



Female Empowerment in Science and Technology Academia

DELIVERABLE WP 7

**HANDBOOK ON RESISTANCE TO
GENDER EQUALITY IN ACADEMIA**

[HTTP://WWW.RESGE.EU](http://www.resge.eu)



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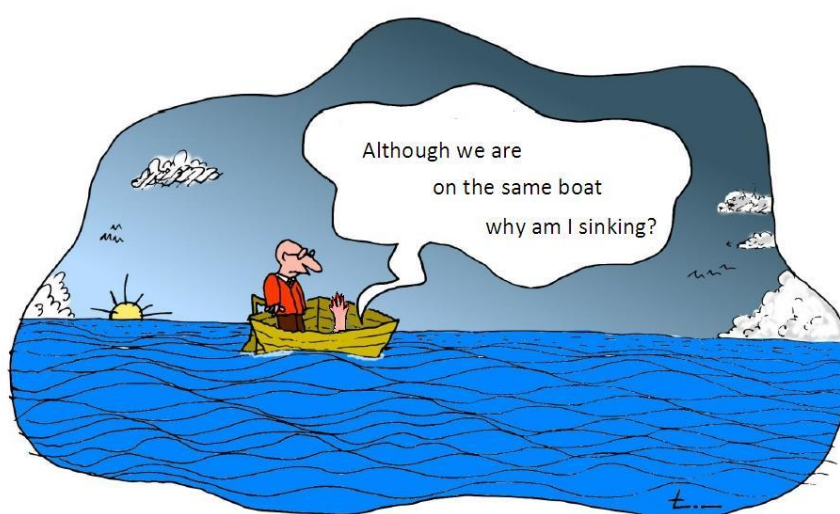
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ABSTRACT

FESTA is an FP7 implementation project aiming to effect structural and cultural change in higher level education and research institutes in order to advance gender equality (FESTA, 2012). One of the focus areas of the project is to give a deeper understanding of resistance that emerges during processes of change when gender equality policies are implemented in such institutions. To that end, the project undertakes the recording and analysis of the resistance incidents encountered by the partner institutions during the course of FESTA. Using 31 of the narratives of such incidents this handbook aims to summarize what barriers have been experienced along the process of change. By composing a list of recommendations for dealing with the barriers along this process the handbook hopes to assist researchers and change agents engaged in gender equality projects.

After a brief presentation of literature to define what resistance is and in which ways it intersects with gender the handbook focuses on the causes, forms and symptoms of resistance to gender sensitive implementations. Next a set of recommendations crafted by partners offers suggestions on different ways of dealing with resistance. The handbook concludes with the analysis of various resistance cases recorded by FESTA consortium asking and answering in each case why a resistance case occurred, how it happened, who was the resisting person/s, how it would be counteracted. The handbook thus hopes to give clues to the audience about the possible interpretations of a case and the suggested practices for countering it.



1. INTRODUCTION

This handbook aims to present a deeper understanding of resistance to structural change to gender equality in academic institutions and the ways of dealing with it. It is concerned with forms, directions, and aspects of resistance coming from men and women as well as the organizations, and the ways resistance operates (FESTA, 2012). For the purposes of the handbook, all resistance incidents encountered by the partner institutions during the course of FESTA project have been recorded and analyzed. We have agreed to include here 31 of these narratives summarizing what has worked well and what barriers have been experienced along the process of change towards gender equality in the member institutions of FESTA. We have also composed a list of recommendations for dealing with a variety of possible resistance incidents along the process of change. The bibliography at the end of the text is expected to be useful to the reader interested in further reading in the area.

1.1 WHO IS IT FOR

This handbook is addressed to change agents and researchers engaged in gender equality projects both in academic and non-academic institutions. It also targets anyone engaged in a change process in any subject area since the handbook also covers some of the general types of resistance which are not directly related to gender issues.

1.2 WHY IS IT USEFUL

It is expected to be useful to change agents because resistance is an inevitable part of the change process. Anyone who would like to create change in an environment needs to reduce the barriers as well as recognize the strategies to do this. Studying manifestations of resistance within institutions can answer this call by identifying both the blockages in the implementation of gender mainstreaming and the reasons for limited gender change (Cavaghan forthcoming, 2015; Lombardo and Mergaert, 2013; Mergaert and Lombardo, 2014).

1.3. HOW TO USE IT? GUIDELINE

Inspired by the information gathered from the existing literature we first try to present a framework of resistance defining the concept as it is used in the study and explaining how gender intersects with it. In the next section, we focus on the main causes and the indicators as well as the forms and

CHANGE THREATENS PEOPLE

...change is like “a stone tossed into a still pond, which causes ripples to radiate in all directions with unpredictable consequences”

...resistance as a form of opposition is considered to be an outcome of such unpredictable consequences by which individuals become directly affected...

...resistance specifically means here opposition to the change that implementation of gender equality policies promote.

symptoms of resistance. The following section concerns counteracting resistance and lists recommendations for handling resistance. In the section analyzing the collected data an attempt is made to diagnose the forms, causes and actors of the resistance incidents encountered during the FESTA project as well as the suggested strategies to use in each case. In the discussion and conclusions section the implications of the analysis of the resistance incidents are summarized. The methodology followed to gather data concerning resistance encountered during FESTA activities is presented in the Appendix. The handbook is also available on the web as an interactive Toolkit (www.resge.eu)

2. RESISTANCE AND GENDER

In this section of the handbook we try to define what we mean by resistance, how gender intersects with resistance to change, what are the main causes and indicators and what are some of the forms and symptoms of resistance.

2.1 HOW TO DEFINE RESISTANCE

The notion of resistance constitutes one of the serious challenges regarding organizational behavior and change. Kreitner (1992) suggests that change is like “a stone tossed into a still pond, which causes ripples to radiate in all directions with unpredictable consequences”. Resistance is considered to be an outcome of such unpredictable consequences by which individuals become directly affected. It exists in almost every organizational operation as an obstacle (Dent and Goldberg, 1999) and can be defined as a form of opposition or refusal that emerges during processes of change and that is aimed at maintaining the status quo (Lombardo and Mergaert, 2013, Mergaert and Lombardo, 2014). In this handbook, resistance specifically means opposition to the change that implementation of gender equality policies promotes.

As the opposition is associated with the actions or non-actions of the individuals they have generally been seen to be the core of the problem. Dent and Goldberg (1999) argue, however, that what individuals actually resist may not be the change itself but the possibility to lose status, loss of comfort or the idea of the unknown, which makes them feel insecure. Accordingly, the main obstacle

GENDERED CULTURES & MASCULINE NETWORKS

... the changes that gender mainstreaming requires actually challenge the norms, practices, and assumptions concerning the relations between men and women that work at the level of individual and institutional actors.

...one of the main motives in gendered organizations is that some of the men behave in an exclusionary behavior by sharing information only with other men while excluding women, which point out the notion of “men’s club” networks and homosociality.

against change is related to the quality of the new vision that is being implemented in an organization. Individuals are, therefore, not the sole cause of resistance to change and one should carefully assess the role of the organization when implementing a new structure. Institutions can constrain actors’ possibilities to effectively implement the change strategies through the everyday norms and practices they enact (Cavaghan forthcoming, 2015; Mackay, 2011).

In human sciences one of the main issues has been the relationship of resistance to power. Foucault (1978) suggests that where there is power, there is resistance; power affirms that there exists resistance and vice versa. Before starting to think about resistance, we have to take in mind that 'power is no longer considered a unitary, constant force that emanates from a particular social class or institution, rather it is seen as a more tenuous fabric of hegemonic forms' (Constable, 2007). Foucault (1978) questions our assumption that power is always and essentially repressive, he wants to show how power also can be positive in a way that it can produce forms of pleasure, systems of knowledge, goods, and discourses and that it not only works negatively, by denying, restricting, prohibiting and repressing (Abu-Lughod, 1990). The focus within studies of resistance too shifted from large-scale collective revolts to more unlikely forms of resistance such as subversions and small or local resistances which do not especially aim to overthrow the system and which do not result from ideologies of emancipation (Ibid.).

According to Foucault (1978) the existence of power relationships depends on a multiplicity of points of resistance: these play the role of adversary, target, support, or handle in power relations. But this does not mean that they are only a reaction or a rebound, forming with respect to the basic domination of an underside that is in the end always passive, doomed to perpetual defeat. Power does not just react to resistance, nor is it merely preceded by it: resistive tensions constitute power and lie at its very centre. “Resistance comes first, and resistance remains superior to the forces of the process; power relations are obliged to change with the resistance.” (Foucault, 1976, 1978). Foucault’s ideas can help to analyse and facilitate change in power relations in the organization. In this respect signs of resistance can serve as a practical warning signal indicating the specific arrangements that will be sustained or threatened by the change (Lawrence, 1969). Therefore, when resistance appears, it is time for a careful exploration of the difficulty to find out what the trouble is.

2.2 HOW GENDER INTERSECTS WITH RESISTANCE TO CHANGE

FESTA project started with the understanding that patriarchies produce resistance to equality struggles (FESTA, 2012). The power and norms of hegemonic groups within an institution not only facilitate particular (male) behaviors, but they also block or oppose change that gender initiatives promote (Kenny, 2011; Mackay, 2011). Processes of mainstreaming gender into organizations are likely to face particular resistance—argues Días González (2001)—because the changes that gender mainstreaming requires actually challenge the norms, practices, and assumptions concerning the relations between men and women that work at the level of individual and institutional actors. According to Benschop and Verloo (2006), organizational resistance to change is a key reason for the ineffective implementation of gender mainstreaming.

Liff and Cameron (1997) stress the importance of the culture in organizations as a social interaction and meaningful and symbolic codes among members in a group. Although organizational cultures have distinctive traits, they also draw on wider cultural meanings. Gender plays an important role in organizational culture. Gender inequality is reproduced within organizations through patterns of social interaction and the meanings that are attributed to them. One of the main motives in gendered organizations is that some of the men behave in an exclusionary way by sharing information only with other men while excluding women, which points out the notion of “men’s club” networks and homosociality (ibid.. Morley, 2013a, Morley, 2013b, O’Connor, 2011).

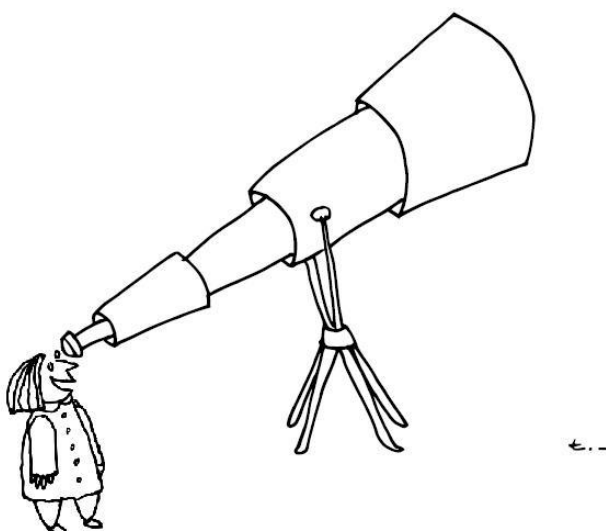
While some men say that they support equality, such an egalitarian discourse does not reflect onto practice since they suggest that equality measures favor women (Liff and Cameron, 1997). In such cases resistance to change is often related to men’s feeling of losing status and privilege. It also shows that there is a distinction between discourse and practice, while some men and sometimes women may be eager to express statements regarding equality, they may not actualize their stances on the level of action. In this regard, the problem of non-action and privilege should not necessarily be considered as a personal problem; they are rather problems that are outcomes of gendered organizational cultures.

It is increasingly recognized that universities are male-dominated organizations internationally (Husu, 2001) but STEM disciplines are even more so. “Western Science and technology are culturally masculinized. This is not just a question of personnel. The guiding metaphors of scientific research, the impersonality of its discourse, the structures of power and communication in science, the reproduction of its internal culture, all stem from the social position of dominant men in a gendered world” (Connell, 2005:6).

Experimental studies of curricula vitae evaluations, showed that both men and women rated the male candidate as more competent where the only difference on the application materials was gender (Moss-Racusin et al. 2012). Sheltzer and Smith (2014) found that academic leaders in elite laboratories were significantly less likely to hire female postdoctoral trainees than their male counterparts, with consequences for such women’s subsequent careers.

Many women and men in Prometea research reported that they do not believe that gender was a relevant factor in their careers. The majority of men neither discussed issues related to gender in their work environment nor they discussed gender genuinely as their problem. Some women resisted taking

part in an initiative designed ‘for women’, because of the perception that supporting women is inevitably linked with positive discrimination policies (Prometea, 2008). Both male and female academics may therefore feel uncomfortable to come across a policy, which is addressed towards women only. Some of the men, may be uneager to provide open support, not to be considered as pro-feminists in gendered environments, especially within the “men’s club” networks. The same can be true for female academics who do not want to be associated with anything connoting “women’s movement”.



3. MAIN CAUSES AND INDICATORS OF RESISTANCE

The list of the main causes of resistance to gender mainstreaming initiatives is an attempt to cover both the ones inspired by literature and those observed in the FESTA implementations. In many cases there are several overlapping reasons behind the resistance and in some of the others it is difficult to distinguish which is the real cause. As a general resistance to change is hard to distinguish from the resistance to work towards gender equality, the list below refers to both forms of resistance.

3.1 SENSITIVITIES AND RISKS

3.1.1 Confidentiality, Insecurity, Anxiety

Institutions may have their own policies or principles to maintain confidentiality in the workplace. Even when there is no explicit institutional policy on confidentiality, managers/academics can feel insecure as they feel anxiety and uncertainty about how the change will affect them, their job status, their social relationships, and other work related factors (Baker, 1989, Moss Kanter, 1985). Gender training as a part of the mainstreaming program creates resistance, since during the implementation of gender training, individuals' personal identities and beliefs are challenged as it provokes people to stay critical of their own gender roles (Lombardo and Mergaert, 2013). Resistance can also originate from a feeling of 'incapacity' that is caused by a lack of gender knowledge (Mergaert, 2012).

3.1.2 Mistrust

People will resist change if they believe those responsible for the change are not to be trusted, either because they do not have their best interests at heart, or because they are not being open and honest with them about the change and its impact (Hultman, 2014). Sometimes mistrust between core functions and central support functions are based in past resentments (Moss Kanter, 1985). Resistance may, thus, be caused by lack of trust with the positions of the project team in the organization and not by the project itself. In such cases past resentments must be overcome first in order to build commitment to change.

Mistrust may also be directed towards institutionalization of gender equality functions. Such units as commissions, committees, centers or positions which are established for the institutionalization of gender equality/balance may not be welcomed easily by the rest of the structure and considered redundant.

3.1.3 Loss of Face

According to Moss Kanter (2012), change is a departure from the past. Those people associated with the last version — the one that didn't work, or the one that's being superseded — are likely to be defensive about it. When change involves a big shift of strategic direction, the people responsible for the previous direction dread the perception that they must have been wrong. Leaders can help people maintain dignity by celebrating those elements of the past that are worth honoring, and making it clear that the world has changed.

3.2 STATUS QUO

Simply being comfortable with their present ways of doing things some people find it easier to do things the way they always have rather than to operate differently.

3.2.1 Threat to Job Status

Contribution to a gender equality project can be one of the most important challenges in an academic working environment since especially the male academics may feel that their privileges will come to an end (Pendlebury, Grouard and Meston, 1998) because of more (female) competitors in promotion or in hiring processes for future jobs. Possibility of losing chances for promotion because of quotas for men academics or feeling unfair and uncomfortable to be promoted by the quota implementation for women academics create considerable resistance in different forms (Lombardo and Mergaert, 2013).

3.2.2 Threat to Meritocracy

The idea of meritocracy as the key element of academic discourse is considered to be universal and gender neutral. Any attempt to advance a career on other grounds than individual achievement, e.g. gender quotas, is considered a challenge to the objectivity/meritocracy of science. However, meritocracy implies selection and exclusion (Morley and Lugg, 2009) and defining the merit of one academic cannot be always independent from his/her gender. According to Jack (2009) 'Gender neutrality' in STEM refers to arguments that deny, overlook or explain away women's under-representation in male dominated areas as symptomatic of women's own failings, rather than acknowledging systematic, institutional and cultural inequalities. Therefore, gender equality projects aiming to remove barriers for women or strengthen their capacities or proposing quotas often are viewed by the academics as threats to meritocracy.

3.2.3 Conformity

High sense of conformity, disregard or underestimation of differing opinions can also raise resistance. A situation and/or topic that is new to the resistant person can be experienced as a stressor, simply because it is a new topic or method (Lamm and Gordon, 2010). The feeling of a permanent change can increase the feeling of inconvenience, in particular when the work that is connected to change seems to be without any use and has to be done in addition to everyday work (Kriegesmann and Kley, 2014). Giving up one's own habits and changing environment can thus increase discomfort which makes some people to resist against any kind of change.

3.3 LIMITED RESOURCES

According to Sirkin, Keen and Jackson (2005) some of the hard factors that affect a transformation initiative are the time necessary to complete it, the number of people required to execute it, and the financial results that intended actions are expected to achieve. Their research showed that change projects fail to get off the ground when companies neglect the hard factors. As far as the gender equality projects are concerned it has been observed that many officials did not consider it necessary redistribute power and to channel relatively scarce resources to women (Razavi and Miller, 1995, Moser, 1993).

3.3.1 Financial Resources

“Organizations with inadequate resources prefer to maintain their status quo since change requires capital and personnel with appropriate skills and time” (Yılmaz and Kılıçoğlu, 2013). Management has therefore a critical role in preparing the organizations by investing sufficient resources (Zafar and Naveed, 2014) in the change.

3.3.2 Human Resources

Limited human resources may be the end result of financial constraints but are not restricted to them. Tasks which are left to personal commitment can also be met with resistance due to insufficient human resources. This type of resistance to gender projects can also be the result of a limited number of personnel appointed to the gender group who are involved in various other responsibilities. Although they may not have time to respond to all the requests, wrong or inadequate management of resources in such cases may be the real cause of resistance.

3.3.3 Time Burdens

Every source of resistance related to a lack of time in terms of different priorities belongs under this heading. Making the necessary arrangements in the organizations can take very long just because managers may not spare time to meet. Thus, it is important for managers to be particularly sensitive to this issue, and to critically examine if they have supported the innovation by providing all necessary resources be it money, time, and personnel (Baker, 1989).

In gendered academic cultures time burdens due to heavy workloads often provide academics with a convenient excuse for refusal to participate in the activities concerning gender projects or conceal the low priority assigned to such endeavors.



3.4 GENDERED AGENDA

3.4.1 Lack of Gender Awareness / Gender Blindness

Individuals may resist a certain change because there may be a lack of awareness of the problem (Pendlebury, Grouard, and Meston, 1998). The aspect of awareness is especially important for gendered dynamics of academia since many academics, either male or female, may internalize the existing state of affairs and may not have the urge for change. When academics fail to understand the gender focus in change projects aiming for a more diverse and equal working environment, they may tend to ignore 'gender', find it irrelevant (Rhoton, 2011), stamp gender equality policies as superfluous or resist the change itself.

3.4.2 Being Uncomfortable with Gender Equality/Fear of Gender Issues/ Gender Hostility

While gender blindness can often be unconscious, the masculinist character of science with its stress on objective knowledge created by purportedly de-gendered scientists (O'Connor, 2014; Rhoton, 2011) may also lead to conscious or even hostile reactions. Organizational actors are uncomfortable with gender, because, as Ridgeway (2011) argues 'gender is at root a status inequality – an inequality between culturally defined types of people'. Thus stereotypical cultural beliefs do not simply define men and women as different; they implicitly define men as superior to women. This differential valuation extends further beyond individual men and women, so that male-dominated organizations or those that reflect and reinforce men's priorities and lifestyles are most valued (Thornton, 2013). The influence of the organizational culture where stakeholders feel uncomfortable to talk and work on gender equality shows a sign of gender hostility.

Moreover, in many academic institutions gender is seen as a field of interest that lies outside science – not as an integral part of 'doing science' and as 'women's business' – as though men do not have gender. Academic leaders can thus marginalize or exclude a gender project by not letting researchers present the project at department and faculty meetings. Individuals may also resist gender training since they may consider this training as a feminist act that is ideological, rather than describing it as rational, scientific or legal. The resistance may be prolonged if the individual feels that s/he is being subjected to the exercise of power from /manipulated by the trainer, which is a problem of rhetorics and persuasion (Lombardo and Mergaert, 2013).

Drawing attention to gender by the presence of minority women creates discomfort even for women. For women, there is an unease with being different in a male-dominated area. Women can most comfortably become part of such masculinist structures by becoming pseudo-males (Schippers, 2007), by 'distancing' themselves from other women scientists and from what is perceived as feminine (Rhoton, 2011), because drawing attention to gender exacerbates their marginal position (Jack, 2009). Thus, they often support the supposed gender neutrality of science and avoid being perceived as someone who might be politically engaged in 'women's issues' (McIlwee and Robinson, 1992).

3.5 PROBLEMS RELATED TO SUSTAINABILITY

3.5.1 *Slow Improvement*

The feeling of exhaustion may be related to a perception of projects as an extra-burden in general. Such a perception, on the other hand, changes according to how useful the project is considered. People can also lose excitement if things move slow as is the case in achieving gender balance or if they do not see any concrete benefits of the previous projects. Sharing good practices may be very significant in restoring academics' motivation in such cases.

3.5.2. **Being Tired/ Feeling Hopeless**

Dagmar Recklies (2014) points that “people within the change team may become dissatisfied with their own performance or with the lack of support they received”. In the result, the people who have been in the process might feel tired and/or hopeless to commit themselves to a change initiative. Or, the unsuccessful change can make people skeptic towards new ones. “They might perceive future change projects as “another fancy idea from management”, which brings a lot of work and few benefits”.

3.5.3 **Changes of Personnel in Functional Roles**

The support of the personnel in functional roles plays an important role in the sustainability of the gender equality or mainstreaming projects. In especially the organizations where gender equality is not the target at an institutional level, change of personnel in managerial positions may cause resistance. Even when the gender equality is institutionalized the new position holders may not feel as supportive as the former ones owing to personal or cultural reasons.

3.5.4 *Illusion of Having Done Enough*

The implementation of legal improvements for gender equality in the organization may not be enough to guarantee the success of the change projects that have a gender perspective. However, as the organization has already taken several steps in this direction, the people (both at the top and the bottom) may hold the illusion that the institution has fulfilled its obligations. Gender projects may thus not be seen as novel or needed any more.

3.6 PERSONAL TRAITS

3.6.1 Low Motivation/Lack of Interest

If those affected by the change believe that the anticipated negative consequences of the change outweigh the positive consequences, resistance to movement is almost guaranteed (Hitt, Black & Porter 2005). We can assume that this is because of a lack of extrinsic or intrinsic motives, in particular because they probably see no need for implementing gender balance measures and/or there is no instrument available to show the appreciation of this kind of work. Low motivation or lack of interest seem to be relevant in cases where individuals or a whole group like faculty members are invited to a one-time occasion or asked for appointments and no responses are recorded. Especially when dealing with high-level position-holders such reactions that may not be strictly related to gender but to an actual and different level of priority may be expected. Low motivation or lack of interest from the top, too, often fuels disinterest and disengagement among the staff at other functional levels in the organization – or it does nothing to regulate it.

3.6.2 Low Priority

People may have different priorities and therefore not have time to invest in gender equality activities. They may also be pushed to accomplish tasks that are considered more important by the management even when no particular opposition to gender equality projects exists. Just as in the cases of low motivation or lack of interest when top managers do not consider gender as one of their priorities, it will also affect other people's prioritization.

3.6.3 Lack of Engagement

Lack of engagement seems to be a result of a withdrawal of engagement despite displays of interest. Such withdrawal may be overtly grounded in the persons not feeling academically qualified to have any opinion on the matter, whereas covert reasons could be that they fear the judgment of peers for sticking out one's neck on behalf of at best a controversial issue, at worst a frivolous and dubious business, which will damage one's reputation and possibilities for being taken seriously as a researcher – and therefore with implications for future collaboration options, career opportunities etc. Lack of engagement is something which can be objectively observed as lack of actions, initiative, responsiveness and ultimately priority.

3.6.4 Lack of Self-Confidence

The initiation of and engagement in gender equality projects as in every change process requires self-confident actors. In addition to the socialization patterns women have undergone, the meeting cultures, structures and the power plays in the organizations frequently act to inhibit such abilities and

ACTIVE / PASSIVE

ACTIVE RESISTANCE:

hostility, sexist humor, devaluation and disparaging women's accomplishments or professional commitment, interrupting, denial of access to resources, any other

PASSIVE RESISTANCE:

negative body language, foot dragging, inertia, chilly climate, making the procedures more difficult, giving less attention, uncomfortable social atmosphere, giving less access to institutional resources, discomfort, inappropriate treatment, any other

aspirations. Thus even the female position holders in the higher education and research institutions may not be exempt from the lack of self-confidence constraining the action and dedication that gender projects require.

3.6.5 Looking for Benefit/Profit

People may approach projects in a career-centered way looking for the short-term benefits of such undertakings. They tend to neglect or ignore the long-term effects involved in a particular project. When the benefits and rewards for making the change are not seen as adequate for the trouble involved, they may show resistance.

4. MAIN FORMS AND SYMPTOMS OF RESISTANCE

The concept of resistance we employ in this handbook is multidimensional including ten main types: Active, passive, implicit, explicit, gender specific, non-gender specific, individual, group, personal and institutional resistance. Below a brief description is given of the binary oppositions.

4.1 ACTIVE/PASSIVE RESISTANCE

An active and passive dichotomy of resistance is generally understood as two opposite forms of resistance, which tells about the “activity of resistance”¹. Pincus (2000) relates passive resistance mainly to the act of “being silent” while active resistance is mainly associated with “subversive action”.

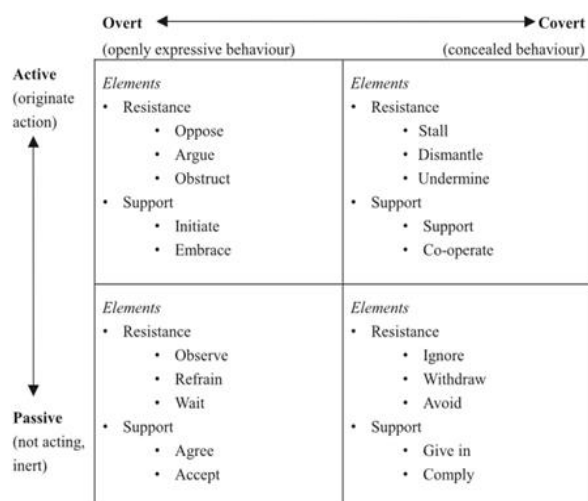
Active resistance points at the ways in which one takes action to prevent an implementation whereas passive resistance corresponds to the behavior of non-doing. Passive forms of resistance weaken the change/implementation with not taking an action, which results in non-cooperativeness and ignorance. Hultman (2003) listed the signs of those behaviors corresponding to active resistance as being critical, fault finding,

ridiculing, blaming/ accusing, blocking, manipulating, raising objections, etc. Passive resistance, according to him, referred mainly to such behaviors as agreeing verbally, but not following through, dragging feet, withholding information, suggestions, help, standing by and allowing the change to fail, etc.

For recording the resistance cases in FESTA activities we defined active resistance as specific actions that aim to prevent an implementation and passive resistance as the act of withdrawal from an action to prevent it.

4.2 EXPLICIT/IMPLICIT RESISTANCE

Asking whether a resistance incident is explicit or implicit, indicates an evaluation of its visibility². Hollander and Einwohner (2004), prefer to call differences in visibility with the following concepts “overt and covert”. In this handbook, explicit/implicit dichotomy will also be employed to refer to overt / covert typology. Explicit resistance is easy to recognize mainly because the resisting person shows an apparent and open kind of opposition while implicit resistance is often harder to recognize. The resisting person in such cases may not be comfortable with the resistance he/she is performing and chooses an obscure method of employing it. It has been suggested (Conner, 1988; Gravenhorst, 2003) that as covert resistance can be more difficult to identify and deal with, overt resistance should be encouraged by managers, who would like to pursue a change in their organizations. “Covert resistance can go unnoticed until it destroys their change project” and thus, an explicit resistance is preferable, to be able to recognize and deal with, then an implicit one, deliberately hidden from view (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004). Behavioral intentions to resist change are viewed as having the capacity to be both overt and covert, and active or passive (Hendrickson and Gray, 2012; Bovey and Hede, 2001).



Ref. Bovey and Hede, 2001

² (<http://changingminds.org>)

4.3 GENDER SPECIFIC/NON GENDER SPECIFIC RESISTANCE

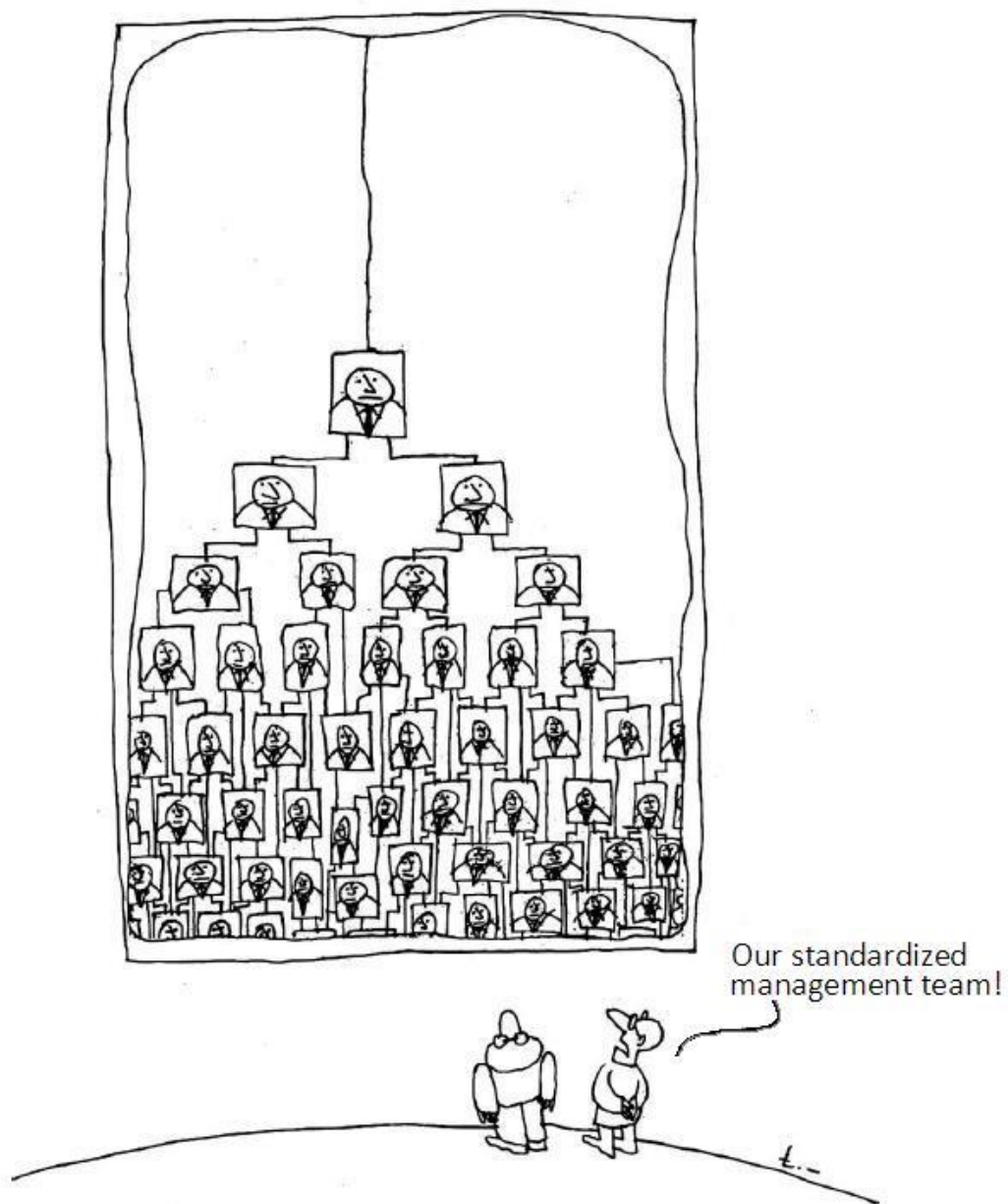
The work package on resistance -WP7- was carried out with an understanding that there is no difference between “the resistance to the project-FESTA” and “the resistance to structural change towards gender equality”. However, when resistance to the project is considered, there is always the possibility that it is a kind of resistance encountered in other EU projects as well. Some of the resistance stories, which were recorded during the implementation of FESTA, therefore, may not necessarily implicate resistance to structural change towards gender equality or because FESTA is a “gender project” and aims at an enhancement of **female** researchers’ careers. Resistance may also be **generally** related to processes of change (Lombardo and Mergeart, 2012), heavy bureaucracy or personal conflicts. In order to make the necessary distinction, the categories of gender specific and non-gender specific resistance were introduced in the study. By the gender specific resistance is meant the kind of behavior aimed to prevent an implementation for gender equality in the relevant institution. Non gender specific resistance on the other hand does not specifically aim to curtail gender equality although it creates various kinds of obstacles for the project.

4.4 INDIVIDUAL / GROUP RESISTANCE

The number of persons involved in the resistance is the signifying factor in this kind of a dichotomy. The individual is the most important element of the whole academic system since the personal characteristics and development influence even institutional policies and practices through the positions occupied and the power in hand. Individual resistance refers to types of resistance coming from a single person while group resistance refers to a resistance emerging from a collection of individuals.

4.5 PERSONAL/INSTITUTIONAL RESISTANCE

Resistance which occurs due to institutional culture or institution’s legal or administrative procedures, is categorized as institutional resistance whereas the resistance which is associated with a person’s/ position holder’s particular motives, traits, sensitivities, etc. is considered personal. According to Mergeart and Lombardo (2014) the resistance exercised by an individual through his or her action or inaction is thus differentiated from the resistance that is revealed by a pattern of aggregated action or inaction that is systematically repeated and that suggests a collective orchestration against gender change. Institutions are establishments of individuals with personal (sometimes very specific) characteristics which can strongly influence the organization’s policies and practices. The changes in position holders, as the case in point, may bring different perspectives or priorities to management effecting radically the life of whole organization, units or groups of people.



5. HOW TO DEAL WITH RESISTANCE: RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 BACKGROUND

According to Feminist Institutionalization approach (Margeart and Lombardo, 2014) institutions are formal and informal gendered structures and norms that can reproduce but also counteract gender inequalities (Chappell, 2006, Mackay, Monro and Waylen, 2009). There have been many attempts to find a solution for the resistance to change in gendered organizational cultures. Implementing new ideas and building up relationships, rather than merely focusing on individual needs (Beer, Eisenstat, & Spector, 1990), channeling resistance into more constructive aspects (Weisbord, 1987) focusing on targeted action and taking certain steps to overcome any loss of status on the side of the employees after change (Dent & Goldberg, 1999) are some of the proposed strategies. Among such attempts, personnel-based equality programs have largely been unsuccessful due to their sole focus on the personal level, rather than the structural level.

Some of the more successful experiences were the ones which used project names that do not include such words as “equality” and “women”. Since such names do not point at a specific group, individuals were more eager to perceive the aims and the practices of the project in a more neutral way (ibid.). Focusing on the idea of opportunities and running a gender sensitive agenda in the project would initiate a certain tone, which would persuade individuals to believe that it is to the benefit of all. In this respect, Liff and Cameron (1997) suggest that organizations should extend their benefits to men as well, rather than merely focusing on women’s issues. They can also be persuaded in more efficient ways if the situation is addressed in gender-neutral terms, considering that the solution is for the common benefit.

For the same purpose, awareness-raising groups for men as well as women can be organized. In such gatherings, benefits to men as well as the common good of the academic group can be stressed; the more women enjoy the same privileges as men do, the more success the institution as a whole will gain. In some cases, however, common good argument may not work very well, because of the competitive, individual/group based academic culture.

Lunenburg (2010) suggests that high level management should promote education and communication; they should enable members to participate in and negotiate the processes of change to sustain their active involvement. Yet such an analysis is insufficient, since it reduces the problems of resistance towards change to relationships between individuals. But in fact, the resistance towards change may rather be considered as a structural problem, as there is a structure which inclines individuals towards the status quo. Moreover, higher level position holders are not gender experts. Therefore, it is difficult for them to foresee and monitor possible implications of gender projects in terms of resistance. As a result, it is suggested that within institutional structures that are gender-blind, gender skills must be actualized (Lombardo and Mergaert, 2013).

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AVOIDING AND OVERCOMING RESISTANCE

The main groups of recommendations of this handbook concern the institutionalization, diversity and inclusivity to facilitate change towards gender equality and help sustainability; effective communication and dissemination of the intended changes in and outside of institutions; networking and collaboration in order to strengthen the position of the projects as well as empower those who are committed to change; enhancing the capacity for change; improving teamwork and methodology. They were formulated with the intention to involve both the structural and personal factors by combining the ideas drawn from the literature with those of the partners inspired by the resistance they faced during the FESTA procedures.

5.2.1 Institutionalization, Diversity, Inclusivity

1. Institutionalize gender studies for creating a potential work force in the organization for research and implementation
2. Involve more women and men in the organization in gender equality work in innovative ways
3. Keep gender equality issues on the organizational agenda and make gender initiatives more visible
4. Provide and make visible up-to-date quantitative data on gender equality indicators in the organization
5. Engender scientific excellence and promote the good for all perspective
6. Develop measures for ensuring a commitment to gender mainstreaming and an organizational culture that values gender equality
7. Create/support awards/prizes/recognitions for disseminating gender awareness/equality
8. Achieve transparency and accountability in all academic recruitment and selection processes, and to ensure a fair and diverse representation in committee membership

5.2.2 Networking and Collaboration

1. Collaborate with other appropriate (previous or present) projects at institutional, national, international levels
2. Establish contacts with key persons (role models, personnel in functional roles, etc.) and strategic units (HR departments, staff units for personnel development, etc.)
3. Give priority to reach people whom you already know in different departments as well as those engaged in gender equality
4. Build networks in and outside the organization among those who are interested or engaged in gender equality

5.2.3 Communication and Dissemination

1. Employ different strategies such as personal contact, altering the characteristics of the source, nature or content of the message itself
2. Find external influential sponsors that can create positive impact inside and outside of the institution and contribute to the prestige of the project
3. Use a positive and encouraging language and clear, attractive, comparative information (e.g. data, findings, etc.) in all the communication processes
4. Introduce the project more as an endeavor dealing with the general “university environment” rather than solely with “gender” or women
5. Provide evidence about the success of interventions related to gender issues

5.2.4 Creating The Capacity for Change

1. Utilize current national developments, events, policies regarding gender equality for the project initiatives
2. Enhance the gender awareness and willingness to dedicate more resources of the university management by organizing trainings/briefings by male and female gender experts
3. Organize enthusiastic kick-off meetings to engage the whole institution
4. Map the institution/people and the context better
5. Create seed funding by organization for supporting projects’ proposal periods

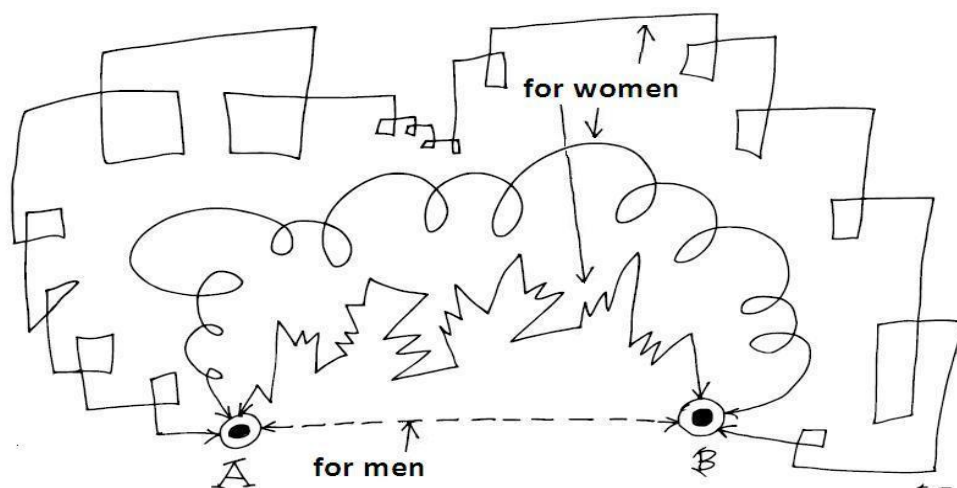
5.2.5 Teamwork and Methodology

1. Involve people with strong positional power, commitment and willingness in the project teams
2. Be prepared to use alternative approaches such as choosing a different interviewee, refraining from recording to guarantee confidentiality, contacting people by different ways i.e. mail, phone, in person, conducting an individual interview instead of the focus group interview
3. Combine activities and tasks of different Work Packages in order to save time and energy
4. Engage both women and men in project initiatives
5. Utilize regular meetings or other/formal events of the organization to address people who are not willing to join specific project meetings
6. Create consensus between the partners on the concepts used in the project
7. Give priority to reach PhD students and research assistants in different projects/programs as the younger generations are better motivated to and fewer risks involved in change. They will also constitute the future position holders in academia
8. Work with competent, influential external experts
9. Define clearly what kind of change is intended actors who may resist, in which ways they may resist and for which reasons

KEY TO SUCCESS

Never give up and carry on!

Don't forget that change needs time!



6. ANALYSIS OF STORIES ENCOUNTERED IN FESTA

In this chapter of the handbook we analyze the incidents of resistance recorded by the consortium members. The narration by the author who experienced the resistance is presented in the left column of the page while in the right column some of the key concepts and recommendations related to the story are offered. The concepts and recommendations listed in the right column are chosen from the ones given in the previous chapters of the handbook.

For the analysis of each case four main questions are provided in the right column. The first question asks “why?” and suggests answers with reference to the concepts chosen from the “main causes and indicators of resistance”. Second question asks “how?” in order to understand the type of the resistance and the third question inquires about the source of resistance by asking “who?” The answers to both of these latter questions are selected from the concepts defined in the section “main forms and symptoms of resistance”. The last statement “recommendations” gives clues to ways of counteracting the resistance narrated in the story. The recommendations are grouped under six main categories. The category of recommendations which seems to be most appropriate for the case in point is placed in the right column together with the numbers assigned to specific recommendations listed under it. It should be noted that these concepts and recommendations are only suggestions about what seems to be most appropriate for the case in point. Several other concepts or recommendations can also be applied to the same incidents.

The stories analyzed below are grouped according to the project phases in which they took place. Beginning with the resistance stories encountered in the start-up/initiation phase of the project the analysis continues with the incidents occurred during the data collection, the execution/implementation phase and finally with the cases recorded during the dissemination activities.

6.1 START UP/INITIATION

No Funding For Gender Equality Work

The first period when we experienced resistance was at the time when the FESTA project was initialized. The suggestion to become part of a European team writing a proposal came from another European University via email. This was quite close to the submission deadline, and it was not possible to form a full consortium, but the foundation was laid by three partners. We would call this structural resistance to change from the organization itself. This was expressed through the fact that gender equality work in the organization at the faculty level was unfinanced, i.e., the people appointed to work with gender equality work were expected to do that without compensation and without any budget for activities. This means that a personal commitment was required and a willingness to put other things aside. The following summer, the university that had made the initiative arranged a meeting to start preparing for the next call. One of our team members went there with financial support from that University. Even for a very specific purpose like this, which might lead to a later influx of money, there was no funding from the own institution. Finally, another person and in the late summer she became involved in the project. She was partly financed by the central administration and could do this within her job description and her participation was sanctioned from there.

WHY?

Limited Resources

- Financial Resources
- Human Resources

HOW?

Passive (giving less access to institutional resources)

Non Gender Specific

Explicit

WHO?

Individual & Institutional

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Creating The Capacity for Change **5**
- Communication and Dissemination **4**
- Networking and Collaboration **2**
- Teamwork and Methodology **9**

Women Are Not Born For Science

During a kick-off dinner one of the participants commented nastily on a point our team member had made about career programs at our university during a presentation earlier that day, saying that no matter how much we thought that women could be trained for a career in science there was never going to be any room for them, simply because women are not cut out for science. He then launched into a long and heated monologue about women not being born and bred for maths and science studies giving several examples of how he thought males were suited for science and women not, for instance, women had done nothing during their childhoods other than play with dolls thereby losing all rights and skills for science, whereas boys played and practiced with mathematical, mechanical and electrical toys, thus becoming ready and worthy.

WHY?

Gendered Agenda

- Gender hostility
- Being Uncomfortable with gender equality

Status Quo

- Threat to meritocracy
- Conformity

HOW?

Active (direct, fierce and outright attack on gender equality)

Gender Specific

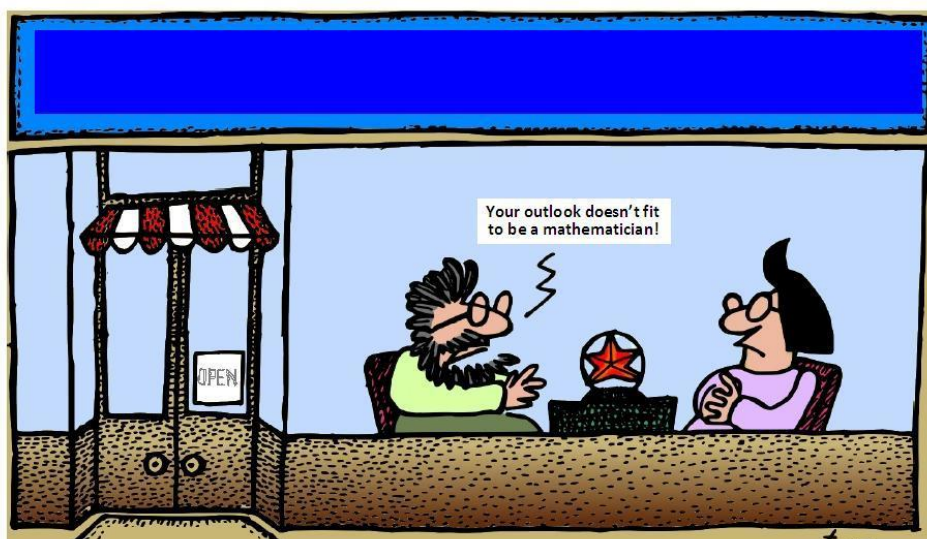
Explicit

WHO?

Individual

RECOMMENDATIONS

Institutionalization, Diversity & Inclusivity 4



Introduce Gender To High-Level Management

The FESTA team decided to inform our institution's management about the start of the FESTA project. We decided to meet each director of the three main departments personally, in order to explain the FESTA content to them. We met a resistance in organizing these three meetings, writing a lot of e-mails: it happened, for example, that a fixed meeting was postponed at the last minute or it happened that we only had an answer to our e-mail after some weeks. In conclusion, we needed 9 months to meet the three directors.

WHY?

Personal Traits

- Lack of Engagement
- Low priority

Limited Resources

- Time Burdens

HOW?

Passive (uneasy cooperation)

Gender Specific

Implicit

WHO?

Individual & Group

RECOMMENDATIONS

Teamwork and Methodology ②

Creating The Capacity for Change 4

Networking & Collaboration ② ③

Resistance to EU Projects

In connection with a proposal writing process we gathered a group of women and men - 6 people representing different positions from postdoc to associate professor - in order to cover basis or a foundation and initial thoughts of the project.

The first resistance already showed up when arranging the first meeting: why do we need a gender project? Is it useful? And in general the group showed resistance to yet another project, especially EU-projects and their applicability and usefulness. The expressed resistance was due to fatigue of projects in general and administrative measures. And also fatigue of signal involvement by select few women: hand-washing measure so that the Dean may "check that box".

WHY?

Problems Related to Sustainability

- Being tired/Feeling Hopeless

Personal Traits

- Low motivation

HOW?

Active (critical, fault finding)

Gender Specific

Explicit

WHO?

Group

RECOMMENDATIONS

Communication & Dissemination ⑤

Institutionalization,

Diversity & Inclusivity ④

Creating the Capacity for Change ① ② ③ ④

Fear Of Feminism

Since September 2012 we have been organizing FESTA presentation meetings with selected departments of the institution. In the contact process with the head of departments, I strongly felt that it was much easier to communicate with female professors. Although one male head of department paid particular attention to the project, he gave the impression that he approached it as an obligation to get rid of, rather than an interesting project to work on. Another significant observation was that female academics do not seem to be feeling comfortable in the meetings mentioned above. We guess that they are anxious about being perceived as 'feminists'. In some countries, feminism may occasionally connote negative meanings.

WHY?

Gendered Agenda

- Fear of Gender Issues
- Lack of Gender Awareness

Limited Resources

- Time Burdens

Personal Traits

- Lack of Interest

HOW?

Passive (uneasy cooperation, chilly climate)

Gender Specific

Implicit

WHO?

Individual & Group

RECOMMENDATIONS

Communication & Dissemination 5

Institutionalization,

Diversity & Inclusivity 4 5 6

Capacity for Change 1

6.2 DATA COLLECTION

Standing In Front Of An “All Is Well” - Wall

We had a focus group interview with the selection committee of a hiring process we analyzed for FESTA. During the interview with four committee members they told us that there were no problems or difficulties with regard to gender issues. The committee members who participated in the interview were two professors and two students - other members of the committee e.g. research fellows had no time to participate. After the interview we thought that they maybe just could not see the gender bias in the course of the selection process.

WHY?

Sensitivities and Risks

- Confidentiality
- Mistrust

Limited resources

- Time burdens

HOW?

Passive (withholding information)

Implicit

Non Gender Specific

WHO?

Group

RECOMMENDATIONS

Institutionalization, Diversity & Inclusivity **5 8**

Resistance To Reflect One's Own Role

I had a telephone call with a professor in order to set the date for an interview with him. I explained the idea of FESTA to him and the specific concern to investigate gender and excellence issues in appointment procedures for professors, which we would like to examine by looking at concrete examples. He refused my request to interview him together with the other members of the selection committee in question. He argued that he has assured the applicants of total confidentiality. He also did not believe my assurance that we are obliged to guarantee confidentiality. Moreover, he was also against the idea of discussing the decision process in a concrete selection committee if a candidate had been appointed to the professorship. However, he was willing to participate in an interview in which he spoke about his general experience with selection processes, selection committees, the judgment of excellence, gender issues in science etc. without addressing a specific selection process. I conducted the interview. The interview was not recorded though.

WHY?

Sensitivities and Risks

- Confidentiality
- Mistrust

HOW?

Passive (chilly climate, withholding information)

Non Gender Specific

Explicit

WHO?

Individual

RECOMMENDATIONS

Institutionalization, Diversity & Inclusivity **8**

Delicate Matter Of Sharing Information

We tried to get the necessary information on hiring/promotion processes by writing a formal letter to general secretariat of our university yet we did not get any reply. We decided to acquire the necessary information via our personal connections. The professors, whom we asked for help, wanted to cooperate with us and did not reject our requests directly. However, since the information we were asking was highly confidential, we again did not find a chance to take steps forward. Even if we had a chance to get all the knowledge on a specific hiring or a promotion process, the professors would not be convinced to be interviewed about such a specific case. When we were trying to reach the necessary information, we got the sense that it is impossible to ask questions to a professor on a specific hiring/promotion process that he/she was involved as a candidate or as a jury member. We believe there was a resistance because of the confidentiality of hiring/promotion processes. We do not believe that there was any resistance related to gender-based issues.

WHY?

Sensitivities and Risks

- Confidentiality
- Mistrust

HOW?

Passive (Non- cooperative action, foot dragging)

Non Gender Specific

Explicit

WHO?

Institutional

RECOMMENDATIONS

Teamwork and Methodology **2**

Institutionalization, Diversity & Inclusivity **5 8**

No Need To Hide Hostility

During one of our interviews about “gender and excellence”, a male associate professor was opposing every question referring to gender by providing negative or irrelevant comments. His behavior was quite provocative and it looked like he had agreed to participate in order to challenge the gender points, value and the expected impact of the project.

WHY?

Gendered Agenda

- Being Uncomfortable with gender equality/Gender Hostility

HOW?

Active (sabotaging, devaluing)

Gender Specific

Explicit

WHO?

Individual

RECOMMENDATIONS

Communication & Dissemination **2 4**

Not All Women Cooperate

In our visit to one of the selected departments, we had the chance to meet a woman scholar who holds a position as an associate professor. Her initial reaction was highly positive. She told us that she is willing to help us regarding the project when necessary. After a while, I sent her an e-mail and asked for an appointment for an interview. Her response was negative in a way that she did not give an appointment. However, she repeated that she is willing to help the project.

WHY?

Gendered Agenda

- Being Uncomfortable with Gender Equality

Limited resources

- Time burdens

HOW?

Passive (low level of cooperation)

Explicit

Gender specific

WHO?

Individual

RECOMMENDATIONS

Teamwork and Methodology ②

Institutionalization,

Diversity & Inclusivity ⑤ ⑥

Communication & Dissemination ④

Resistance From Academic Council

At a meeting in an Academic Council the Council had to discuss and comment on the new strategy of the Faculty of Science. This new strategy also contained a section about women and gender equality. This caused a very heated discussion between on the one hand the Chairman of the Board and one of his male associate professor colleagues and the other a female associate professor. The discussion concentrated on the men not finding it necessary to specify measures to ensure gender equality above other things. They do not acknowledge the gender equality issues as a problem and think it gives women an advantage and promotions because they are women and not necessary based on merit and qualifications.

WHY?

Gendered Agenda

- Lack of Gender Awareness
- Uncomfortable with gender equality

Status Quo

- Threat to Job Status
- Threat to meritocracy

HOW?

Active (deliberate subversive action)

Gender Specific

Explicit

WHO?

Individual & Group

RECOMMENDATIONS

Communication & Dissemination ① ② ③ ④

Institutionalization,

Diversity & Inclusivity ④ ⑤ ⑧

Negativism And Low Interest About Gender Equality

One of our respondents (a male associate professor) had politely agreed to participate in our survey about the level of gender awareness at the university. Nevertheless, during the interview he seemed to be quite indifferent providing only very short answers to all questions without even thinking over the issues raised (e.g. “yes”, “no”, “I don’t know”, “don’t have any opinion on that”, “never thought of it”, “don’t want to comment”, etc.). The interview lasted around 10 minutes. He was quite reserved and didn’t want to give any comment on the interview itself or the FESTA as a project. He left the meeting still being very polite but wordless. There was also another similar case with a male associate professor, who, at the end of the interview, said that he had agreed only because he had been asked by a very close friend. He also confessed that he didn’t agree with the gender assumptions, on which the project was based.

WHY?

Gendered Agenda

- Being Uncomfortable with gender equality
- Gender Blindness
- Gender hostility

HOW?

Passive (silence)

Gender Specific

Explicit

WHO?

Individual

RECOMMENDATIONS

Communication &

Dissemination ① ② ③ ④ ⑤

Teamwork and Methodology ②

Institutionalization,

Diversity & Inclusivity ③ ④ ⑥

Resistance to a FESTA ally

A Head of Department, who was involved and interested in the FESTA project and in advancing its findings and approaches, experienced intense resistance when casually mentioning that he was going to participate in a FESTA event to one of his male associate professors. The professor spent two hours giving very heated voice to his opinions about women getting all the possibilities and men being at a disadvantage. The person was hostile in his way of expressing resistance. This is in our view interesting from the perspective that not only those directly involved in a project such as the FESTA project may be subject to resistance, but anyone (in

WHY?

Gendered Agenda

- Gender hostility
- Being Uncomfortable with gender equality

Status Quo

- Threat to Job Status

HOW?

Active (direct, fierce and outright attack on gender equality)

Gender Specific

Explicit

WHO?

Individual

power) who expresses or displays interest in such projects.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Communication & Dissemination ① ② ③ ④
 Institutionalization,
 Diversity & Inclusivity ④ ⑤ ⑧

Objections from a Female Researcher

When we presented the FESTA project for a whole department a female researcher expressed dissatisfaction for always being asked to sit in examining committees just because she is a woman. She vented her annoyance and dissatisfaction in strong words. She also mediated a grievance over all these gender-based projects, although she admitted that she had learned a lot when she was doing local gender equality work. She seemed above all to oppose the efforts to reach gender balance. The resistance came shortly after we presented the EU agenda (get more women into research, in particular more female professors), before we even had time to go on and present what the department was going to do, five minutes into the presentation. After replying to her, we tried to go on with the presentation, but she kept on interrupting. More than half of the ten-minute presentation was devoted to tackle her objections.

WHY?

Gendered Agenda

- Being Uncomfortable with gender equality
- Gender hostility

Problems Related to Sustainability

- Being Tired/Feeling Hopeless

HOW?

Active (blocking, sabotaging)

Gender Specific

Explicit

WHO?

Individual

RECOMMENDATIONS

Communication &
 Dissemination ① ② ③ ④ ⑤
 Institutionalization,
 Diversity & Inclusivity ③ ⑥

6.3 EXECUTION (IMPLEMENTATION)

Shooting The Messenger

The FESTA researcher went to a department meeting to present initial FESTA findings. The presentation included quantitative data showing gender gaps and qualitative data which analyzed transcripts of interviews and focus groups at individual, interactional and institutional level, and provided examples of the way gender is created and recreated at each level. There was one other woman in the room apart from the FESTA researcher. There were approximately thirty men and two women at the presentation. Several of the men were aggressive, hostile and angry. They challenged the research methodology and the research findings. Many refused to accept the findings as valid. The FESTA researcher suggested that we are unaware of our biases and that perhaps demonstrating that women perceive the environment as gendered could be challenging to people's ideas about the institution and themselves. One man in the group defended the presentation, but he was silenced by the angry voices of the majority.

WHY?

Gendered Agenda

- Lack of Gender Awareness
- Gender hostility

HOW?

Active (sabotaging, devaluing)

Gender Specific

Explicit

WHO?

Group

RECOMMENDATIONS

Communication & Dissemination ① ② ③ ④

Institutionalization,

Diversity & Inclusivity ③ ④ ⑤

Teamwork and Methodology ⑧

Creating the Capacity for Change ①

Refusal To Engage With a Gender Equality Project

In one partner university, the faculty manager in science and engineering circulated a letter from the FESTA researcher to Heads of Departments, introducing the FESTA project in the university. The researcher followed up this e-mail by contacting the Heads of Departments directly, requesting five minutes at the next department meeting to introduce the FESTA project. One Head of Department refused to facilitate that because 'department meetings don't include researchers' and furthermore stated that sending the letter as an attachment in an e-mail 'borders on SPAM'.

WHY?

Gendered Agenda

- Gender Hostility

HOW?

Active (hostility)

Explicit

Gender Specific

WHO?

Individual

RECOMMENDATIONS

Communication & Dissemination ① ② ③ ④

Teamwork and Methodology ②

Science Is An Elite Sport

During a study circle for PhD supervisors a younger male supervisor accepted the invitation immediately stating that to him there seemed to be no gender inequality. When he turned up at the second study circle he was late and immediately launched into a long tirade against gender measures and quotas, questioning the need for gender awareness, as it was all up to the individual to excel. That all the ways of evaluating excellence were gender blind, it was merely a matter of wanting to work hard – like elite sport, science is an elite sport, and women are maybe simply not prepared, they are more tuned into taking care of families and they make other choices, and should be allowed to just make such choices. He would not hear any evidence of other views/perspectives on the matter, he kept interrupting the facilitator and other participants with a rather aggressive style and rhetoric, pushing his own views forward, referring often to his own wife and family and the sacrifices he had been willing to make for his science etc., etc. The facilitator then turned to asking questions instead of putting arguments forward, and also directed questions to the other supervisors present at the session. The other participants engaged in the discussion and one of the others in particular managed to turn the discussion into a more reflective dialogue, where all of the people present managed to reflect on where their views originated. This other participant (another young male prof.) just quietly stated that his experience and view and interest was the opposite of what the first person expressed, and it was this quiet and assertive and openly interested and engaging attitude that in the end relaxed the atmosphere considerably, even if the original agenda for the session was completely overturned. It also became clear during the ensuing dialogue, that the first proponent saw no gender issues, largely because he comes from an almost exclusively male dominated environment. Another function this incident served was to make very clear that this view is alive and present and that it is important to engage with it rather than turn it into a shouting match that will lead nowhere.

WHY?

Gendered Agenda

- Gender blindness
- Being Uncomfortable with gender equality
- Gender hostility

Status Quo

- Threat to meritocracy
- Threat to job status

HOW?

Active (sabotaging, devaluing)

Gender Specific

Explicit

WHO?

Individual & Group

RECOMMENDATIONS

Communication & Dissemination 2

Institutionalization, Diversity & Inclusivity 4 8

Women Uncomfortable with Gender

One of our departments during the meeting that we organized with them for the elaboration of policies, we noticed that the women were a bit embarrassed by the proposals we discussed during the meeting about introduction of quotas and other kind of assessment beyond the traditional publications. Some women (not all of them) said that they have never been discriminated and that they want to be assessed the same way as their male colleagues.

WHY?

Gendered Agenda

- Lack of Gender Awareness
- Being Uncomfortable with gender equality/Fear of Gender Issues

Status Quo

- Threat to meritocracy
- Conformity

HOW?

Active (Critical)
Gender Specific
Explicit

WHO?

Group

RECOMMENDATIONS

Communication & Dissemination 4 5
Institutionalization,
Diversity & Inclusivity 4 5 8

When There's No Benefit

At one of our workshops about the existent "meeting culture" at the university and the ways it could be improved a couple of invited participants (male and female) arrived at the room and asked to sign the participants list. When we said that there is no such a list nor a need to sign anything they left the meeting saying that they are not interested in the topic and didn't see how they could benefit from such a project. Similarly, two other (male and female) associate professors, who had already given interviews, refused to participate in any further activities saying that they couldn't see any concrete profit from this project for their research careers.

WHY?

Personal Traits

- Looking for Benefit/Profit

HOW?

Active (blocking)
Gender Specific
Explicit

WHO?

Group

RECOMMENDATIONS

Teamwork and Methodology 2 3 5
Networking & Collaboration 2 3 4

Lack Of Interest / Resistance To Learning About Gender

In one of the partner universities, the dean of the faculty of science and engineering took over as chair of the FESTA Steering Committee, and invited the FESTA researcher to present FESTA findings to the Management Committee of the Faculty. The Management Committee consists of the Dean (1), Heads of Department (10); the Faculty Manager (1); the Assistant Deans for Research (2) and the Assistant Dean for Academic Affairs (1). The presentation demonstrated men's lack of awareness of gender and women's acute awareness of it. The awareness of gender was illustrated with quotes from the focus groups and interviews which had taken place in the faculty.

Following the presentation, there was a long and uncomfortable silence. The dean encouraged questions/comments but there was a general absence of interest, and only four questions were asked – all of which reinforced gender stereotypes. Afterwards the dean observed that he was surprised by the level of silent resistance in the meeting. He said that one of the attendees had stated that the management meeting had wasted half an hour on gender equality and one Head of Department said that the researcher was a brave woman to make that presentation to that group of people.

WHY?

Gendered Agenda

- Gender Blindness
- Gender hostility
- Being Uncomfortable with gender equality

HOW?

Active (critical)
Gender Specific
Explicit

WHO?

Group

RECOMMENDATIONS

Communication & Dissemination ① ② ③ ④
Creating the Capacity for Change ② ③ ④
Institutionalization,
Diversity & inclusivity ⑤ ⑥ ⑧



Lecture on Gender Equality

Lack Of Commitment To Gender Equality Work

We had a meeting with a person assigned to work with gender equality at the department. During the meeting s/he complained about the head's total lack of interest in gender equality work, which was only regarded as "something that has to be done". S/he did not expect any support from the department head, which s/he described as a person you do not turn to for advice in gender equality issues. S/he declared an interest in gender equality issues, whilst acknowledging that other things were more important. S/he had worked with gender equality at the department about ten years, but nobody had really shown any interest and nothing had changed. Thus, the department had designated a person who believes that there are other more important issues to prioritize to pursue gender equality work. The department also has a head who appears to have demonstrated a lack of interest, or remained passive, in gender equality work. Gender equality actions have been planned, but not implemented.

WHY?

Problems Related to Sustainability

- Being tired/Feeling hopeless
- Illusion of Having Done Enough

Personal Traits

- Low Priority
- Lack of engagement

HOW?

Passive (low level of cooperation)

Gender Specific

Explicit

WHO?

Individual

RECOMMENDATIONS

Communication & Dissemination **5**

Institutionalization

Diversity & Inclusivity **4**

Creating the Capacity for Change **1 2 3 4**

Teamwork and Methodology **1**

Resistance from Women

At a meeting at Faculty Equality Committee, the Committee asked one of its members to give an update on a network for women at the Faculty of Science and the activities of this network. The associate professor reacted strongly and said that they only meet once a year and described how she used to be one of the front persons fighting for the gender equality through the network. However, as the network felt this fight for gender equality were without any effect – according to her – she refused to use any more time leading this women's network or initiate any kind of new initiatives. Her reaction is connected to her feeling of powerlessness,

WHY?

Problems related to Sustainability

- Slow Improvement
- Being Tired/Feeling Hopeless

Sensitivities and risks

- Insecurity
- Loss of face

HOW?

Active (critical)

Gender Specific

Explicit

WHO?

Individual

because men are not finding the subject of gender equality more important, rather than her resisting gender equality itself.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Institutionalization,
Diversity & Inclusivity 3 4 6 7
Creating the Capacity for Change 1 2 3 4
Communication & Dissemination 5

Convince People That On-The-Job Actions Are Needed

We organized a workshop to discuss policies to be promoted within our institution addressed to all the research units of an entire department. Unfortunately, we got a very limited number of participants. Some of the research unit leaders never answered the several e-mails and reminders that were sent to organize the meeting, nor did they send someone from their staff on their behalf. From some interventions, it seemed that people do not recognize that gender inequalities exist and that they can be solved with such on-the-job actions. They think that a cultural change is needed starting from primary schools and tackling the issue on the job is quite late. This way they do not feel directly involved in this issue and feel free to exonerate themselves from acting against gender inequalities.

WHY?

Gendered Agenda

- Lack of Gender Awareness
- Fear of Gender Issues

HOW?

Passive (low level of cooperation)

Gender Specific

Implicit

WHO?

Group

RECOMMENDATIONS

Teamwork and Methodology 5
Institutionalization,
Diversity & Inclusivity 3 4 6 7
Communication & Dissemination 2 4 5

Silence Speaks

During the one hour and a half workshop there was no response or reaction even though we were trying all the time to encourage the participants to comment our findings, ask for clarifications, question our conclusions, etc. That silence was absolutely unexpected for us since we all had known each other for many years, being close friends with some of them and collaborating regularly with many of them. We didn't succeed in getting participants' feedback regarding our findings about informal decision making and communication processes. We only realized (from the face expressions of some participants) that they agree with some of our conclusions, for example, about the presence of inner circles at the university, strong influence of informal relations, hidden gender biases, etc. It seemed that

WHY?

Personal Traits

- Lack of Engagement
 - Lack of Self Confidence
- Gendered Agenda
- Gender Blindness
 - Being Uncomfortable with gender equality

HOW?

Passive (silence)

Gender Specific

Implicit

WHO?

the female participants silently agreed with our descriptions of gendered issues (reading from their face expressions) while male participants were entirely unconcerned.

Group

RECOMMENDATIONS

Teamwork and Methodology ② ③ ⑧

Networking & Collaboration ④

Institutionalization,

Diversity & Inclusivity ③ ④ ⑥ ⑦

Communication & Dissemination ⑤

Resistance From New Head Of Department

In one of the FESTA tasks, we have collaborated with the Head of Department. S/he decided to do this task and has been interested in improving the possibilities of women to be part of decision-making processes. However, when a new head of department was appointed the key actions were aborted. The new head of department is positive to recruiting more women. For him/her "gender equality" is very much about numbers of women and men S/he did not want to implement all the actions we had agreed on with the former head. We sent him/her both the action plan and citations chosen from the interviews to illustrate the origin of the actions. We also explained how the task is related to gender equality. The appointment of a new Head of Department overthrew all the work done on this task. Management people can support some kinds of actions for gender equality, while they may not feel comfortable with conducting others. .

WHY?

Problems Related to Sustainability

- Changes of Personnel in Functional Roles

HOW?

Active (disagreement)

Gender Specific

Explicit

WHO?

Individual

RECOMMENDATIONS

Institutionalization,

Diversity & inclusivity ⑤

Low Interest In Workshops

The local FESTA team had announced workshops about excellence at two departments. At one department, the invitation was sent out by the Head about two months in advance and a reminder one week before by an administrator. At the other department, both invitations were sent out by an administrator. From each department only two women came. We do not know how much this was about resistance, and how much just about low priority. It is very much in contrast to another meeting at the other department, where the Head had invited us to meet research leaders during one hour of their ordinary meeting, and where we had a very good discussion. Besides, the same Head had told us that we would not get people to the open workshop, because they do not usually come to any extra meetings (which s/he also gave as the reason for not sending the open invitation). So, we would rather regard this as low priority than open resistance, at least at this department. Compared to this response and thinking back it is interesting to note that, even if we had some problems of finding interviewees, it was not that difficult, i.e. people had the time to let themselves be interviewed, but not the time to come and find out about the results.

WHY?

Personal Traits

- Low Motivation
- Low Priority

Limited Resources

- Time Burdens

HOW?

Passive (low level of cooperation)

Non Gender Specific

Explicit

WHO?

Group

RECOMMENDATIONS

Teamwork and Methodology **2 3 5**

Networking & Collaboration **3**

Mismatch Of Gender Policy And Gender Reality

In our country, universities, which can show convincingly that they try to implement gender equality by describing gender structures and measures that are to contribute to advancing gender equality at the university, obtain a certificate. Currently, our university participated for the fourth time. When analyzing and evaluating all the gender equality measures and structures at the university, it becomes clear that in all areas of gender equality like personal and organizational development, reconciliation of science and family, gender policies, organizational culture, research and education, and finally ethical and sexual harassment and violence, there have been many measures and comprehensive structures for many years. But at the same time, there is hardly any advancement in regard to the numbers during the last decade concerning the female proportion at different levels of a scientific career – especially in the STEM subjects. Only on the level of professorships, there has been a clear increase over the last ten years. However, in some cases this increase is linked to limited contracts. All in all, it can be concluded that there is some kind of standstill and only little change in the organization; in particular, the faculties. This hints at a kind of subtle resistance in the organization. Theoretically, gender equality is fostered and it seems that there is more awareness at the cultural level (especially with regard to family issues) but at the same time no real change is achieved. One of the reasons for this standstill seems to be the ignorance and indifference of people towards gender equality. It is not really seen as an important matter that one should be interested or engage in.

WHY?

Problems Related to Sustainability

- Slow Improvement
- Illusion of Having Done Enough

Personal Traits

- Lack of interest
- Lack of engagement

Gendered Agenda

- Lack of gender awareness

HOW?

Passive (low level of cooperation)

Gender Specific

Implicit

WHO?

Individual & Institutional

RECOMMENDATIONS

Institutionalization,

Diversity & Inclusivity 3 4

Creating the Capacity for Change 3 4

Teamwork and Methodology 1 8

6.4 DISSEMINATION

Participation in Big Events

We wanted to disseminate FESTA during a very important and big event organized in our city open to the citizens and to a wide audience nationally. Our institution is always present with a kiosk for dissemination of our activities. This seemed to us a perfect occasion to also disseminate the FESTA project. Therefore, we contacted the reference person of the kiosk asking if we could prepare some material about FESTA to be distributed during the event. S/he liked the idea and suggested that we should prepare a poster and also design a small project proposal to be presented to the audience related to dissemination activities in the secondary schools. After all this work, the reference person changed his/her mind and decided that the kiosk was not a suitable place where to present the FESTA poster and the related project. Not even a simple FESTA's brochure was accepted to be placed at the kiosk.

WHY?

Gendered Agenda

- Fear of Gender Issues

HOW?

Active (Critical, Fault Finding)

Gender Specific

Explicit

WHO?

Individual

RECOMMENDATIONS

Communication & Dissemination 1 2 3 4

Choose The Right Way To Communicate

A female researcher wrote an e-mail to the FESTA team to express her disapproval about the way we promoted an event. The event was described like this: "...imagine together strategies and possible actions towards the achievement of a vision and an assessment of excellence not discriminatory but respectful of gender differences". In her opinion we shouldn't use the term 'gender' inside the communication because this word contributes to creating stereotypes and increasing the differences between men and women instead of demolishing them. For this reason, she decided to not take part in the event.

WHY?

Gendered Agenda

- Fear of Gender Issues
- Gender hostility

HOW?

Active (arguing, fault finding, raising objections)

Gender Specific

Explicit

WHO?

Individual

RECOMMENDATIONS

Communication & Dissemination 1 2 3 4

Teamwork and Methodology 1 8

Institutionalization,

Diversity & inclusivity 3 4 6

Creating The Capacity for Change 4

Official Communication To (Male-Dominated) Groups

During the weekly meeting of the board of the center's Research Leaders, the director of the department mentions the projects that succeeded in getting funding from EU and congratulates the proponents. The FESTA project was ignored on that occasion, although the director should have known about it.

I believe there was a resistance because FESTA is a gender based project. I have the impression that it is still difficult to talk aloud freely about gender aspects (e.g. diversity management) in our board. Nevertheless, it is not the case when talking individually with some of the members of the board.

WHY?

Gendered Agenda

- Gender Hostility

HOW?

Passive (silence, giving less attention)

Gender Specific

Implicit

WHO?

Individual

RECOMMENDATIONS

Communication & Dissemination ⑤

Creating the Capacity for Change ① ②

Institutionalization,

Diversity & Inclusivity ③ ④ ⑥



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Reach Out To The Schools

In May we had the idea to organize a dissemination initiative of FESTA at secondary schools. The goal was to introduce secondary-school pupils to research as a profession, highlighting, among the others, barriers that girls could face in their careers. The initiative was accepted but the way this happened has been tortuous and it was opposed since the beginning. Our institution's reference person for this kind of assistance (although the introduction of initiatives was quite enthusiastic), did not offer full support for this project as s/he did for the other initiatives. I think there was a suspect towards gender oriented projects, but mainly uncertainty about the reactions of our institution's governance to this initiative. The approach to our initiative changed as soon as a secondary-school director got in contact with our institution's reference person to ask to support our initiative.

WHY?

Gendered Agenda

- Lack of Gender Awareness
- Fear of Gender Issues

HOW?

Passive (chilly climate)

Gender Specific

Implicit

WHO?

Individual & Group

RECOMMENDATIONS

Communication & Dissemination ① ③ ④

Networking & Collaboration ② ④

7. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In this handbook a picture of “resistance” was attempted from the eye of a gender equality project to suggest ways of counteracting it for the people engaged in similar endeavors. During the course of FESTA activities in the partner institutions, an environment was created where changes to internal structures to advance gender equality were recommended in relevant areas. As the FESTA teams introduced key steps and essential elements of these changes, they encountered several incidents of resistance. The resistance cases recorded by the FESTA consortium and the analysis of these narratives provided us with important insights on the intersecting dynamics of resistance and the change process.

From the analyses resistance appeared to be a most complex phenomenon. In some of the cases we experienced difficulties regarding interpretations. Between the partners who reviewed the same narrative differences of opinion could be observed at times. The story analyzed under the title of “Not all women cooperate” was one of such cases. In the story a woman academic first agreed to help the project when necessary. After a while, when she was asked for an appointment her response was negative. Although refusing to be interviewed she repeated that she is willing to help the project. One of the partners who reviewed the first analysis of this case commented that “.... if someone doesn’t give you an appointment but still wants to support the project, I would expect some sort of further signs of resistance... to come to the conclusion that this is resistance”. Another partner asked “...why is not workload a possible explanation?” Taking both of these comments into consideration “time burdens” were added to the “being uncomfortable with gender” as another possible explanation of the decline of cooperation. The recommendations were then adjusted to meet this possibility. As a general solution in such instances we inquired “whether the partner submitting the story agree with our interpretation, i.e. if any of the expressions is correct, according to those people who know the context best”.

The complex nature of resistance was also reflected in the multiplicity of the recommendations it necessitated. It was not possible either to find the miracle formula to fit all or claim what must come first. In many of the cases we felt that structural strategies i.e. institutionalization, diversity and inclusivity should be employed alongside such interpersonal methods concerning communication and dissemination or networking and collaboration. In some of the other cases yet improvements in teamwork and methodology also seemed to be required for increasing the effectiveness of one or more of the other strategies.

Efforts to deal with resistance involve different levels of intervention with different structures and different results at the top and the bottom. Finalizing the process of change depends on the bottom-top combination of policies. Some of these interventions may prove effective in a relatively short time while some of the others can only be expected to work in the future. It is necessary to use both levels as well as formal and informal processes to succeed. We therefore proposed i.e. to involve people with strong positional power, commitment and willingness in the project teams as well as giving priority to reach PhD students and research assistants in different projects/programs. Enhancing the gender awareness and willingness to dedicate more resources of the university management was one of our recommendations for creating the capacity for change. We knew, however, that when the culture/people in the institution are not ready to respond to the demands of equality, measures from the top will also be useless. Therefore, such inclusivity measures as involving more women and men in

the organization in gender equality work or organizing enthusiastic kick-off meetings to engage the whole institution, creating awards, etc. for disseminating gender awareness were among the recommendations for the bottom –top combination necessary for dealing with resistance.

Change is a challenging process, which involves the interplay of many agents. Moreover, academic working environments have their own organizational cultures and structures which differ extensively even within themselves. Gendered dynamics in an academic work environment are not only related to the organizational culture but also to the social and cultural dynamics in general. Any project to implement change to create gender equality in academia should try to foresee the resistance provoked by such dynamics and take into account a multiplicity of interventions. This handbook aims to be of assistance to those engaged with this task. It does, however, makes no claims to contain all the right answers. It should rather be considered as a starting point for discussion and research on all the other possibilities in the diverse social, cultural and structural contexts. Although it was not among the expected tasks of WP7 in the FESTA project the handbook also serves to be an “awareness raising tool” by illustrating some of the “grey areas” in the culture and the daily life of academic institutions.

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APPENDIX 1: METHODOLOGY

The basic data collection methodology for WP7 was to record and analyze the resistance incidents that project members encountered. In this regard, ITU developed a template for recording resistance. (see Appendix 2) All members were requested to fill in this template any and all resistance cases they experienced. In the process of collecting the cases, partners were also expected to comment on their pairs' stories in order to learn from each other. It was also agreed to record and comment on the good practices of support encountered by the project members. All the resistance and good practice narratives were shared among FESTA members on the project website. ITU occasionally sent notifications to partners when new cases were posted on the website, in order to increase the level of interaction on recorded stories. The first story was posted on 12th of February, 2013 and the last story on 27th of March, 2015.

Several obstacles in the collection of data arose due to such reasons as confidentiality, fear of encountering with more resistance, unwillingness to talk on negative issues, etc. The number of contributions from the partners increased eventually during the latter months, and a considerable amount of data for WP7 was collected. Since the last reporting period, which was after August 2013, partners have also started to share their comments on the cases at the website. A number of incidents were discussed either in PMG or Skype meetings. Such interactions on cases were recorded, transcribed and documented on the FESTA website. Consequently, ITU prepared a logbook containing all resistance cases and shared it with the partners on the project website.

There were several other methods that were initially agreed on but abandoned or modified over time. The suggestion to work in pairs in order to discuss with and learn from each other was abandoned as we discovered that it did not work effectively. Pairs were meant to interact and comment on each other's stories. Partners, however, preferred to comment on the stories of their own choice and it was finally decided that all the resistance cases should be open to comments by all. On the other hand, although the template for recording resistance was available partners sometimes recorded stories in a free text form rather than filling out the template.

Parallel to the recording and analysis process of resistance stories, the leading team for the Resistance Package WP7 did an extensive research on the existing literature on "Resistance to Change" and developed a draft methodology to analyze the collected data.

Two groups of analytical tools were designed with the help of literature survey and discussions between team members. These are "*Forms of Resistance*" and "*Causes of Resistance*." Forms of Resistance cover three opposing pairs; Active-Passive, Explicit-Implicit, Gender specific-Non Gender specific. According to the structure that is employed a resistance case might be for example, "Active-Explicit-Gender Specific" but cannot be "Active and Passive" at the same time. In another group the Form is defined by "who takes the action for resistance". Accordingly, it can be "Individual", "Group" or "Institution" that show resistance to proposed change. This category has a different characteristic in that a resistance case can include one or two or even three of these forms together.

Causes of resistance have different features which may exist together in the same case. For example, a resistance may occur because of “mistrust”, “low motivation” and “being uncomfortable with gender”. The number of possible combinations of the causes is very high. Therefore, it is very difficult and complicated to base the analysis on such combinations.

The strategy to analyze the recorded resistance stories were discussed in several PMG and Skype meetings and finalized. It was decided that the analyses related to forms of resistance will be carried out by two partners and analyses related to the causes will be distributed among the other five partners. Each partner agreed to carry out a thematic content analysis of the cases based on the resistance category they chose to work with. Eventually, we hoped to establish similarities and differences between the incidents and list the strategies, which we employed to deal with the resistance.