presented; denial that they [stood] as evidence of systematically gendered preferences; and denial that, even if substantiated, instances or patterns of gender difference (e.g. in uptake, response, support, or outcomes) demonstrate[d] unfairness in any sense" (p. 169). The contentious nature of the research and its equally contentious reception tainted the meaning of the metaphor, such that it became increasingly politicized as a result of its deployment in both the literature and in organizational discourse (Prentice, 2000). Prentice (2000) positions the chilly climate metaphor at the center of a "discursive debate" in Canadian universities occurring in the latter decades of the 20th century surrounding the matter of organizational gender inequality—its "diagnosis" and treatment—that pits feminists and equity seekers against traditionalists (Prentice, 2000, p. 195). As supporters of the chilly climate phenomenon, feminists and equity-seekers co-opted the metaphor to represent the "pervasive and systemic institutional order and…compounding everyday practices which block women's full

[51] This expression is an adaptation from Ahl (2004) who describes to the glass ceiling as "vertical segregation" (p. 18).

participation in the university" (Prentice, 2000, p. 196). As detractors of the chilly climate phenomenon, traditionalists (dis)regarded the metaphor as a representation of efforts at "political correctness" (Prentice, 2000, p. 196).

Most significantly, beyond the discursive divide surrounding the chilly climate metaphor, the rise of the metaphor helped to frame and open up a disruptive discourse stirring within academe, one that cast light on a gendered work regime that positioned and valued women and men differentially. Prentice (2000) recalls, "Stung by the contradiction between experienced discrimination and institutional claims of fair treatment…the North American university…emerged as a site of political struggle over women's place in higher education" (p. 198). Four decades hence, the chilly climate narrative has grown increasingly faint in the literature and organizational discourse on women in academe, as though somewhat defunct, related to a time past. Scholars such as Wylie (2011) argue that a change in perspective has occurred over the years, breaking down the determined refutation with which chilly climate research was met initially. She writes:

> By the turn of 2000 it was no longer radically incomprehensible that our judgments and behaviors might be substantially shaped by non-conscious cognitive schemas, or that large scale, morally and epistemically consequential inequities might arise from unintended and unrecognized differences in treatment of men and women. (Wylie, 2011, p. 175)

This shift in organizational mindset, marked by a willingness to acknowledge if not accept the claims central to chilly climate research, arguably, could stand as an explanation for the move away from appeals to the chilly climate metaphor in studies surrounding women in academe. And, yet, women's place in higher education remains at best tenuous, at worst stagnant. The unfavourable “institutional order” (Prentice, 2000, p. 196) or rather disorder of academe captured by the chilly climate metaphor persists, as do systemic barriers to women’s professional inclusion and advancement, substantiated by reports of women’s underrepresentation in academic professions, particularly at senior levels. Women’s professional experiences in academe continue to be marked by the lateral segregation of the chilly climate and the “vertical segregation” (Ahl, 2004, p. 18) of the glass ceiling.

Women Leaders in Canadian Universities

Published in 2012 by the Council of Canadian Academies, “Strengthening Canada’s research capacity: The gender dimension” presents the findings of an 18-month study on the status of women in university research careers in Canada. The report stands as the most current comprehensive assessment of the career trajectories of women in Canadian universities, shedding light on the inclusion of women across all major academic disciplines, from life sciences, to physical sciences, computer science, engineering, and mathematics (PCEM), to education, humanities, and social sciences, along traditional binary gender demographics. Throughout, the report builds and unfolds around a definitive feminist agenda, advocating gender equality as per the full inclusion and participation of women in academe, particularly in senior roles. As justification for its feminist stance on gender equality, it cites Canadian values as well as the need to strengthen and diversify academe in order to remain competitive. It states, “The underrepresentation of women in any…area is a concern considering the fundamental Canadian values of equality, fairness, and justice, as outlined in the Canadian Human Rights Act, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and the Employment Equity Act” (Council of Canadian Academies, 2012, p. xiii). It continues by maintaining that,

> arguments for fully including women in research careers range from addressing skills shortages and increasing innovation potential by accessing wider talent pools, to greater market development, stronger financial performance, better returns on human resource investments, and developing a better point from which to compete in the intensifying global talent race. (Council of Canadian Academies, 2012, p. xiii)

Moreover, it affirms that "contributions from both men and women are important to reflect the impact that lived experience and acquired knowledge exert over research priorities" (Council of Canadian Academies, 2012, p. 32). Throughout, the report suggests that the exclusion of women at any level is not only to the detriment to Canada's knowledge economy, its diversity, productivity, and competitiveness, but also to the flourishing of the global knowledge economy.

Furthermore, the report implies that the exclusion of women at leadership levels bears significantly on the potential for feminist organizational change. Citing scholarship from multiple disciplines, the study establishes an underrepresentation of women in academe and argues that a greater number of women in senior professoriate and senior administration positions would help to correct problematic gendered enrolment patterns in a range of traditionally male-identified disciplines and to dismiss gendered misperceptions of leadership in academe. In its uncritical adoption of the concept of underrepresentation, the report resembles largely the majority of research on women and leadership that ignores the claim of underrepresentation it espouses and helps to legitimize, failing to recognize that the claim positions and maintains women at an organizational disadvantage. What the report fails to do is to unpack the meaning and acknowledge the implications of denoting women as an underrepresented group. Referencing Buzzanell (1995) cited earlier in this chapter, unless the gender dimension is situated in language and discourse, unless language is regarded as a "critical factor" (p. 328) in how women are represented in the workplace, approaches toward greater women representation (i.e. equality measures) will continue to address surface issues rather than fundamental ones, and change will remain out of reach. It follows that the need to examine the claim of underrepresentation as deployed in the narrative surrounding women in prominent positions in academe, that is to say, to examine how and to what extent these women are deemed underrepresented, is therefore central to tackling the challenges of workplace inequality.

My focus now turns to women occupying senior positions in university administration. Like women in elite research positions in academe, a group that I discuss in the previous chapter in the context of the CRCP, women in senior level roles in university administration are also described collectively as underrepresented. In order to understand the concept of underrepresentation as it applies to this group, I set out to understand how the women in senior level roles view their representation in the organizational milieu. Through a series of semi-structured interviews, my intent is to gain access to a unique and informed perspective, a perspective from within, that is, a "view from somewhere" (Haraway, 1988, p. 590). In so doing, I argue for the relevance and scientific weight of situated knowledges in the consideration of the concept of underrepresentation as it is used to characterize groups of women in academe particularly at the upper echelons.

Situated Knowledges

Haraway's (1988) "reflection on [scientific]'objectivity" (p. 591) pioneered the notion of "situated knowledges," or knowledges that result from a given "situatedness" and the experience of bearing witness. For Haraway, situated knowledges hold the potential for a scientific feminist objectivity in their rejection of universal knowledge claims, views "from everywhere and so nowhere," (Haraway, 1988, p. 590) and their appeal to truth and finality. Instead, objectivity, she argues, is achieved through a partial and contingent knowing, and perhaps most importantly an accountable knowing, that derives from the act of witnessing. She writes that,

> scientific knowledge is about *witnessing*….The fact of knowing certain things because one is there changes one's sense of accountability. So far from being indifferent to the truth, the approach…is rigorously committed to testing and attesting. To engaging in and understanding that this is always an interpretive, engaged, contingent, fallible engagement. It is never a disengaged account. (Hawaray, 2000, p. 160–161)

The lens, or rather the vision[52] of the witness that leads to situated knowledges is individual, a personal subjectivity that is fluid and in a continuous state of becoming, and therein lies its potential for objective knowing. As Haraway (1988) theorizes, "The knowing self is partial in all its guises, never finished, whole, simply there and original; it is always constructed and stitched together imperfectly, and therefore able to join with another, to see together without claiming to be another" (p. 586). Through their situatedness, their act of bearing witness, individuals can and do form "partial connections" (Haraway, 1988, p. 586) that need not give

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[52] Haraway (1988) argues that vision, or the notion of the gaze, has been used (and in the process defiled) to advance disembodied knowledge claims, irresponsible claims to objectivity from above. She writes, "I would like to insist on the embodied nature of all vision and so reclaim the sensory system that has been used to signify a leap out of the marked body and into a conquering gaze from nowhere" (p. 581). I therefore introduce the term vision here as Haraway reclaims it.

rise to essentialist or relative claims but rather produces knowledges from somewhere, multiple, imperfect and marked, knowledges that emerge from their lived experiences.

Wylie (2011; 2004) turns to the notion of situated knowledge[53] in her considerations on workplaces, and academe specifically. She describes situated knowledge as the knowledge gained through "a social location [that] systematically shapes and limits what [agents] know, including tacit, experiential knowledge as well as explicit understanding, what [agents] take knowledge to be as well as specific epistemic content" (Wylie, 2004, p. 343). For Wylie, situated knowledge forms a collective, that is, a "partial connection" (Haraway, 1988, p. 586); it brings agents together in their experience of power relations embedded in organizational structures and sustained in an intersecting "social location" (Wylie, 2004, p. 343). With the collective arises the potential for an "oppositional consciousness" realized through "standpoints that are struggled for and achieved, by epistemic agents who are critically aware of the conditions under which knowledge is produced and authorized" (Wylie, 2004, p. 343). The metaphors of the glass ceiling and the chilly climate, for example, stand as symbolic expressions not only of a collective but of an oppositional consciousness formed from the situated knowledges witnessed and acquired by women in the workplace, and in academe, respectively. Narratives and discourses built on

[53] While Haraway pioneers the notion of situated knowledges as a plural concept, many of the scholars that borrow her notion do so using the singular, situated knowledge. Wylie is among those who make this choice. While Wylie's work informs the approach and views I adopt in my study, I contend that this linguistic choice away from the plural loses a nuance that is central to Haraway's theory – that situated is not about a single dimension. Harraway (2000) writes, "what I mean to emphasize is the *situatedness* of situated. In other words it is a way to get at the multiple modes of embedding that are about both place and space in the manner in which geographers draw that distinction…. [W]hen I discuss feminist accountability within the context of scientific objectivity as requiring a knowledge tuned to resonance, not dichotomy" (p. 71).

these expressions ought not be viewed as subjective but rather, from the perspective of a theory of situated knowledges, as instances of objective knowing—scientific knowledge, derived from engaged and embodied encounters with power structures.

On Self-representation. Situated knowledges are stored in memory and thus accessed as embodied knowledge, expressed through embodied language. Agents who share their experiences through recollections engage in an act of reflexive exploration and expression, intimately tied to the self without undermining its potentiality for intersection, for partial connections with others. In their work on embodiment and the workplace, Davies, Browne, Gannon, & Somerville (2005) analyze the narratives of women academics using the method of collective biography, contending that these narratives sustain a "double directionality" (p. 344) that make visible, on the one hand, existing organizational power relations, and on the other hand, the individual, the subject, as the site of their ongoing negotiation. Davies et al. (2005) suggest that the act of biography in this context has the potential "to make visible the constitutive power of neoliberal discourse, and to explore [the] taking-up of this discourse as [the agent's] own, to work with, and as a force to be worked against" (p. 344). By undertaking collective biography, an activity that entails drawing upon workplace and other life memories, Davies et al. (2005) observe that participants experience first hand "chiasma," or a "crossings over between being constituted and being constitutive, between embodiment and discourse, between one discourse and another" (p. 345). A similar experience can be inferred from the practice of self-representation or autobiography in organizations, which approximates the practice of collective biography in that it calls women "to work, reflexively…at making visible some of the discursive nets within which [they] live and make sense of [their] embodied selves at work" (Davies et al. 2005, p. 344). Referencing

Wallace, Davies et al. (2005) claim that, “in relation to bodies at work, … gender and sexuality are embedded in organizations and inscribed on and lived through bodies. Organizations …permit certain ‘styles of flesh’ and banish others” (p. 346). Therefore, to examine how women as regulated bodies within organizations self-represent leads to a more enlightened understanding of how women negotiate the “styles of flesh” (Davies et al. 2005, p. 346) perceive as accessible to them.

Turning to the work of Stanley (2000) on autobiography further elucidates the commonplace occurrence of the practice of autobiography in organizations, and as such, its potential for the examination of women’s representation in the workplace. According to Stanley (2000, p. 40), “moments” of autobiography are fluid, extending far beyond the traditional written word and ensuing with some frequency in people’s routine lives, commonly instigated and moreover prescribed and regulated by structures seemingly outside of one’s immediate purview. It follows that the practice of autobiography in organizations appears to be more “constituting” rather than “constituted,” propelling the self toward a measured representation or styles of flesh. Stanley (2000) argues for the political nature of autobiographical accounts, stating that, “for organizational as well as interpersonal reputations, statuses, influences and hierarchies all trade in these currencies of spoken, written, and visual lives” (p. 42). Stanley’s viewpoint establishes a valid theoretical proposition for the study of women’s representation in academe via moments of self-representation, in that it acknowledges both the significance of the context in which the autobiographical process is initiated as well as the authorial intent driving its production.

Therefore, my interest in exploring the concept of representation directly with women leaders in university administration feeds on a suspicion that their situated knowledges help inform or better yet disrupt the universality of the underrepresentative claim that tethers them to margins. It also feeds on a suspicion that from this exercise in critical positioning can stem a transformational way of seeing and knowing, and therein the potential for change. For Haraway (1988), the aim of feminist objectivity is "to seek perspective from those points of view, which can never be known in advance, that promise something quite extraordinary, that is, knowledge potent for constructing worlds less organized by axes of domination" (p. 585). It follows that in seeking out these partial perspectives, these self-representations, I mean to access and acknowledge an understanding of representation that approximates the feminist objectivity of which Haraway speaks, one that pretends to be neither unproblematic, nor unified, nor holistic, but one that finds in a shifting and at times messy embedded multiplicity the possibility of "partial connection" (Haraway, 1988, p. 586).

Accessing Herstories of Representation

As I have argued throughout this dissertation, the concept of underrepresentation is problematic and bears implications for the groups of women it demarcates. In order to substantiate my research argument, I have adopted a dual-study research design, the second study of which considers, by way of semi-structured interviews, women's lived experiences of leadership roles in university administration. My research objective is to attempt to arrive at an arguably more complete understanding of what is meant and deployed by the concept of women's underrepresentation in academe by discerning what is understood as women's representation. In so doing, I look to effectively augment the conceptual discourse surrounding these women by giving way to their stories of representation.

With this research end in mind, I created an interview guide around two separate notions: the notions of organizational identity and organizational representation.[54] Whereas the notion of organizational identity related to the respondent's individual sense of identification with(in) the organization, the notion of organizational representation related to the respondent's awareness and discernment of how she is perceived as a member of the organization, her representativeness, as it were. The former notion was left undefined for respondents, my intent being to invite and accept into the discussion whatever understanding of identity, and therefore organizational identity, the respondents identified with. The latter notion was defined somewhat for respondents in the interview guide, my expectation being that the notion of representation, and what is more organizational representation, would require some clarification. This definition, however, was offered to help guide the conversation rather than to restrict it in any way. Ultimately, my aim throughout the interview process consisted of gaining an understanding of women's individual state of being within their organizations, an understanding free, inasmuch as possible, of set definitions and restrictive terms. In keeping with this approach, gender was interrogated in the contexts of organizational identity and organizational representation, but likewise undefined for respondents. This left them open to bring into their responses whatever view of gender they identified with. Generally, respondents commented on the lack of definitions provided in the interview guide; their reactions to my approach ran the gamut from accepting to resistant. However, all demonstrated a high level of engagement with the questions such that the ambiguity served my research objective to open up the discourse to guided but unrestricted

[54] The original interview guide comprised three segments. The third, on the topic of personal academic homepages, was omitted from this study due to a shift in research focus for the dissertation.

conversations around women's understanding of representation as rooted in their lived experiences of leadership in academe.

I selected TA as a research method for the study of women leaders in university administration careers. As defined in the Chapter III, TA is as "a method for systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a data set" (Braun & Clarke, 2012, p. 57). This multi-phase research method, in my opinion, proved well suited to my research objective, providing on the one hand a procedural roadmap to guide my investigation, and on the other hand the tractability I felt I needed as a researcher to move through the data set. Adopting the multi-phase structure of TA, I proceeded to systematically review and familiarize myself with the data by editing orthographically the transcriptions of the interview audio recordings generated using QSR International software, NVivo Transcription. For the initial coding of the data, I relied heavily on the organization of the interview guide, identifying interesting features and patterns pertaining to respondents' definitions of organizational identity and organizational representation. For subsequent coding, I opted to set-aside the interview guide and focused on respondents' views as expressed through anecdotes and examples. From the coding phase emerged two overarching and interconnected themes, leadership and gender, from which I extracted four final themes, namely, role assimilation, organizational visibility, leading women, and representing leaders. In producing the final analysis, the integrated nature of the four themes became increasingly apparent, thus validating the themes as characteristic of and inherent to women's lived experiences of leadership roles in academe. The final phase of TA involved the redaction of the interview transcripts to maintain respondent anonymity and the selection of key quotations that elucidated and narrated the themes of the study.

TA of Women's Lived Experiences of Leadership in Academe. The first theme (i.e. Role assimilation) arose from conversations with the respondents around the notion of organizational identity. I borrow the term role assimilation from Graen, Orris, and Johnson (1973), who define it as a "process by which new role incumbents become assimilated into an organization" (p. 395). For the purposes of my study, I use the term to indicate the process by which incumbents experience assimilation into a new role within an organization. In speaking about their views on organizational identity, the majority of respondents touched on the immersive nature of senior administration positions in academe. Their experiences of assimilation into their senior administration roles, however, emerged as divided between those holding vice-presidential appointments and those holding deanships, thus reflecting the composition of the interview data set.

Respondents at the vice-presidential level generally referred to "becoming one" with the role, defining themselves in terms of their title and the core beliefs guiding their leadership practice. Their responses conveyed the magnitude of these leadership roles, the sense of responsibility they command, arguably leaving little space for considerations outside duty or service to the university. The following quotations capture the perceived nature of senior administration roles as experienced at this level of the organizational hierarchy:

> Respondent 8: With my role, I have an identity as a leader of [a vice-presidential portfolio], and, um, that's my identity.... People actually forget that I'm from [an academic discipline]…. I don't think that, …although it forms a very big part of my personal identity, I don't think it's my organizational identity.... I think my role [as vice-president] is big enough that that becomes my identity.

> Respondent 6: I do define myself in terms of my position and the values that I bring to that position. So, it's not just being a [vice-president], but it's being a [vice-president] who believes in equity, diversity, compassion, principles, my integrity, all those kinds of things. And that is how I think, um, the vast majority of this institution would actually also define me or describe me.

Contrastingly, women’s experiences of senior administration positions at the decanal level revealed an inherent dichotomy that gave rise to specific tensions. Respondents’ experiences suggested that they straddle two separate yet interdependent organizational terrains, the professorial and the administrative, arguably a consequence of the conventional academic career trajectory to positions of leadership. While it is accepted that an established professorial career is deemed essential for the ascension to senior administration positions, it is also deemed essential for role efficacy in certain universities. For example, respondent 13 emphasized the centrality of academic and scholarly activity to the professional credibility of deans. She remarked the following:

> It matters deeply that I'm a full professor. It matters deeply that I have a research record as an academic. And, you know, when I'm on a dean’s committee, there's no question that you. At this university, you should never not do your research, personally. Um, and I’m, I'm not saying everyone does. And, I'm not saying that, you know, when I do my annual activity report, the provost’s office is very interested in the health and the productivity of the faculty and the degree to which I can make a difference there, or that we have made a difference under my deanship. But I would say, when you are sitting around the table, you want to have research cred, research

> that includes doctoral students…. Whether or not I'm a good teacher or not, you know, most, a lot of deans don't teach. That becomes less important, I guess.

In other universities, the opposite is perceived. For her part, respondent 21 remarked on how she felt compelled to take a step back from her research upon becoming dean of her faculty:

> When I took up this job, I was shortlisted for another deanship outside of Canada. And, in that role, which was in the UK, they really wanted a dean who was going to continue researching. And I actually think I would have liked that much better. And, but here, I think it's really frowned upon. Like, it's viewed as an indulgence. If I spend time researching, that's somehow time that could be spent doing actually my job, right? And so, research is a thing that's not actually my job. And I struggle with that quite a lot. And, but I don't think that that, that the role of dean is well portrayed at all.

These experiences, while divergent, emerge as similar in their portrayal of senior administration roles at the decanal level as characteristically teetering "in-between," liminal in nature, even. As a result, senior administrators are obliged to continuously negotiate between their duty and efficacy as leaders and their training and values as academics, thus experiencing tensions, both professional and personal. Respondents spoke about the demands of senior administration and how these impinged upon their ability to maintain the pursuit of academic and scholarly activities, irrespective of the value attributed them within the organization. Respondent 20 commented on this paradox:

> I think the professorship is what you need reputationally [sic] and experience wise to do the job…. I think being the professor and engaged in the academy, yeah, is what is needed to have the experience and the wisdom of the role, needed for the role, but

> frankly, the role of dean doesn't leave that much time to also be, also to perform the functions of a, of a regular professor.

Later in our conversation, respondent 20 described the costs of holding a senior administration position, costs she had incurred both freely and consciously.

> I have voluntarily sort of relinquished my own priorities as a professor for the priorities of the [university]. So, when I was a professor, I had the luxury of, you know, all of the academic freedom that comes with being a professor and doing research in areas that interest you and teaching courses in which you're an expert. And, you know, whereas my organizational identity means that as dean, means that I've chosen, because I accepted the role, to, to be willing and to not pursue many of the research in order to support the [university] as a whole move forward.

Other respondents appeared at variance, personally, with the marked shift in professional foci they experienced in assuming leadership roles, choosing to retain certain professorial functions out of a sense of individual responsibility and general fulfillment. Respondent 19 hinted at this as she discussed her choice to continue teaching after accepting the deanship:

> I had the choice about whether to stop teaching or not this year. And I chose to keep teaching because, um, I wanted to maintain my connection to students, and [my academic discipline]. I mean, the reason I do this is because I care about [my academic discipline] and my teaching actually involves doing [scholarly activities related to my academic discipline]. So, I really wanted to keep that because that's one of the things that I like best. It makes me happy. So, um, so but I'm doing a lot less teaching and it is, it is a struggle to, I feel like my students are slightly disadvantaged.

The tensions created by the nature of senior administration roles at the decanal level seemed to create a sense of disconnection between the senior administrator and the role. Respondents consistently described their senior administration positions as “jobs.” Conversely, narratives surrounding professorships implied a deeper association, one approximating vocation. Respondent 18 captured this nuance with the following remark: “I am a professor, but I work as a dean.” Respondent 21 described her deanship as a temporary job in which she performed a servant-leadership role working to advance the interests of her unit. Although respondents seemed prideful of holding a leadership position within the university, their pride was framed in terms of indebtedness, indebtedness to their academic discipline and to their university. Respondent 15 remarked the following:

> Academics need to be in charge. And so, I do it because I'm capable of doing it and that it's a responsibility and a duty that I do.... I think that that's my ethical obligation. People who understand research and teaching and the longue durée of academic and scholarly work need to be the ones making academic and scholarly decisions.

The conversations around the notion of organizational identity revealed a clear divide among respondents along hierarchical lines, with vice-presidents and deans conveying differing experiences of role assimilation. This particular finding was expected, if only for the fact that the nature of vice-presidential and decanal appointments is decidedly different in breadth and scope. However, it is the likeness of the experiences within each group of respondents that presented an unexpected finding that draws attention to the bearing of the position itself on the process of assimilation. In this instance, deanships emerged as inherently dichotomous, impacting the respondents’ ability to fully integrate their senior administration role. While beyond the scope of this study, it would be interesting to examine if and how the nature of positions impacts role performance.

The second theme (i.e. Organizational visibility) developed in parallel with considerations on the immersive nature of leadership roles. Revealed in conversations mostly around the notion of organizational representation, respondents described the emergence of a new consciousness or self-awareness incited by becoming a leader or rather, by being seen as a leader within academe. Correspondingly, they described the emergence of a new accountability for their representativeness as members of the senior administration, an accountability exceeding the dictates of their respective mandates. Here again, whilst perhaps more understated, a division surfaced between respondents at the vice-presidential and decanal levels, the former group demonstrating a tendency to weigh their visibility in terms of risk whereas the latter group, in terms of loss.

The following quotations were selected from interviews with respondents at the vice-presidential level. Each passage conveys the pressures of an unremitting gaze, whereby any gesture or comment carries the risk of misrepresentation or misinterpretation. Generally, respondents from this group tended to speak of this risk as part and parcel of holding an influential and power-wielding role within the organization, as exemplifies the following quotations:

> Respondent 8: When you are in [a senior administration] position in the university…you're not just you. When you go out somewhere, or wherever it is, you're representing the institution and you have to behave that way. And people will, even if you think it's off hours and you can say and do whatever you want, you are carrying the identity of that organization if you're that high up at the top.

> Respondent 4: I know that, um, if I say something that might be the same as someone lower down in the organization, it's viewed differently. If I walk into a room and, and nod my head at a particular moment, people will think I'm agreeing with what they're saying. And so, I'm very careful to not do that. I'm very careful of body language or very aware, I would say, of body language. And I'm aware of the positional power that I hold and I'm very careful with it.
>
> Respondent 1: We know in leadership, just more generally, you're always being judged every single day…. Are you smiling or not? Are you interacting with people or not? You know, what is, what is the message you're conveying without saying anything?

Respondent 4 provided examples of how she adapts her behaviours and relies on specific tactics in an effort to manage her representativeness and thus manage the risks associated with her heightened organizational visibility as a senior administrator in academe. She shared the following:

> For example, where I would like to get into an academic debate with someone, um, I'm very careful to do that because I know they'll think I'm doing that as a [a vice-president], not as an academic….And, um, while I will push people to think differently, I'm very careful not necessarily to engage deeply in a debate unless I think it is really important to do so.…In some ways [the position is] freeing because you can ask important, critical questions. In other ways it's really handcuffing because you got to be really careful when you participate.
>
> You know, in these positions, the other thing you have to be very conscious about, I have meetings from seven thirty in the morning till sometimes 10:00 at night.

> And, you know, when you're getting to be at five or six and go have another meeting, that's the first time you're going to meet with that person that day. And it might be the only interaction that you have with them all year. And you've got a big first impression every time. Right? So, each time I don't let my assistant walk to get to the person. I have a quite a long hallway…and I walk to get them. And that's my clear the head time, I think a new person coming in. Smile, be nice.

At the decanal level, respondents also addressed the theme of heightened visibility. Interestingly, their stories conveyed a greater sense of loss, as though their visibility dispossessed them of something they previously held and valued in some regard, be it professionally, personally, or both. Respondent 19, for instance, remarked on always needing to dress the part of a dean, and not having the option of presenting herself more casually:

> I'm…always on display, like I'm always being seen as the dean, not just a regular person like, you know. Faculty, you know, like can dress very casually in universities, you know, no dress code or anything. But as dean, I have to…look somewhat sharp almost all the time. And, um, so I think about my clothes a lot.

Respondent 13, for her part, lamented the loss of her "voice," recalling the privilege she had as an academic to speak her mind freely:

> As the dean, I would think twice, and I have many times, before I responded to journalists, before…I submitted a response to a report within the government, that there is no question now that… as a faculty member and I could simply say, this does not represent the ideas of my institution, I no longer feel I can say [this] cause I'm the dean now.

As the interview with respondent 13 progressed, it became increasingly apparent that her experience of loss involved the renunciation of her identity as a teacher, scholar and faculty member as she had grown to know it, her relationships with students and colleagues altered as a result of her deanship. She remarked the following:

> Current student students…first look at me as a dean. I have to admit it's sort of funny…. I am [a]…scholar, and I think that that is a role that is extremely important to this organization as well as to myself. And then I am the dean, and so I am a senior administrator within the university…. True to say, more funny because I decided to teach a class, even though that I'm the [dean]. And when I asked the students why they were taking the class…one student said, we thought it would be really neat to take a course from the dean…. Their relationship to me changed because they see me as a dean, even though I'm also their instructor.
>
> The way people see you changes.…Many of them couldn't care less that I'm [a]… scholar or would think that's valuable. So,…it's not that those elements are not there… but it's the way that I would weight them. Necessarily, the way that other people around that table weight them.

For respondent 20, the loss pertained to the demise of open and meaningful debate. She explains:

> I have discovered as dean, …the level of deference to the position. So, when I had ideas as a professor and I would raise those ideas, I would have a lively conversation about the pros and cons and if it was a bad idea…. As dean, when I generate ideas, a) people assume they will be implemented; and b) they don't argue. They don't; they don't challenge them. It's very interesting, this weird deference to the role. It's as if,

somehow, my ideas are better as dean than they were as professor. Like, I don't know. It's very interesting. Even at the level of my leadership team,…getting real dialogue about, you know, about, about some of the ideas to address some of those pressing issues that the faculty has to deal with, the amount of dialogue is sadly less than I would have expected. And I think that has to do…[with how] the role is perceived.

Lastly, respondents 19 and 21 touched upon the way in which the deanship impacted their social relationships within the university, resulting in the loss of human connections and friendships. They each described their experiences by means of an example:

> Respondent 19: I have to think about what I say to people because it has more weight. So, I, um, for instance I sing in a choir...But, um, I sort of decided, well I can't ask people to go to my concerts because that would be like the dean asking them to go to concerts….I don't know that that's appropriate. So yeah...I think about it all the time.
>
> Respondent 21: One of the things that's frustrating about this particular role is that you can never step outside of it when you're dealing with anyone who works at the university. Right? I've been [at the university] for…[several] years before taking up the deanship. There are lots of people here who've been my colleagues throughout that time who just are, kind of, lost to me in all sorts of ways. In little ways, like I don't get dinner invitations anymore. And that's, I mean, and people say, oh, well, you're the dean, of course, you wouldn't have time to come to dinner. But I feel like, wow, we've been having dinner for [several] years.

Respondents from across the data set remarked on having to contend with unprecedented levels of visibility upon taking up roles in senior administration. And while their anecdotal evidence bore resemblances, nevertheless a subtle distinction was discernable between the stories imparted from respondents holding vice-presidential appointments and those holding deanships, intimating here again the bearing of the position itself on the lived experience of senior administration roles.

The third theme (i.e. Leading women) emerged from conversations with respondents about the relation of their gender to their organizational identity. Their thoughts on this relationship uncovered the multiple ways in which gender permeates their experiences as women leaders. Although respondents were divided as to whether or not gender was a determinant or even relevant factor in their individual leadership practice, they agreed that gender was a dimension with which they nonetheless had to contend, particularly in light of its visibility. Notably, under the topic of gender, the division between respondents along organizational hierarchical lines evaporated; the role itself no longer seemed to dictate the lived experiences of the respondents. Instead, respondents were proportionally distributed mainly in two camps: those in agreement with gender's influence on their roles as senior administrators, and those who remained undecided.

Of the 21 senior administrators interviewed for this study, only one respondent dismissed altogether the influence of gender on the way she fulfilled her role as senior administrator. Respondent 3 stated unequivocally, "Whatever the gender of the person is who does this job, you have certain things that you can and can't do, probably more than any other job in the university…So it doesn't matter, male or female." Undecided respondents, representing one third of those interviewed, struggled to articulate the "gendered dimension" of their roles and experiences as leaders, imparting comments such as, "I don't know that [gender] influences, but obviously it's part of it" (Respondent 6). As anticipated, respondents in the affirmative camp were more forthcoming with their viewpoints, particularly on the gendered nature of the organizational environment, as though their experiences of this environment were quite familiar to them. Interestingly, this group of respondents largely spoke about gender in relation to leadership in universal terms, rather than concentrating their remarks on their experiences within academe. To me, this is suggestive of the way gender permeates institutions and relationships at all levels of society, and so, is experienced as a general rather than localized phenomenon. The remarks from these respondents, while varied, conveyed and thus confirmed the space gender occupies in organizations, specifically at higher levels of the organizational hierarchy.

Respondent 2, for instance, spoke of gender in its relation to the heightened organizational visibility experienced by women leaders:

> I think in many organizations, um, women are now coming into senior positions that may not have been previously open to them. And, that means that people, whether we like it or not, watch them like a hawk…. The personal and the professional, it's hard to separate them anymore.

In turn, respondent 5 indirectly touched on the issue of organizational visibility in the context of judgments cast on the basis of gendered understandings, or rather stereotypical beliefs, surrounding the practice of leadership in organizations. She remarked the following:

> [With] the sort of paucity of women in leadership roles, you carry a bigger burden, um, because people will, people will perceive your actions…as being, um, you know, being, um, tied to your gender. In other words…if you're more consultative, is it because women are always more consultative. If… you're being assertive, then of course, as we all know, you know, what's assertive for men is aggressive for women,

um. You know, so [if] people don't like the decision, you're a bitch, uh, the descriptions that don't necessarily get, um, get men, men have a lot more latitude.

Respondents noted gender to be visible, perceived by others, and carry implications resulting in the biased treatment of women leaders in organizations, when compared with men. Respondent 4 observed that, "female leaders are critiqued…in different ways than male leaders," an observation that aligns with the assessment of respondent 14:

> We have socially constructed notions of gender based on how women lead and how women behave in leadership situations and how they treat people. And we also have socially constructed ideas of how men do that.... I think we need to break those down because oftentimes we see responses to a male, and a female may do the same thing [or] say the same thing, and the…reaction is different....That's not a fair playing field.

This unfair "playing field" seemed to elicit specific responses from women leaders, some of whom reported adopting behaviours and using tactics to navigate the tortuous gendered terrain, as it were. The following quotations comprise a few of their responses:

> Respondent 5: [I try] to make sure that that I provide enough, um, access to and transparency in and thoughtfulness about decisions that can be evaluated for the, for the substance of the decision as opposed to, you know, me as a woman making those decisions.
>
> Respondent 15: I think I'm understood now in the institution in different ways because I'm a woman. I think, I think that I attempt to get work done in a more collaborative, conciliatory way because I am a woman. But that's how I get things done.

> Every woman who has ever spoken up in a meeting knows the experience of having to wait until a man says the same thing again for it to be heard. And that sometimes you have to do those, you know, make, make alliances in order for someone who is louder to be able to say something that's important, that it's important to get the job done.
>
> Respondent 9: I've learned, um, how to function in a, in a male dominated environment…. I try and function in a sort of gender-neutral way.

The above responses demonstrate the extent to which women leaders in academe, as exemplified by the data set, tend to adapt the way they lead rather than to adopt a leadership practice reflective of whom they are (or aspire) to be as women in senior administration positions. In some cases, the adaption resembles closely resignation to the status quo in the service of their leadership role within the organization. Respondent 9 provided an example of adaption:

> I can tell you that I have, I see people treated differently because of the way they present themselves. And even, you know, people who have no intention to do that, they just, because they're used to seeing a boardroom of men in charcoal gray suits and ties do not think that the woman in the pink suit is to be taken with as much weight. And my job is to do my job, not to change how those people think. So, in fact, it's, I'd rather get to the point of having a serious discussion rather than have to present myself and convince them that even though I'm wearing a pink suit, I know what I'm doing.

Despite the biases and challenges put before them as women leaders working in academe, several respondents nevertheless expressed a commitment to incite change, recognizing in their organizational visibility and gendered representativeness an opportunity to wield their power for a different purpose. This sense of purpose resonates in the quotations that follow:

> Respondent 18: People do look to me as a leader within the academy. And, what I would, what I would add to that [is] that I feel that especially from, um, my women colleagues. As a dean, the colleagues that I'm thinking about are fellow deans. And the women in that group, I think, go out of their way to be supportive and to ensure…that I have listenability, that I'm listened to.
>
> Respondent 21: I think there's still a lot of men who are deans and, I think, some of the sort of leading voices among Canadian deans have tended in recent years to be all men. So, there are a number of women for sure around that table [now]…. But the strong leadership voices are still pretty masculinised. And so, I just think…about things like the importance of having a voice that's a woman's voice in those fora.
>
> Respondent 16: I'm the first woman to be the dean of [this faculty] here at my institution. Before I agreed to step into the role, I sat in a boardroom where we used to have the portraits of all of the old white deans on the wall. And I've looked at them all and thought, OK, guys, here I go. And every now and then, I imagine what they would be saying to each other, if the portraits could talk. And what has, I mean, part of the reason that I decided to do it was in fact, to reconceptualize the role of dean within the university.

In a parallel vein, several respondents demonstrated an acceptance and what is more, a desire, for their gender to factor into the way they assumed their role as senior administrators:

> Respondent 6: When I came into senior leadership role at [this university]…there were very few women who sat around the leadership table. Now there are a lot of women who sit around the leadership table…. And some of the top decisions that we make here are actually made with only women sitting around the table. So, gender definitely has an impact, um, on, I think, the way we approach things.…I am a woman, and I am a mother, and I am a grandmother. And that is, I cannot parcel the package.
>
> Respondent 19: I sort of want to be a woman dean, not just a dean.

The discussions on the topic of gender that ensued from interrogations around organizational identity provoked multiple and varied insights from respondents, arguably offering a comprehensive view of the different ways gender permeates the experiences of women leaders in academe. On the one hand, respondents alluded to the challenges brought about by a systemic masculinist organizational environment; on the other hand, they also suggested that change, while slow to come, was underfoot as the number of women ascending to positions of power was growing and thus creating more opportunities for meaningful action.

The fourth theme (i.e. Representing leaders) pertains to the hidden responsibilities of leadership as experienced by women in senior administration positions in academe, a "second shift" (Hochschild, 1989) as it were, when considering the time and energy these expend. Throughout the interviews, several respondents recognized on the special responsibilities they assume as senior administrators in academe, some in relation to the role itself while others to the visibility of and performance as women leaders.

Regarding the role itself, respondents discussed senior administration positions as both temporal and accountable to constituents, much like the roles of political representatives. Respondent 16 remarked the following:

> Senior leadership roles at universities are a lot like political roles in the sense that it isn't, you're not just sitting in an office, right? There are constituencies out there that are making judgments and you have to be conscious of them all the time, not in the same sense of, you know, politicians need to be thinking about the next election. But if you alienate important constituencies, it's going to be very difficult to, you know, move forward with, with your role.... Senior leadership jobs in academe are the only roles other than politics where you have to re-audition for your job every few years.

Although this was the only explicit reference to similarities between leadership roles in academe and political roles, other remarks from respondents carried undertones analogous of political work.

> Respondent 17: I'm much more conscious that, um, one, I want to have a level of responsibility, um, and am making decisions that impact a lot of people. And that, as a leader, I need people to trust me, respect me, and they need to have a level of confidence that they'll, that they understand why I'm doing what I'm doing.
>
> Respondent 5: I think it [matters] to be seen, to be perceived to be a good leader, whatever good means, whatever attributes you want to put at that…. You can't be a leader if you don't have the confidence of those people that you work with and you know, God help us, in a university actually try and lead.
>
> Respondent 1: I've…talked about, you know, [my role] as it pertains somewhat to [the] community internally, but there's no question that I do actually

represent the university within the [local] community and [I'm] seen that way. And, and feel I have a role that way. So, acting as a bridge between the university and our [local] community in a variety of ways,…I do think I do attach importance to that.

Admittedly, respondents did not speak to the amount of time expended cultivating trust with their constituents and building bridges with their communities. However, I contend that these reflections indicate the seriousness attributed to these hidden responsibilities of leadership, which in turn demonstrates the level of time and energy devoted to their cause.

Respondents also spoke about specific efforts they make as leaders in light of their visibility as women holding senior administration positions in academe, an organizational environment still bearing the vestiges of systemic gender inequality. As captured by the following quotations, the level of responsibility expressed by respondents varied from deliberate utterances of gender in the workplace to the active support of women's development and advancement:

Respondent 15: It has always been important to me that people know that I have children. I mean, I've always worked long, long hours and I never let having children interfere with anything I have to do.…I've never tried to disguise the fact that I have children…because I think it's important to model for other young women that you can do both those things.

Respondent 17: I have become more conscious as, uh, as I move higher up in the hierarchy in my career in administration, um, that I am now a role model for others. And so, it is important for me to make sure that, you know, it is clear that I am a woman and that [even if] I do look young,…you can be a young woman and do this.

> Respondent 4: Right from the time I was a young graduate student, uh, I had female mentors who told me if I wanted to be in academe for any length of time, that I had to make it better for the women who were coming behind me...and it has stuck with me in everything I do. And it's important, I think, umm, for female leaders to be role models, umm, but [also] for female leaders to be authentic. And so I'm very careful to do all of that.
>
> Respondent 18: For me, … mentoring other women and supporting other women and ensuring that this becomes a place that pays attention to equity [is meaningful]. And, you know, it's not just, it's not just about feeling that I have to prove myself, oh I'm the dean so people will expect these certain things, and if I don't demonstrate these certain things, I will be, um, undermined or not taken seriously…. [I feel] like I have…an opportunity to help other women. And that's a, that's an opportunity that I take quite seriously.

For these respondents, gender representation becomes an unobserved part of their job as senior administrators, a responsibility that flows through every formal and informal function they serve and every action they perform. The weight of their gender as women leaders within an organization arguably exceeds that of their male counterparts, for who the job, while demanding, is nevertheless free of this particular consideration.

Notably, the respondents did not speak about these hidden responsibilities in terms of responsibilities, much less burdens. Rather, they referred to the political nature of leadership in academe as conventional and their opportunity to serve as role models to younger generations of women, a sincere privilege and a meaningful way to give back. Their responses beg the question of what constitutes the responsibilities of the position as opposed to what constitute the normalized responsibilities of the position as experienced and practiced by women.

In this chapter, I have explored the relationship between gender and leadership, contending with the (de)masculinization of the leadership construct and the notion of "female disadvantage" and the implications these hold for women in senior level positions in organizations. I have also argued for the rightful place of situated knowledges and narratives of self-representation in the theorizing of women's (under)representation. I have proceeded to share the findings of my TA of semi-structured interviews with women leaders working in university administration in Canada. From the respondents' stories, I have identified meaningful connections and patterns that I have organized into four separate themes, namely, role assimilation, organizational visibility, leading women, and representing leaders. Whereas the themes of role assimilation and organizational visibility demonstrated division between respondents at different levels of the organizational hierarchy, the themes of leading women and representing leaders revealed shared experiences and understandings between respondents, irrespective of their leadership position. The multi-phase analytic process of TA exposed the integrated nature of the extracted themes, which further validated the themes as characteristic of and inherent to women's lived experiences of leadership roles in academe. In this manner, TA served my research objective to attempt to augment the discourse surrounding women in leadership roles in universities by giving way to their stories of representation.

In the final chapter of the dissertation, I discuss the findings of this study and my study on the CRCP in light of the theories and concepts presented in Chapter III. I concentrate the discussion on the concept of representation from the field of political studies, with a focus on Pitkin's theory of representation, and how it disrupts the problematic conceptual structure of women's underrepresentation, giving way to new considerations on women's organizational representation, considerations that extend beyond women's visibility and proportional measure as sexed bodies.

CHAPTER VI

Discussion and Conclusion

In this final chapter, I draw on the theories and concepts that I presented in Chapter III of the dissertation to discuss the findings of my thematic analysis (TA) on the representation of women in elite research and senior administration positions in Canadian universities. I take up the themes originating from the two studies on the gender dimension of women in academe as garnered from sources of gray literature pertaining to the CRCP and from interviews with women holding senior-level roles in university administration, respectively, to demonstrate, on the one hand, the persuasiveness of the concept of underrepresentation in defining the parameters of women's representation and, on the other hand, its inadequacy in capturing and conveying a holistic understanding of women's representation. To this end, I recall the concept of representation from political theory. I illustrate how this conceptual framework gives way to new considerations on women's organizational representation, considerations that extend beyond women's proportional measure as visible sexed bodies. I also show how this conceptual framework, in its relation to the performative, imbues the concept of underrepresentation with discursive force that not only demarcates women in prominent positions in academe as the "critical gender" but also positions them as disadvantaged. In so doing, my dissertation argues for a revisioning of women's underrepresentation that allows into its conceptual fold a consideration of women's representation. I conclude with reflections on the theoretical contribution of my work, the limitations of my research, and the significance and potential of an interpretivist-feminist theoretical perspective for future representation research.

Revisiting the Research

In this dissertation, I have explored the concept of underrepresentation as it pertains to two groups of women in the Canadian academy, namely women in elite research and senior administration positions. This topic touches on sex/gender inequality in the workplace in general, and women's underrepresentation in academe in particular, areas that have garnered much scholarly attention since the rise of feminist organization research in the latter half of the 20th century. As I have argued, academic interest in these areas has been ongoing largely due to the persistent nature of the gender gap in organizations, especially at the upper echelons of the hierarchy. Despite the continued growth in the production of scientific knowledge on women, sex/gender and organizations, this knowledge has proven unsuccessful in provoking substantive changes to workplace "inequality regimes" (Acker, 2006); sex/gender inequality persists in organizations (Calás, Smircich, & Holvino, 2014, p. 17).

Canadian universities, like most institutions of higher learning, have earned reputations as workplace inequality regimes. Although the number of women occupying elite research positions and senior administration roles in Canadian universities has increased over the years, according to reports such as the 2012 Council of Canadian Academies, "Strengthening Canada's research capacity: The gender dimension," progress toward sex/gender equality in academe has been glaringly slow. Women in these prominent positions are consistently described as "underrepresented," their access and ascension to these roles thwarted by organizational structures of inequality and social barriers (Council of Canadian Academies, 2012).

Restating the Problem

Women's underrepresentation as deployed in organization literature has acquired a normalized meaning; it is understood to denote women's collective state of organizational being along specific parameters. The concept of underrepresentation refers to a lesser than adequate proportion of women in relation to men, an "objective" and indeterminate proportional measure that advances a relational understanding between women and men, and positions the former as the aggrieved, disadvantaged party, and the latter as the privileged group. In order to establish a proportional value, it equates the constructs of gender and sex, such that gender emerges as corporeally determined, a static and measurable dimension marked by one of two sex categories, female or male. Finally, underrepresentation imparts an "issue," a problem whose sole visible subject is women. In this manner, the concept of underrepresentation conveys assumptions on the shape and measure of women's participation and inclusion in organizations.

In what regards its usage in the literature, the concept of underrepresentation has emerged as recurring and unproblematized, thus strengthening its conceptual efficacy and legitimacy, or yet again, its "conceptual goodness" (Gerring, 1999, p. 367) as a descriptor of women's state of organizational being. Indeed, the parameters upon which the meaning of the concept relies are persuasive, largely recognized as grounded in fact, and thus sound. Even more, the concept's ordinary and uncontested use further solidifies its "discourse/meaning muscularity" (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000, p. 1126), leaving little opportunity for revisioning. Upon closer consideration, however, the "defective" nature of the "conceptual apparatus" (Gerring, 1999, p. 361) becomes increasingly apparent, particularly in the manner that it discursively binds women in organizations to a singular quantitative dimension measured by way of their sexed bodies, and in the way it relates the collective to a specific state of organizational being. The concept of underrepresentation in the context of women's underrepresentation therefore advances a specific set of assumptions, gendered and politically charged, that hold significant implications for women in organizations, both in how they are viewed and valued.

Design and Approach

The focus of my doctoral research originated from my interest in the concept of underrepresentation, its meaning and use in the literature on women, sex/gender and organizations. I questioned the unproblematized way in which women are discursively constructed as underrepresented in much of the literature. I stood at variance with the underrepresentative claim and how it views and measures women singularly on the basis of their sexed bodies, this dimension alone determining whether they are considered included or excluded, represented or underrepresented. In my view, this conceptualization of women in organizations, which silences if not altogether negates significant discourses in feminist theory, demanded further consideration.

To this end, I directed my attention to the examination of the concept of underrepresentation as deployed in the literature on women in elite research and senior administration careers in Canadian universities. My research objective was twofold; I set out, firstly, to demonstrate the implications of the concept of underrepresentation for the women it describes, and secondly, to explore the gender dimension of women in academe from the basis of their representation. The information I gleaned from a review of the available literature led me to explore the concept of women's representation from two different perspectives, the first concentrating on women in prominent university research positions and the second, on women leaders in university administration.

I selected the case of the CRCP for my consideration of women's representation from the perspective of women in university research. I chose the CRCP on account of the program's long and well documented history with issues of gender inequality and the program's ongoing relevance in the context of elite university research careers in Canada. I reviewed and analyzed select sources of gray literature in the form of program evaluations and related documents, concentrating on the topics of women and gender as broached in these written records. My objective, for this study, was to explore the shape and measure of gender as defined in institutional discourse, and then to ascertain how this understanding of gender informs and sets the criteria for women's representation in academe.

For my consideration of women's representation from the perspective of women leaders in university administration, I opted to speak with women in senior level roles in Canadian universities. I conducted semi-structured interviews, using the broadly defined notions of organizational identity and organizational representation to open up a dialogue about how they view themselves as "being" in the workplace. My objective, for this second study, was to arrive at a more complete understanding of women's representation, how and to what extent it is quantified and qualified through women's "situated knowledges" (Harraway, 1988).

Research Findings in Perspective

Thematic analysis (TA) proved an effective qualitative research method for consideration of the gender dimension of women in academe both in terms of its theoretical flexibility and procedural rigour. TA compelled me to situate myself in relation to the analytic process along three “main continua,” ensuring the relevance of my findings to my research objective (Braun and Clarke, 2012, p. 58). Using TA, I was able to bring to the analysis my own set of assumptions and to position my research approach as deductive in its treatment of data coding and analysis, critical in its orientation to the data, and interpretivist-feminist in its theoretical stance. TA also called for a deliberate and systematic approach to the data that led to pattern identification across each data set (Braun and Clarke, 2012, p. 57). TA’s focus on shared meanings thus aligned with my research objective to delineate the shape and determine the measure of women’s representation in academe as informed by collective institutional perspectives and women’s situated knowledges, respectively.

My TA of gray literature concerning the CRCP uncovered three themes, which I proceeded to label as follows: sex/gender equivalency, proportional equality/equity, and problematizing women. My findings revealed that the institutional shape and measure of the gender dimension as it refers to women in academe—women’s representation—corresponds with the gendered assumptions that describe women as underrepresented in organizations. That is, the program evaluations and related documents discussed gender and sex in an equivalent manner, such that gender emerged as corporeally determined, static and measurable, confined to conventional female/male binary values. The documents framed equality/equity measures as contingent on a proportional understanding of women’s body count, either in relation to men chairholders or in relation to feeder groups (i.e. the number of women researchers eligible for chairs). Finally, gender as a topic was continuously addressed in the gray literature as an issue or problem in need of resolution, the sole subject of this issue being women researchers. Whether gender was construed as a chair distribution issue, as per the HAL report (Hickling Arthurs Low, 2002, p. 3), or as a program “design issue," a per the Malatest (R.A. Malatest & Associates, 2004, p. 12–13) and the Goss Gilroy reports (Goss Gilroy, 2016, p. 27), gender retained its problem status, and women, acquired the status of the critical gender. From these texts, the objective to increase the proportion of women chairholders entailed a challenge to overcome rather than an opportunity to seize.

Contrastingly, the findings from my TA of interviews with women leaders from university administration revealed a gender dimension that reached significantly beyond quantitative considerations of the visible sexed body. In familiarizing myself with the data set for this study, I identified four distinct themes, namely, role assimilation, organizational visibility, leading women, and representing leaders. The first theme (i.e. role assimilation), referring to the process by which new incumbents experienced assimilation into their leadership role in university senior administration (Graen, Orris, & Johnson, 1973), arose from the respondents' perspectives on the nature of their senior-level position and their relationship to it. Respondents remarked on the immersive quality of their roles and the expectations placed upon them in light of their specific mandates. The second theme (i.e. organizational visibility) stemmed from respondents' experiences of a heightened self-awareness and new sense of accountability as a result of their increased and constant visibility as leaders. Respondents commented on the risks and burdens of the unremitting gaze, leading to a loss of identity for some. The third theme (i.e. leading women) surfaced from respondents' views on the influence of gender on their leadership practice. Respondents offered multiple and varied insights, suggestive of the biased treatment they faced as women working in a largely masculinist leadership environment. At the same time, they suggested that the organizational environment of academe was slowly changing as a result of the increasing number of women ascending to positions of power and influence. The fourth and final theme (i.e. representing leaders) emerged from the respondents' experience of hidden responsibilities, and a deeper sense of accountability as women working in an "inequality regime." They acknowledged the political nature of their positions and expressed a willingness to serve as role models for younger generations of women aspiring to leadership in academe. The patterns and shared experiences of women leaders in university administration, as captured in the interviews and uncovered by TA, described women's representation as an active, embodied process through which components of authorization, accountability, visibility, and advocacy are constantly operating. Although respondents acknowledged their organizational subjectivity as sexed bodies and the persuasiveness of their presence as women leaders, they described corporeality as one of multiple and arguably integrated facets of their representation, certainly not as the only facet.

Considered jointly, the findings from the two studies showed a marked discrepancy in the way the gender dimension of women leaders in academe is conceived. The institutional conception limited women's representation to an objective quantitative value measured off the body, thereby disallowing the possibility for a broader discourse and a (re)conceptualization of women centered on a more qualitative account of their participation and inclusion in academe. By contrast, women's representation as garnered from women's lived experiences of leadership in academe emerged as a multi-faceted and dynamic dimension, calling for considerations beyond the visible sexed body.

Views of Representation from Political Theory

The concept of representation from the field of political science presented a framework that aligned with the multi-faceted perspective of representation I encountered in my interviews with women leaders in university administration. Pitkin's influential work

(1967) on the concept of representation, itself a theoretical consideration on the nature of political representation inspired by Austinian language philosophy, is a theorization that I felt drew significant parallels with the lived experiences of women leaders in academe and thus, would further elucidate my research findings. As I discussed in Chapter III, Pitkin's framework (1967) described representation by means of different views, specifically "formalistic" (i.e. Authorization view and Accountability view), "standing for" (i.e. Descriptive view and Symbolic view), and "acting for" views of representation. Each view, while discernable and persuasive in its own right, forms an integral part of a whole. For Pitkin (1967), the concept of representation could be accessed by means of a single view but could be neither fully observed nor conceived from it, the meaning of representation bound to an integrated understanding of the separate views.

Pitkin (1967) opened the description of her conceptual framework with a definition of "formalistic" views of representation, views that "conceiv[e] of representation in terms of formal arrangements which precede and initiate it…[or] formal arrangements that follow and terminate it" (p. 11). The former, labeled "authorization view," regards the concept of representation in terms of representatives being given the authority to act, ante factum, on behalf of the represented. The latter, labeled "accountability view," regards representation in terms of representatives being held accountable by the represented for their actions, post factum (Pitkin, 1967, p. 11). In both instances, a representative is called to act on behalf of the represented. Traces of formalistic views of representation were dispersed throughout my interviews with women leaders in university administration. Respondents discussed the responsibilities associated with their senior roles and specific mandates, in terms approximating both authorization and accountability. Respondent 20, for example, discussed her leadership practice in terms of service, imparting that her authority to act was at times met with opposition:

> I've had to make some challenging and difficult decisions that I feel are going to be best for [the university] in the long run, which maybe are not popular in any shape. So, [my staff] may not perceive me as serving them when I make those decisions because I'm not serving their personal interest …[w]hereas I am serving the [university's] interests.… I don't think it's realistic necessarily for [my staff] to see…the big picture in the way that I do, because they just don't have the same opportunities to, you know. We're looking at… something from quite different spheres…. [And] I have been trying to use education…because it would help people understand why a decision was made.

Respondent 17, for her part, remarked on the weight of accountability she shouldered as a senior administrator, commenting the following:

> I'm much more conscious that, um, one, I want to have a level of responsibility, um, and am making decisions that impact a lot of people. And that, as a leader, I need people to trust me, respect me, and they need to have a level of confidence that they'll, that they understand why I'm doing what I'm doing.

Respondents also spoke of a separate accountability, stemming from their gendered experience of leadership, accountability toward other women in academe. I recall a passage from my interview with respondent 18, who acknowledged feeling empowered and responsible to incite meaningful organizational change for women, on the basis of her position of influence within academe:

> For me, … mentoring other women and supporting other women and ensuring that this becomes a place that pays attention to equity [is meaningful]. And, you know, it's not just, it's not just about feeling that I have to prove myself, oh I'm the dean so people will expect these certain things, and if I don't demonstrate these certain things, I will be, um, undermined or not taken seriously….[I feel] like I have…an opportunity to help other women. And that's a, that's an opportunity that I take quite seriously.

Following her consideration of formal views of representation, Pitkin (1967) proceeded to describe equally persuasive albeit more informal arrangements. “Standing for” views of representation include two types, namely descriptive representation and symbolic representation, and refer to representation as achieved by way of features or qualities, real or figurative, shared by the representative and the represented. Whereas descriptive representation relies on those features perceived as belonging to both the representative and the represented and therefore establishes a correspondence and outward likeness between them, symbolic representation points to the figurative representative-represented relationship in which the qualities of the representative are said to evoke those of the represented (Pitkin, 1967). Once again, hints of standing for views of representation emerged throughout my interviews with women leaders in university administration. Interestingly, the distinction between descriptive and symbolic views of representation seemed to blur when seen through the lens of my interview data. That is, respondents commented on their heightened organizational visibility as women leaders in senior administration. As such, they were “seen” as leaders sharing a likeness with women in academe on account of their visible sexed bodies, an instance of descriptive representation. However, they also took on the appearance of role models, tokens of a changing organizational terrain in which women are gaining ground and achieving success "despite" their womanhood, an example of symbolic representation. The following passages illustrate the integrated nature of standing for views of representation in the context of women leaders in academe:

> Respondent 17: I have become more conscious as, uh, as I move higher up in the hierarchy in my career in administration, um, that I am now a role model for others. And so, it is important for me to make sure that, you know, it is clear that I am a woman and that [even if] I do look young,…you can be a young woman and do this.
>
> Respondent 15: It has always been important to me that people know that I have children. I mean, I've always worked long, long hours and I never let having children interfere with anything I have to do.…I've never tried to disguise the fact that I have children…because I think it's important to model for other young women that you can do both those things.

With the third view of representation, which she coined "acting for" view, Pitkin (1967) turned her focus beyond considerations of what representatives have (i.e. formalistic views) and what representatives are (i.e. standing for views) to what representatives do—the act of representing itself. She describes the acting for view as bound up in those concrete actions taken "in the interest of the represented, in a manner responsive to them" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 209), or put more succinctly, "substantive acting for others" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 143). Throughout the interviews, the notion of acting for representation came across in the respondents' determination to serve not only as advocates but also as change agents within the academy in the interest of bettering the organizational environment for the next generation of women leaders. The respondents' statements highlighted below convey their commitment to substantive action:

> Respondent 4: Right from the time I was a young graduate student, uh, I had female mentors who told me if I wanted to be in academe for any length of time, that I had to make it better for the women who were coming behind me...and it has stuck with me in everything I do.
>
> Respondent 16: I'm the first woman to be the dean of [this faculty] here at my institution. Before I agreed to step into the role, I sat in a boardroom where we used to have the portraits of all of the old white guy deans on the wall. And I've looked at them all and thought, OK, guys, here I go. And every now and then, I imagine what they would be saying to each other, if the portraits could talk. And what has, I mean, part of the reason that I decided to do it was in fact, to reconceptualize the role of dean within the university.

The findings of my study supported Pitkin's understanding of representation as comprised of multiple integrated views. Remarks from respondents generally related to one facet of representation but were suggestive of others, such that the different views emerged as interdependent. Responsibility, embodiment, and the impetus to act, captured respectively by formalistic, standing for, and acting for views of representation, formed a multi-faceted consciousness of women's leadership. Based on my observation, the notion of distinct constructs of representation emerged as unpersuasive, despite its conceptual pragmatism. Admittedly, representation never surfaced as a whole, "covering concept" (Rehfeld, 2017, p. 58). What became apparent, however, throughout my interviews with women leaders in academe, is that neither facet of representation constituted a fully independent idea of representation, let alone a "mutually interchangeable" one (Pitkin, 1967, p. 226). As such, what I initially interpreted as waning in Pitkin's text, a fissure in her conceptual framework of representation, in actuality was an account of how representation develops as a phenomenon, fragmented and incomplete. Again, recalling Pitkin's words on this topic,

> to say that all the views…are related in the sense of being views of the same, single concept, is not to say that they are mutually interchangeable...Something absent can be made present in many different ways…but not everything can be made present in every way…Indeed, the perfection of one kind of representation, 'making present,' may preclude the perfection of other kinds in any particular case. And not every kind will even be possible in every context. (Pitkin, 1967, p. 226-227)

My discussion on the concept of representation from the field of political studies also touched on the performative view of representation, a theorization I felt further informed the overarching problem of underrepresentation as a normalized claim in the literature on women leaders in organizations. I introduced the performative from the perspective of Saward's representative claim theory, which led me to revisit Austinian language philosophy, specifically, Austin's performative language theory. Together, these separate accounts of the performative established the claim-making and the utterances of underrepresentation that render the concept a force with which to contend.

Saward describes the performative dimension of representation as that which extends beyond forms and typologies of representation (i.e. what representation is) and concerns the action representation entails (i.e. what representation does). This account of the performative considers representation as the dynamic process through which the terms of the representative-represented relationship are proposed and acknowledged, the maker advancing a claim that the audience in turn acknowledges, be it through acceptance or rejection. The acceptability of claims, for Saward, is bound to their iterative quality and the status of convention they acquire through repetition. Saward's representative claim theory, in the context of the problem examined in this dissertation, helped to reveal the iterative nature of underrepresentation as a widely accepted claim in gender and organization literature. As illustrated by my study on the gender dimension as conceived and measured in institutional discourse pertaining to the CRCP, the literature (i.e. maker) puts forward the figure of the women in a prominent role (i.e. subject) as the critical gender (i.e. object) that relates to all women in a similar role (i.e. referent) and offers it to the reader (i.e. audience). In my view, it follows that the underrepresentative claim as used in literature pertaining to women in elite research and senior level roles in academe acquired the status of acceptable claim and thus convention through a process of discursive iteration.

Saward's account of the performative as interpreted from the viewpoint of the underrepresentative claim in gender and organization literature, led me to back to Austinian language philosophy. Austin's performative language theory offered a separate account of the performative, one that centered on the force of language "in use." For Austin, every utterance fulfilled an action, that is, a performative function; it did something. He elaborated a general theory of speech-acts that categorized the actions of utterances as either locutionary (i.e. the act "of uttering" an intelligible and meaningful utterance), illocutionary (i.e. the act of effecting conventional force "in uttering" an utterance), or perlocutionary (i.e. the act of eliciting an effect "by uttering" an utterance) (Austin, 1962). Arguably, the concept of underrepresentation as it is problematized in this dissertation regards its use as a term rather than an utterance. However, I contend that the actions of the utterance are implied and verified in its unproblematized use in the literature and the manner in which the underrepresentative claim has come to define women's state of organizational being in academe. Austin's speech-acts explain the (per)formative force of the concept of underrepresentation as exerted through its use as a key term of the literature under consideration.

The literature on the concept of representation from within the field of political studies and its relation to language philosophy provided a conceptual framework for my exploration of women's underrepresentation as it arises in academic organizational literature on women in academe. In expounding the meaning of representation, what it is and what it does, by means of this framework, I exposed the problematic nature of underrepresentation as a fundamental claim defining and delimiting women in academe.

Theoretical Contribution

My aim for this dissertation has been to contribute to the development of gynocentric scientific knowledge surrounding a problematic conceptualization arising in the literature on women leaders in academe—women's underrepresentation. To this end, I have drawn from research in organization studies, feminist and gender studies, philosophy, and political studies, to demonstrate how various ideas and assumptions converge to define the parameters of women's underrepresentation. I have argued that underrepresentation arises as an unproblematized claim in feminist organization literature, and holds significant implications for women in its partial and reductive views. In response to the problem, I have proposed a retheorization of the concept of underrepresentation that includes considerations on the concept of representation. This augmented understanding informs and conceives a way through the permanent discourse of disadvantage that positions and repositions women at the margins of the organization.

Throughout this dissertation, I have relied on an interpretivist-feminist theoretical perspective to guide my exploration of women in elite research and senior administration positions in Canadian universities, finding in the integration of interpretivism and feminism the possibility for new lines of inquiry and theorizing. I have sought to engage in what Buker (1990) describes as reflective theorizing, a "stance which takes account of its own purposes in the process of conducting social inquiry" (p. 37). I have contributed feminist organization research that produces and advances a theory that is critically constructive rather than critically reactive, rooted in women's experiences, self-aware and committed to social action in support of organizational gender equity and inclusion.

Limitations and Future Research

Reflecting on the limitations of my work, the lack of previous research on the concept of women's underrepresentation presented a significant challenge and required me to develop the theoretical basis upon which to structure my arguments for the dissertation. This limitation influenced the scope and purpose of my research, as I needed to create the conceptual frame and justify its necessity, all at once. This task, while formidable, also presented a meaningful opportunity for me to engage in a process of discovery through the interdisciplinary nature of my work. From a more technical viewpoint, the lack of existing research on women's underrepresentation presented an obstacle both at the review of literature phase and during my conversations with women leaders in academe, most of whom commented on or struggled with the lack of existing definitions during the interview process.

Another limitation of my work centered on bias, my own bias as a researcher and the bias of the interview participants. As I stated outright at the beginning of this dissertation, I approached the topic of my research from a privileged view as an insider. In working alongside elite researchers and senior administrators in universities, I gained specific knowledge and insight that informed and guided my research efforts for this dissertation. As such, my work stems from my partial view from within academe and bears the mark of my interpretations and research intent. In what regards the bias of the interview participants, much the same is true in that their accounts stemmed from their own experiences as women leaders in academe and as such, remain partial. But I would argue that the knowledge and understandings that derive from experience gain theoretical currency and scientific clout through the acknowledgement of bias and partiality, particularly in instances when experiences emerge as shared across a collective, as was the case with my second study.

Also, a limitation of the dissertation derives from my choice to meet the gender discourse "where it is at" institutionally, at the time of both studies and of my observations from within university administration. This led me away from intersectional explorations and the consideration of EDI literature. My work predates a recent marked shift in the understanding of and approach to gender at the level of the academy influenced by strong contemporary social movements and a devastating global pandemic. As such, my dissertation captures a moment in time in its consideration of gender in organizations and women in academe; it raises theories and perspectives that inform and elucidate the values and beliefs from which the current organizational discourse and management of gender stem. Decidedly, I argue that my research not only withstands this shift but gains in theoretical weight and relevance on account of it. The contribution of my work is that it exposes the problematic normative usage of the concept of underrepresentation as it pertains to an identity group, and offers a lens through which to examine and reframe the restrictive and even discriminatory claims and assumptions the concept perpetuates and reinforces. Thus, the model of inquiry I establish transfers to research into other modalities of EDI representation. It is my hope that my work opens new pathways for future representation research, my proposed re-theorization of (under)representation holding relevance beyond considerations of gender.

Final Thoughts

I draw insight and inspiration from Pitkin (1967) one final time when I contend that this dissertation "is about an idea" much in same the way her book on the concept of representation is about an idea (p. 1). My work is rooted in a profound belief that words, as the expression of our ideas, not only describe our world and our place in it, but moreover constitute it, hence the significance of their meanings. Unpacking and problematizing the underrepresentative claim as it relates to women in elite research and senior administration positions in academe, I maintain, holds significant implications for these women, and the generation of women who will follow along similar career paths of prestige and power. It introduces the potential for greater nuance in the academy's "constitution" of women's inclusion by augmenting the understanding of women's organizational participation as that which is multi-facetted and dynamic, and more notably, worthy of consideration beyond their perceived corporeal dimension. In so doing, it sets the course for a more holistic and "representative" gender discourse, one that is needed to incite and drive organizational changes in support of gender equity in academe.

Pitkin (1967) writes the following:

> For the social philosopher, for the social scientist, words are not ‘mere’; they are the tool of his trade and a vital part of his subject matter....But even beyond this, the social theorist sees the world through a network of concepts. Our words define and delimit our world in important ways, and this is particularly true of the world of human and social things. (Pitkin, 1967, p. 1)

It follows that if we take pause to consider the words that define and delimit our existence in the world, we may discover our ability to wield power over them and accelerate meaningful and substantive social change. In this manner, this dissertation is about an idea and it is about the empowerment to act.

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First Name	Last Name	Affiliation	Role
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University of Ottawa
Institute of Feminist and Gender Studies

Interview Questions

Title of the study:

Considering representation in higher education institutions: Women leaders and the Canadian academy

Name of researcher(s) and contact information:

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This semi standardized interview is organized into 3 segments.

A. I will begin by asking you a few questions about **organizational identity.**

(Q1) How would you define a person's organizational identity?

(Q2) Do you think that you have one? Can you describe it?
- If no, why not?

(Q3) What does your organizational identity mean to you?
- Do you think about your organizational identity? Can you explain why or why not?

(Q4) Does your gender influence your organizational identity? Can you describe how?
- If no, why not?

Thank you.

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B. I will now ask you a few questions about organizational representation.

(Q5) Do you see any relationship between your organizational identity and your representativeness, that is, the level of how well or accurately you are reflected, in the workplace? Can you describe this relationship?

(Q6) How do you feel about this relationship? Is it important to you?
- Do you think about your organizational representation? Can you explain why or why not?

(Q7) To what extent do you manage your representativeness in the workplace?
- Do you think that you actively, passively or do not manage it? Can you explain why or why not?

(Q8) Do you feel responsible for your organizational representation?

Thank you.

C. In this final segment, I will ask you questions about your personal academic homepage at the university.

(Q9) Is your homepage valuable to you as a digital tool? Can you explain why or why not?

(QlO) Has its value to you changed over the years? Can you explain how?

(Q11) To what degree were you involved in the creation of your homepage? Was this degree of involvement suitable?
- Were you provided with a template? Did you have leeway with the design and/or content, or did you work with strict guidelines? If the latter, did you question them?

(Q12) Do you actively manage your homepage content? Can you describe what is important to you when managing this content?

(Q13) Do you use your homepage to portray your organizational identity? Can you describe how?

(Q14) In its current state, does your organizational representation as portrayed by your homepage align with your organizational identity? Can you explain how?

(Q15) How, if at all, is your gender portrayed in your homepage? Is this important to you?

(Q16) Is your organizational identity as portrayed by your homepage the main vehicle of your representativeness in the workplace? Can you explain why or why not?

This is the end of the interview. Thank you for your participation.

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Using thematic analysis in psychology

Routledge Taylor & Francis Group

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Publisher: Taylor & Francis
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