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Online submissions to: ramona.mihaila@addletonacademicpublishers.com

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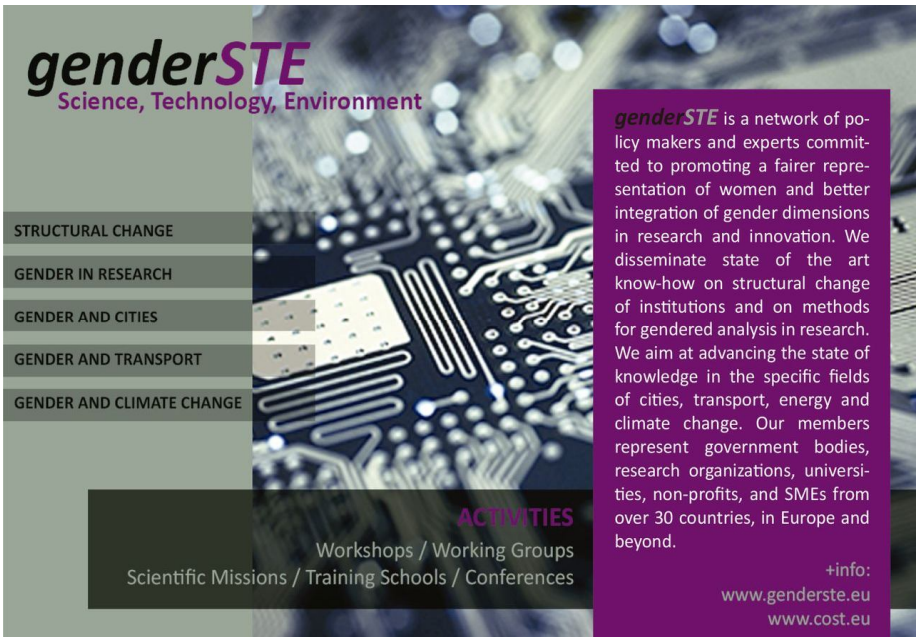
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The Spanish Society for Women's History (Asociación Española de Investigación de Historia de las Mujeres-AEIHM) was founded in June 1991 as a development of the National Commission of the IFRWH (International Federation for Research in Women's History), federation of which it is now a member. For over twenty years, it has developed many activities in order to promote research, teaching and dissemination of women's and gender history, as well as the theoretical and methodological renewal of the historical discipline, through conferences and seminars, workshops, publications, awards, dissemination of its own and others' activities through website and mailing list and participation in collective actions. It has currently 300 members.

Its aims are to promote and spread women's and gender history through research, teaching at different academic levels, and outreaching to society at large. On an annual basis, and continuously since 1993, AEIHM has been held international conferences and seminars for discussion between national and foreign specialists in women's and gender history.

Brazilian and Portuguese Writers: Writing, Ideology, Gender

Cláudia Cambraia
New University of Lisbon (UNL – Universidade Nova de Lisboa)
claucambraia@gmail.com

Interinstitutional Research Project
Federal University of Ceará / New University of Lisbon

Abstract:

This research aims to investigate certain literary projects as resulting from tensions and conflicts portrayed in the works of Brazilian and Portuguese female writers, in light of pressures and choices dictated by the literary and artistic tradition, whose tracks lead us to the grand themes of the human condition.

Within an environment of coexistence between literature and writing, a few female writers began the production of their body of fiction work, among them the Portuguese Agustina Bessa-Luís (1922 -) and Maria Judite de Carvalho (1921-1998), as well as the Brazilian Clarice Lispector (1920-1977) and Rachel de Queiroz (1910-2003), by means of intense discussions with their "fellow travelers", books, other poets, creators of fiction, essayists, philosophers and critics, in the words of Goethe.

Through the different types of text they cultivate, these writers present curious and challenging discussions that run through a poetics of the female condition and a reflection of complex nature (Edgar Morin), towards a dialogue of ideas and postures regarding fundamental values of life in the twentieth century, and which are still considered in the current century.

For such a study of comparative nature – involving readings, experiences and relations of alterity and gender highlighted by the aforementioned writers -, we shall rely on the essential contributions provided by categories that will guide the research, such as *crisis* (Gilberto de Mello Kujawski), *literary system* (António Cândido), *comparatism* (Tânia Carvalhal, Sandra Nitrini), *context* (Dominique Maingueneau), *literary field* (Pierre Boudieu), *reading* (Paulo Freire), *unreading* (Harold Bloom), *existence* (Ortega y Gasset), *writing* (Roland Barthes), and *contemporaneity and liquidity* (Zygmunt Bauman).

In effect, this research rests upon a double purpose: first, to listen to the poetics of the corpus writers, through speeches and situations dramatized by their fictional characters or by virtue of

other forms of expression, such as those found in writing spacesgenerated from interviews, letters, confessions, etc., therefore imbued with an hermeneutical imprint.

Tied to the first one, the second purpose, didactic in its nature, is to stimulate a learning-educational discussion around some of the possible meanings of rediscovering life and ways of being in the world through literary reading, taking as principle ideas and projects belonging to the personal library spaces of writers, such as in-between places (Homi Bhabha, Silviano Santiago), places of intervallic dimension (João Alexandre Barbosa), symbolic places (readings) wherein the human condition is inscribed and recreated, as well as representations of social, political and ideological pressures concerning achievements and defeats of women in western world societies, from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century.

The writers quoted in this project have been studied according to the aforesaid purposes, both through classes, essays and articles and through lectures and conferences, and also within the activities developed by the Study Group.

Team:
Isabel Lousada
Odalice de Castro Silva
Paula Rodrigues
Rita Carvalho
Keila Vieira

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CHANGE THE CONTEXT NOT THE GIRLS: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF EFFORTS TO REDUCE TEENAGE PREGNANCY IN SIERRA LEONE

LISA DENNEY
l.denney@odi.org
Overseas Development Institute
RACHEL GORDON
Rachel.gordon@tufts.edu
Feinstein International Center,
Tufts University
AMINATA KAMARA
Fourah Bay College,
University of Sierra Leone
PRECIOUS LEBBY
Fourah Bay College,
University of Sierra Leone

ABSTRACT. Concerns about increases in Sierra Leone's high rates of teenage pregnancy during the Ebola crisis of 2014–15 have led to redoubled efforts among policy-makers and development practitioners to address this problem. The startling health and education impacts on teenage girls underline the importance of these efforts. This article explores current efforts to reduce teenage pregnancy in Sierra Leone, drawing on two periods of qualitative fieldwork in 2015 and 2016 under the Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium (SLRC), involving interviews and focus group discussions at the national level and in six districts across the country. The article argues that programming focuses overwhelming on changing the behavior and decisions of girls themselves, based on assumptions that exaggerate the control girls have over their lives. These approaches tend to hold narrow views of girls' lives and the types of sexual activity they engage in, and overlook the socio-economic and socio-legal aspects. We argue instead that responses should strengthen their focus on changing the contexts surrounding girls' lives and livelihoods, principally by promoting behavior change among men and boys, as well as addressing the complex socio-cultural and justice aspects of underage sex and pregnancy. Six recommendations are offered.

Keywords: Sierra Leone; teenage pregnancy; gender; public health; Ebola; sexual violence

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Introduction

Reducing high levels of teenage pregnancy has long been a challenge in Sierra Leone. In 2013, the country ranked among the ten nations with the highest rates of teenage pregnancy in the world, with 28% of girls aged 15–19 years pregnant or already having had at least one birth (UNFPA, 2015). Nearly 40% of women between the ages of 20 and 24 had their first child before the age of 18 (UNFPA, 2013: 15). The majority of teenagers are sexually active, with a 2013 survey of 3,000 15–to–35-year-old female and male respondents finding that 95% were currently sexually active and half of the sexually active females had their first sexual experience at the age of 16 (Marie Stopes, 2013). The same survey found that only 45% reported using any contraceptive method (Marie Stopes, 2013: 2). A reported increase during the Ebola outbreak raised the profile of teenage pregnancy and led to significant investments of donor resources to address the problem. UNFPA (2015) have since reported that 18,119 girls became pregnant during the Ebola epidemic in Sierra Leone. While there are no concrete figures on pregnancy rates prior to the epidemic with which to compare, this is widely considered to be a significant increase.

Governmental and aid funding to address this challenge has been channeled towards priorities laid out in Sierra Leone's National Strategy for the Reduction of Teenage Pregnancy, launched in 2012 by President Ernest Bai Koroma. This Strategy came to an end in 2015, with a new National Strategy to be developed in 2016. It is therefore an opportune moment to reflect on the nature of the problem of teenage pregnancy in Sierra Leone and efforts to reduce it, and to think creatively about how to move forward with current and new programming. This analysis of the complexities of the issue of teenage pregnancy in Sierra Leone may also be informative for policymakers and practitioners elsewhere in the region and internationally who are grappling with similar issues.

This paper builds on two stages of research in Sierra Leone aimed at examining donor-supported programming around the reduction of teenage pregnancy. It seeks to understand some of the common approaches that

donor and non-governmental (NGO) programs have adopted to deal with this problem, and explore how these efforts play out at the local level. The intention is to provide reflections and analysis that can inform the development of the new National Strategy and assist in refining programming to reduce teenage pregnancy. Overwhelmingly, our research finds that there is a need to shift the focus of interventions from changing girls' behavior to changing the contexts in which they are becoming pregnant. That is, much programming to date has focused on encouraging girls to abstain from sex, use contraception, stay in school, and generally make "better" choices. Some important progress has been made as a result – adolescent fertility rates (number of births per 1,000 women ages 15–19) have dropped from 164.5 in 1997 to 125.3 in 2012 (World Bank, 2015). Yet this approach overlooks the fact that girls' behavior and decisions are the outcome of a much wider context, and it is this context that constrains their options and incentivizes girls to make the decisions and behave in the ways that they do. In order to realistically reduce teenage pregnancy, programming must aim to change the circumstances in which girls are making decisions that lead to early pregnancy – not merely to encourage girls to make decisions against the odds. In addition, it must account for and respond to widespread sexual abuse and exploitation of girls, about which girls themselves can make can make essentially no decisions at all. These are not easy tasks, and involve grappling with complex and systemic issues like gendered power relations and relative poverty that puts teenage girls in vulnerable situations. Yet if programming continues to focus overwhelmingly on girls, we are asking those with the least power and resources to carry the burden of change.

In the second section of this paper, we set out the methods used in conducting the research. In the third section we unpack the category of teenage pregnancy to provide more nuanced and granular understandings of the component problems. In the fourth section, we highlight some of the dominant features of programming by donors and NGOs, drawing attention to findings from our research at the local level to identify where disconnects and gaps might emerge. Finally, we offer recommendations to inform efforts to reduce teenage pregnancy.

Methods

This paper draws on two weeks of fieldwork in Sierra Leone in January 2016 (including Western Area Rural and Urban, Bo, Moyamba, Port Loko and Kambia districts), as well as previous research in Freetown in October 2015 (Denney et al., 2015). Four researchers – one Australian, one American, and two Sierra Leoneans – conducted 49 semi-structured interviews and 32 focus groups (ranging from two to 12 people in each). While the earlier research in

2015 focused on Freetown-based representatives from government, donors and non-governmental organizations in order to build a picture of the scope of activities under way to reduce teenage pregnancy, the second stage of research focused much more at the community level to see how programs played out in reality. For this reason, interviews were conducted primarily with those staff and volunteers implementing projects at the community level, as well as relevant local actors such as chiefs, women and youth leaders, teachers and Peripheral Health Unit (PHU) and Family Support Unit (FSU) staff. In addition, focus groups were conducted with teenage girls and boys and parents of teenagers (teenagers were taken to range from 13 to 18 but in a couple of cases one or two 12 year olds also participated in discussions where they were part of the same peer group and facing the same issues as the slightly older teenage girls and boys).[1] It should be noted that the majority of teenagers involved in focus groups were in school and thus the views of teenagers out of school are not as well represented. Our goal was to better understand both the logic of the interventions as reflected by their practitioners and participants, as well as the actual implementation and impacts of such programs. We also asked questions of respondents about the realities of teenage pregnancy in communities, the impacts of the Ebola crisis on this and related issues such as education and NGO programming.

We attempted to cover a range of programs addressing the problem of teenage pregnancy across a number of districts in the short time available. We visited two sites for each program in an effort to ensure some degree of consistency of findings. Interventions visited included:

-Save the Children's Adolescent Friendly Health Spaces in Western Area Urban
-Rainbo Centre in Freetown
-Ipas's Youth-Friendly Health Spaces in Western Area Rural
-FINE Sierra Leone's Husband Schools in Bo district
-Interagency Learning Initiative action research on Community-Based Child Protection Mechanisms (CBCPM) project in Moyamba district (only one site was visited due to difficulties of accessing communities)
-BRAC's Girls' Clubs in Kambia district
-Restless Development's Youth Volunteer Peer Educator program in Port Loko district
-Pikin-to-Pikin's School Clubs in Port Loko district
-Girl 2 Girl's Adolescent Girls' Clubs in Freetown (only one site was visited due to time constraints).

These organizations and projects were selected as being among the most active on the issue of reducing teenage pregnancy, following interviews with a broader range of donors, NGOs and government agencies during the first

research trip. Due to time and logistical constraints, we also sought to select projects within similar districts, while ensuring a spread of rural and urban sites, and districts in the Northern and Southern Provinces. Finally, we sought to include a combination of international and national NGOs working on the issue. Once we had selected organizations to visit, specific sites were chosen in discussion with the relevant NGO, bearing in mind geographic and logistical constraints, such that we would be able to reach sites in a timely manner and would, for instance, arrive at schools before students had left for the day in the case of the school clubs, or arrive in communities when girls were out of school in the case of the girls' clubs. In some cases, NGO staff accompanied us to the site visits (although they did not participate in interviews or focus group discussions with community members). In other cases we arrived on our own.

All interview and focus group participants were informed of the reasons for and goals of the research and of their right to decline to be interviewed or to end the interview at any time for any reason. We did not seek parental consent before talking to teenage respondents. No names were recorded in focus groups in order to protect the anonymity of sources. Interviews and focus groups were conducted either in English by the researchers or in Krio-English translation with the help of research assistants; in a few cases in rural Kambia province, questions were translated into Krio and then into Temne where it was the respondents' only language.

While recognising the ethical concerns involved in speaking with minors, we also note that much has been written about teenage girls and the problem of teenage pregnancy in Sierra Leone, yet little of the discussion to date has included the perspectives of teenagers themselves. This oversight is consistently pointed out by teenagers and the NGOs that work most closely with them as a major flaw in research and policy-making (Restless Development, 2012). Significant policy-making has happened that purports to be in the interests of teenagers, particularly vulnerable teenage girls and teen mothers, without consulting the people whose lives are most impacted by those policies.

It is important to note that the teenagers we were able to speak with – particularly the girls – were not a representative sample. Where we were visiting School Clubs, for instance, the girls we spoke with were in school and were those attending the clubs. While we talked with them about friends who had dropped out of school, and those not in the clubs, this sample will inevitably bias the findings to some extent. Where project sites were located in communities – such as the girls' clubs and CBCPMs – our focus groups included a wider range of teenage girls: those both attending and not attending school and those participating in and not participating in the project.

This paper focuses on information gathered first-hand in interviews and focus groups, as well as drawing on academic and grey literature as relevant to situate and supplement the views supplied by respondents.

Unpacking Teenage Pregnancy

Approximately 19% of young women in developing countries become pregnant before the age of 18 (Williamson, 2013: v), and 95% of the world's births to adolescent mothers occur in those countries (ibid: vii). That said, rates remain relatively high in some industrialized countries, such as the United Kingdom and United States, as well (Paton, 2009; Secura et al., 2014: 1317). There is a wide and growing literature on teenage pregnancy, its prevention and impacts (see for instance Loaiza and Liang, 2015, and UNFPA, 2013). Much of this is in the medical and public health fields, though the issue has, more recently, begun to be understood as more multifaceted, with implications for not only the health of mother and child, but also education outcomes, household and national economies, poverty, and human rights (Shirley et al., 2014; Loaiza and Liang, 2013). Teenage pregnancy is recognized as both a widespread global development concern and a complex and highly context-dependent issue, resulting from a combination of social, economic, educational, and other factors including (but not limited to) biased or overall lack of sexual and reproductive health knowledge and access to contraceptive resources, gendered social norms around adolescence and sexual behavior, and vulnerability to power and coercion (Oyedele et al., 2015; Loaiza and Liang, 2013; Bearinger et al., 2007). It is correlated with infections of sexually transmitted diseases including HIV, as well as sexual violence (Barnes, 2007; Jewkes et al., 2001). Accordingly, there is overlap – though often only implicit – between efforts to combat HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases and teenage pregnancy (Bearinger et al., 2007). Gender roles and girls' own construction of their identity and agency play major roles, as do the political, cultural and religious climates and individual household and community dynamics in which those are situated, making standardized approaches and policy prescriptions difficult to conceive and unlikely to succeed (Kruger et al., 2015; Linders and Bogard, 2014; Unterhalter, 2013).

The negative impacts of teenage pregnancy are well known. Teenage mothers are twice as likely to die from pregnancy-related complications as women aged 20 years or older (UNFPA, 2015: 5). The WHO has pointed to teenage pregnancy as the leading cause of death for adolescent women in developing countries (WHO, 2012, cited in UNFPA, 2015: 7). Moreover, children born to teenage mothers are also at greater risk, with stillbirths and death in the first week of life 50% higher among infants born to mothers under 20 years old compared to babies born to mothers 20–29 years old

(WHO, 2012, cited in UNFPA, 2015: 8). The Sierra Leone Out-Of-School Study (Coinco/UNICEF, 2008) noted that pregnancy among primary and secondary school girls was a significant factor in girls dropping out of school. The socio-economic impacts of girls leaving school early are well-known: every year that a girl stays in school is estimated to increase her income by 10 to 20%, a higher rate of return than for boys (GoSL, 2013). The decreased lifetime earning potential of girls who leave school early because of pregnancy has a tremendous impact on their own wellbeing and opportunities and those of their children.

Teenage pregnancy has been a challenge in Sierra Leone for some time, yet understandings of it are often glossed over in programming in the rush to respond to the problem. Yet "teenage pregnancy" itself is a large category that needs to be unpacked. Our research highlights at least two important issues that are key to understand prior to jumping into programming, as they should strongly influence how efforts to reduce teenage pregnancy are designed and implemented. The first relates to the different kinds of sexual activity that girls are engaging in that result in teenage pregnancy. The second centers on what teenagers know (and do not know) about sex, and where this information comes from. These are both critical factors that shape the problem of teenage pregnancy and provide important insights that should be taken account of as the starting point for programming.

Categories of sexual activity

Teenage pregnancy is not a homogenous category of experience, though much of the response to the problem does not differentiate between the quite different scenarios in which girls are getting pregnant, instead treating them as fairly uniform. Our research found that girls are getting pregnant primarily in three (overlapping) scenarios: transactional sex, sex with peers, and rape. In addition, it may actually begin before the teen years – teenage girls told us that their peers begin to engage in sexual activity as young as nine or ten years old, although the most commonly reported ages for sexual debut was around 14 years old. Rape and abuse may take place at any age, of course, though teenage girls themselves spoke little of it.

Transactional sex

Transactional sex refers to the exchange of sex for material or financial resources, gifts or privileges (Chatterji et al., 2005; Dunkle et al., 2004), and it was the scenario by far most commonly talked about in focus group discussions with teenage girls (as well as with teenage boys and, in some cases, with parents of teenagers). Teenage girls and boys generally told us that girls engage in such sex with older men (ranging from 20 to 80 years old), referred

to as “boyfriends,” or “sugar daddies.” Transactional sex with peer-age boys was sometimes mentioned, but this was much less common, with girls noting that it was older men who were more likely to have access to resources and thus more likely to be their sexual partners for transactional purposes. Much of the transactional sex appeared to be relatively ad hoc – with girls approaching or being approached by men in the community. One common type of approach girls described was *okada* (motorbike) riders who offered them transport in exchange for sex. That said, one interviewee talked of far more organized ways in which transactional sex was taking place via the use of smartphone-based WhatsApp chat groups to which girls can add themselves, and from which men in the group then select a girl. This scenario, about which little is known, highlights how access to technology is augmenting the ways in which transactional sex takes place.

Teenage girls talked about engaging in transactional sex in order to obtain resources that they need or want. At their most basic, these include food, money to support schooling (uniforms, books and fees) and transport (including to get to school). Focus groups with *okada* riders in Kambia also confirmed that transactional sex in return for transport was common, including with teenage girls. But girls also talked about transactional sex as a way to obtain nice clothes (especially jeans, which are viewed as a status symbol compared with “traditional” clothing), mobile phones, handbags and beauty products. Girls told us that, in some cases, they did have other ways to get money to obtain such goods – for instance by collecting firewood, doing laundry or working on someone’s farm. Some girls indicated they would prefer to engage in these forms of work rather than have transactional sex, because the former offer more certain payment. Others felt differently, however, saying that the men were more likely to pay for sex than others in the community were for chores, and that the alternative chores were more time-consuming and harder work than having sex. The picture that emerges from these descriptions is that girls are making calculated choices about how best to secure the resources they need or desire, as other researchers have found elsewhere (Formson and Hilhorst, 2016).

Some of the resources girls are accessing this way might be difficult for the outside observer to define as “needs,” strictly speaking. This perspective is often a springboard for views commonly voiced in our research – by males and adults – that girls “chase men around,” or that “it’s the girls who are willing,” placing responsibility and blame on the girls. As one *okada* rider in Kambia told us: “Girls are like birds: the birds chase the rice” – referring to how teenage girls want “fancy things” and therefore pursue older men with money. But to teenagers in precarious circumstances, vulnerable to social and economic pressures, the line between needs and wants is a fine one. When asked about why they would have sex for clothes and phones, girls almost

unanimously said it was due to peer pressure – the need to keep up with classmates and feel that they do not look poor. There is often a specter of stigma or humiliation involved in looking poor or being seen as "lesser than" peers, which girls may feel tremendous pressure to avoid – and as Levine (2014) points out, social integration and acceptance are not just pleasant circumstances, but actually a central aspect of personal security to which other livelihoods strategies must be integrated or secondary, particularly in insecure and post-conflict environments. Where girls feel that sex is the only, or the most efficient and effective, means available to gain access to resources, they are more likely to use it for transactional purposes.

While transactional sex can be seen to be "implicitly coercive in the context of women's limited livelihood opportunities" (Hilhorst and Formson 2016: 8; see also Stoebenau et al., 2011), importantly, we found that girls do not necessarily view transactional sex as disempowering. For those girls who choose to engage in transactional sex (who could undertake other work to obtain access to resources but choose not to), they can find empowerment in being able to meet their own needs (see also Hunter, 2002). As Hawkins et al. (2009: 170) note, transactional sex can be seen to involve "young women as active social agents, recognizing their sexuality as a resource and using it to gain financial resources from older men in exchange for sexual services, often with multiple partners to maximize benefits."

Atwood et al. (2011: 115) find a similar story in post-conflict Liberia, where transactional sex provided teenage girls "with a type of social agency, within the confines of their difficult economic circumstances, which enabled them to participate in the post-conflict economy without feeling left behind." Utas (2005), also writing about Liberian women and girls, refers to this as their "tactical agency" – often emphasizing various aspects of their gender roles at different times and places in order to navigate challenging circumstances, particularly where they lack the social and economic stability and resources to employ more long-term "strategic agency." Girls we spoke with were clearly aware of and utilizing their tactical agency to maneuver through their social circumstances, as well as their own and others' gender roles, to address a variety of difficult circumstances.

At least three key drivers underlie transactional sex: the transactional nature of sexual relationships in Sierra Leone, inequitable gender power dynamics, and poverty. Girls using sex to gain access to resources is not so surprising in light of the ways in which sexual relationships are socially understood in Sierra Leone (with similarities to many contexts throughout the world). In a context of widespread deprivation of basic goods and services, sex is all the more likely to be used as a currency. This is not a new phenomenon; even marriage in Sierra Leone has conventionally been understood partly as an exchange of productive and reproductive power. The

exchange aspect is particularly apparent in some communities in Sierra Leone in relation to the payment of bride price from the husband-to-be to his future parents-in-law, which must be returned should the marriage end (Bledsoe, 1990). Where reproductive power has long been associated with monetary value, it is not a great cognitive leap to view sex as potentially transactional.

Transactional sex is also attributable to inequalities between men and women and how this plays out in terms of unequal access to resources. Transactional sex is partly the result of "the privileged economic position of men, rooted in their access to the most lucrative segments of the formal and informal economy as well as to resources such as housing" (Hunter 2002: 101). Such material inequalities are rooted in deeper social norms about the value of men, women, boys and girls. These inequalities shape the context in which girls are making decisions about using sex strategically to access resources.

It is clear that poverty is also an underlying motivator for girls engaging in transactional sex. Without other access to resources, girls are incentivized to engage in sexual activity to try and negotiate poverty (Walker et al., 2014). This might also help to explain why rates of teenage pregnancy increased during the Ebola crisis, as has been widely suggested (UNFPA, 2015), as deprivation was more acute during that period due to restrictions on travel, businesses and markets. All communities visited during our research reported that teenage pregnancy increased during the Ebola epidemic. This finding adheres to wider research that finds that women and girls engage in transactional sex "in the face of displacement, vulnerable social structures, income poverty and limited livelihood opportunities," usually associated with humanitarian crises (Formson and Hilhorst, 2016: 4).

Sex with peer-age boyfriends

The next most common category of sex girls talked about was sex with their peer-age boyfriends. "Boyfriends" is an unclear concept in Sierra Leone – with both peer-age romantic partners and transactional sex partners (of any age) at times referred to by that label. Here we refer to peer-age boyfriends to describe males within two to three years of age of the girls themselves – often classmates at school – with whom girls enter into romantic or sexual relationships.

Adults were much more likely that teenagers to describe this as the most common type of sex that teenage girls are engaging in. It seemed to be assumed on the part of many adults that socializing between boys and girls of the same age leads to sex, and that this is the primary type of sexual activity that teenagers are interested or engaging in. As one chief in Kambia told us regarding teenage boys and girls, "they go to school together, they come home together." Teens (girls and boys), on the other hand, noted that

they and their peers might well have a peer-age sexual partner as well as other sexual partners, for different reasons, or – in the case of girls – they might only have an older "boyfriend." Teens also told us that they would be unlikely to have (non-romantic) friends of the opposite sex, as it would simply be assumed that they were having a romantic relationship. Thus it appears that the only socially acceptable way for girls and boys to explore any kind of friendly relationship is through the lens of romantic and sexual attraction, which creates a fairly narrow path for gendered relations, and perhaps something of a self-fulfilling prophecy when it comes to interactions between girls and boys.

Girls reported having sex with these peer-age boyfriends due to peer pressure or love, though "love" was also difficult concept to define – some told us that the difference of love from transactional sex was that money was not involved. At the same time, others said that love was proven by boyfriends' gifts of material items or food – an accepted norm in most cultures, though the forms it takes may be different. Girls also said they were more likely to have sex with their peer-age boyfriends if they were already engaging in other types of sex (for example, transactional sex with older men).

In both popular anecdotes and our interviews, sex with peers was widely reported to have increased during the Ebola epidemic because boys and girls were out of school with little to do. A number of interviewees voiced sentiments such as "an idle mind is the devil's workshop," and parents in particular pointed to this form of sex as most problematic in relation to teenage pregnancy. At the same time, it is difficult to determine the extent to which girls engaged in more (and perhaps riskier) sexual activity *with peer-age boyfriends* during the Ebola crisis for essentially transactional reasons. It should not be assumed that teenagers' sexual activity increased during the crisis simply out of boredom, given the murkiness of this category of relationships, boys' relatively greater power to access money and resources, and the overall complexity or, and more acute poverty during, the Ebola period.

Rape

The third category of sex that can result in teenage pregnancy that was raised by our interviewees is rape. Technically, any sex with a person under the age of 18 is statutory rape (known as sexual penetration according to Sierra Leone's 2012 Sexual Offences Act), though prosecutions and convictions are rare, as we discuss below. This section distinguishes sexual penetration from coerced and forced sex, and focuses on the latter. This is because, while all sex between an adult and a child under 18 years old is technically (legally) rape, it was often not understood or discussed as such by interviewees, and these categories are distinguished in Sierra Leonean law. All of the transactional sex discussed above is legally regarded as "sexual penetration."

Similarly, in cases of early marriage – which is common in parts of Sierra Leone – sex between a husband and his underage wife falls into the same category of sexual penetration.

This discussion highlights the extent to which the various categories of sex are complicated and overlapping. Here we give precedence to the ways that girls spoke about sex, and rape specifically. While some of the girls acknowledged, citing the Sexual Offences Act, that sex with someone under 18 is illegal, they made a distinction between sexual penetration (where a teenage girl has sex with a man "consensually") and forced or coerced sex, which was understood as rape. This speaks to the challenges surrounding efforts to deal with all forms of rape (that is, unwanted sex), which we return to in the recommendations section.

The reasons behind rape are distinct from those behind transactional sex and early sex with peer-age boyfriends. They relate to ideas about gender and power within society and can be exacerbated by impunity for offences. "Rape" itself is, of course, a complex category. It includes the kind of "stranger rape" or sudden attack that is sometimes envisioned, but more often rape is likely to be perpetrated by an acquaintance of the victim, in many cases as part of an ongoing cycle of violence (Watts and Zimmerman, 2002). Most girls (and other respondents) did not seem to view all unwanted sex as rape, though a number of them said that they had been forced to have sex even after saying no to "boyfriends" or other males. This type of coerced sex reportedly happens with boyfriends of all ages, teachers, men in the home and men/boys in the community.

Rape was talked about in one peri-urban community as a particular danger for teenage girls at night, when they are sent out to run errands such as collecting water. We were told in a number of locations of manipulation and coercion of girls into sex when they collect water or sell goods in the market by men who offer to help them with the task; for example, by purchasing all their trade items, sometimes for more than the market price and then forcing them to have sex as "payment." It was also suggested that rape can be perpetrated by an "uncle" in the family home, alluding to concerns around incest that are under-researched in Sierra Leone (Denney et al., 2015).

Organizations working with survivors of sexual violence report that rates of rape increased during the Ebola epidemic, with one report suggesting that underage girls were targeted on the basis that older women refused sex due to the "no touch" policy in place to stem the spread of the virus (UNDP, 2015). Rape is also thought to have increased during the Ebola epidemic due to girls' increased vulnerability (including to security personnel involved in the Ebola response), which happened for several reasons. Some girls were sent away from their communities to live with relatives in areas perceived to be safer, and were thus outside the protection afforded by the parental home.

Even where girls stayed at home, they were sometimes more vulnerable to abuse while other family members were out working and they were at home alone. In other cases, girls were sent out to make a living to contribute to constricted household finances, and were thus vulnerable to abuse while selling goods.

Girls have different kinds of sex concurrently

In addition to girls having different kinds of sexual experiences, girls are also often having sex with multiple partners concurrently; that is, a girl might be engaging in transactional sex to gain access to resources while also having sex with her peer-age boyfriend. Engaging in one kind of sex may also be more likely to lead to engagement in other kinds. For instance, girls we spoke with suggested that if a teenage girl is having transactional sex (which they often refer to as having a sugar daddy), then she is more likely to commence sexual activity with her peer-age boyfriend. These reports are consistent with other international findings, where research around HIV and AIDS has found that young women commonly engage in multiple forms of sexual activity and these should be considered overlapping, not mutually exclusive (Hawkins et al., 2009). Programs developed for discrete groups – "girls having sex with peer-age boyfriends," "girls engaging in transactional sex," and "girls who are survivors of rape" – thus might not be appropriate because girls will often cut across these categories. As these different (and overlapping) categories of sex suggest, teenage pregnancy cannot be treated as a homogenous category. Rather, efforts to address it need to engage with the different ways teenage pregnancy comes about, and the drivers of each. This means that programming needs to be much more diversified than our research currently finds.

Knowledge about sex and reproduction

Sierra Leone's high school curriculum currently does not include sex education, but this does not mean that teenagers have no knowledge about sex. Here, we briefly highlight what emerged from our focus groups with teenagers about what they know about sex, what they do not know, and where they are getting their information from. This is an important starting point for thinking about what strategies might be helpful and what knowledge sources are influential.

We heard about two primary ways in which teenagers are learning about sex. By far the most common source of information about sex that teenagers (both boys and girls) mentioned was pornographic films (referred to in Sierra Leone as "blues"). Most commonly, teenagers saw pornography on mobile phones of male friends or relatives, or in some cases on televisions at community centers, mobile phone shops or informal cinemas. Girls indicated

that they thought pornography depicted realistic sex, and that this shaped their ideas of how they were meant to behave during intercourse. Teenagers also commonly mentioned learning about sex through watching their parents. Many told us that they slept in a common room with their family members while growing up, and the children would thus see or listen to their parents having sex when they were meant to be asleep. The other most common source of information – particularly for boys – was their friends. Other sources of information mentioned, though less common, included learning about sex from teachers or parents, at school or girls' clubs, or (in one community) the local imam. There is thus no shortage of information sources, but what information gets provided is problematic.

Information gained via pornography, watching parents, and friends' advice focuses on the act of sex – what it involves, how to do it. Teenage girls credited pornography with showing them what positions to use, for instance. While all parents we spoke with told us that they talk to their teenage children about sex, when probed on what information was provided, this was generally limited to telling children not to have sex, that if they have sex early they could die[2] and – in some cases – to use protection if they did have sex. Teenagers are thus receiving certain kinds of information – about how to have sex, and the dangers of sex – but not necessarily information about what sex is (both biologically and emotionally) and therefore how contraception figures in this equation. This is important because, as we discuss in the following section, there is a multitude of myths surrounding contraception that can lead to misunderstandings by those using it, as they do not understand the biological aspects of sex. Importantly, it is not only teenagers who lack these kinds of information. It is also not clear whether parents have a more detailed understanding of the biology of sex. Opportunities might be found, therefore, for intergenerational education and conversations about sex, which could also help to build the acceptability of talking about such issues between parents and children. The sources of information on sex that are available to teenagers also merit examination. Programming should not assume that there is no information provided and they are therefore filling a void. Rather, it must take into account the fact that a range of information is coming from a range of sources – those we heard about but also likely those we did not, including religious and customary leaders. There is thus a wide variety of (potentially competing) information available to teenagers.

The two points discussed here – unpacking both the kinds of sex that teenagers are engaging in and what teenagers know about sex and from where – provide an important foundation on which the remainder of our analysis is based. An understanding of these factors did not appear to feature strongly in the programming examined in the course of this research. While some of these issues were recognized by stakeholders in conversation,

programming took on a much more one-size-fits-all approach. We turn to an investigation of common program logics in the following section.

Reflections on Programming Approaches to Reduce Teenage Pregnancy

There is a wide range of organizations and activities attempting to address the issue of teenage pregnancy, from health interventions providing teenagers with knowledge of and access to family planning, to life-skills training, outreach to parents to support their daughters' education and health, outreach and education for men on how to be supportive partners and fathers, and other community programs. Numerous international and national NGOs, as well as government ministries and agencies, are working on the issue. Here, we focus on two key programming modalities that emerged from both stages of our research as widely utilized approaches to dealing with the problem of teenage pregnancy: adolescent-friendly spaces and outreach activities. These modalities of assistance also cut across a number of sectors, geographic areas and implementing organizations.

Drawing on observations during site visits and interviews with nine organizations using aspects of these program approaches, in this section we first describe the common intervention types themselves and highlight some of the implementation challenges that they face. Second, this section then unpacks the more implicit logics that underpin these common programming approaches in order to challenge some of the assumptions – where they might fall short, and where they may have unintended consequences. This is, of course, not a comprehensive evaluation of the projects visited. Rather, the intention is to provide some broader reflections on common interventions – both at a problem-solving level as well as at a deeper conceptual level – that inform much of the work on reducing teenage pregnancy in Sierra Leone, with the aim of improving their effectiveness.

Adolescent/girl-friendly spaces and challenges of implementation

"Girl-friendly" or "adolescent-friendly" spaces are a key component of programming in many of the project sites we visited. These have become a common intervention approach to many problems related to the health sector in poor settings (Ager et al., 2013). The idea behind such spaces is twofold. First, they provide teens with information and learning on a range of topics, including teenage pregnancy, sexual and reproductive health (SRH) and family planning, usually provided by a person or people serving in a leadership or mentor role, such as club leaders of girls' clubs or nurses or community health workers (CHWs) in health centers, who have been trained by the sponsoring NGO. Second, they provide a safe place for teenagers and

adolescents to spend time, with resources available such as books and entertainment (televisions, games, etc.) to occupy them and reduce the vulnerability they might experience in other settings. These spaces exist in a number of settings, including PHUs, schools, and (in the case of girls' clubs) as standalone community facilities. The shape and approach differ slightly depending on the sponsoring organization and hosting location, though the spaces offer broadly similar facilities. A central difference between the spaces in health centers and those located elsewhere is that the former also usually include a focus on child protection and emergency support alongside provision of family planning advice, whereas girls' and school clubs take a more "upstream" approach through girls' educational and social activities. The adolescent-friendly spaces also have the advantage of providing a tangible, quantifiable outcome to donors – programs can count and report on how many girls are in the clubs, how many teenagers have visited the friendly space, and so on.

Health-centre-based programming

The adolescent-friendly spaces in PHUs have education and child protection components, but are primarily health-focused, offering access to both medical advice, particularly regarding sexual and reproductive health, as well as contraception, or family planning more broadly. They are generally run by nurses or NGO-trained volunteer CHWs.

The friendly spaces in PHUs generally consist of a room set aside and maintained as a safe and confidential space for consultations, and in some cases also intended to be an informal space for young people to spend time playing games or watching television. We noted that those spaces with entertainment resources often appeared under-utilized, with board games – in many cases, rather complicated Western board games such as Scrabble that may not be appropriate for Sierra Leonean adolescents – still in their original packaging. In several health centre spaces, the televisions provided by NGOs could mostly only be turned on in the evening when there was electricity supply available, yet the health centers were not open and accessible in the evenings. It is thus not clear how useful the activities intended to attract teenagers to the spaces and keep them occupied really are. For this reason, staff at the friendly spaces told us they were trying to get sports equipment such as footballs and volleyball nets. There were also no teenagers at any of the friendly spaces in PHUs when we visited (except where NGOs had arranged for them to be there in advance). In one facility, when we asked to see the visitors' register, staff were unable to produce the appropriate register, and instead provided a list of ante-natal visits; these included some teenage mothers, but without any information on whether they had come to the clinic by way of the safe space. This is, of course, not to suggest that teenagers do not use the clinics – our visits were not long enough to determine this.

However, the apparent lack of teenagers does raise questions about whether the friendly spaces maximizing the ways in which they can attract their target audience.

The availability and quality of sexual and reproductive health advice in the adolescent-friendly health centers appears quite varied, ranging from provision by specialized or general nurses or doctors, to trained volunteers of various ages who also refer teenagers on to nurses and doctors as appropriate. In some cases, the adolescent-friendly health spaces have dedicated staff or volunteers trained and funded by international NGOs, who also pay the costs of furnishing the space. Others are staffed by PHU staff who cover the friendly spaces as one of their many duties. Some of the NGO volunteers have a fixed term of unpaid employment before cycling out of the position to be replaced by other volunteers from the community who attend regular trainings by the NGO in charge (though trainings were suspended during the Ebola outbreak, and in some cases the terms of volunteers therefore extended past their original expiration dates). There are advantages and disadvantages to this model, such as the inclusion and training of multiple people in the community on the plus side, but also variability in the quality of commitment and advice on offer.

Where friendly spaces are operated solely by PHU staff (rather than by NGO-trained volunteers), those staff may encounter various challenges that influence their ability or willingness to deliver fully responsive and confidential care to teenage girls (or boys) seeking their support. One issue is the simple lack of resources and time available to nurses and other healthcare workers at PHUs. As the Ebola epidemic made plain, Sierra Leone's healthcare system is weak, lacking in staff, supplies, training and other basic needs. Where these professionals are assigned to be in charge of the adolescent-friendly spaces, the project constitutes just one of many responsibilities on their plates. This can lead to lack of attention, long waiting times, and other barriers to service delivery that, as has been noted in our previous research on Sierra Leone's health sector, can motivate users to seek out alternative health providers (Denney and Mallett, 2015).

An additional challenge for the adolescent-friendly health spaces is that they usually (though not always) require entrance by way of the central, public area of the PHU they sit within. This raises questions about the confidentiality of such facilities, a point also raised by several of the health workers in charge of such spaces themselves. If young people have to pass through a public waiting area to reach the room known as a source of advice on sexual health and contraception, the local rumor mill is liable to make quick work of the presumed reasons for such visits. Teenagers also noted this concern in our interviews and focus groups, and thus might be less likely to visit out of concern that their families or others might find out. In some

cases, NGOs have sought to address this challenge by having a separate entrance for teenagers to use in order to access the friendly spaces. While such practical considerations go some way to alleviating confidentiality concerns, others are harder to address. For instance, some teenagers raised a related concern about the nurse or CHW responsible for the friendly space being a friend or relative of their parents or other relatives, and worries about their visit to the space being talked about in the community.

The spaces themselves also vary in the degree of accessibility they afford. In some cases the space was quite small, or had been taken over in under-resourced PHUs for storage space and other purposes in addition to its mandate. Several of the spaces we visited were intended to simultaneously offer both confidential individual consultations as well as informal social "hang-out" space for whomever might stop by, which seemed to potentially put a small room at cross purposes. Elsewhere, several of the rooms had been rendered temporarily unavailable for different reasons. In one clinic visited in a marginal urban settlement in Freetown, flooding in late-2015 reached at least two meters high and destroyed the new adolescent-friendly space inside the PHU, washing away and ruining recently purchased furniture, television, games and decorations. In another, the adolescent-friendly space had been re-appropriated as an isolation room during the early stages of the Ebola outbreak.

One aspect of most of the adolescent-friendly health spaces we visited was the provision of family planning advice as well as a variety of contraceptive devices, including condoms, birth control pills, contraceptive injections, intrauterine devices and contraceptive implants (known locally as "captain bands" after the arm bands worn by football team captains), although not all of these were available at all PHUs visited. In some cases these are provided free of charge, and in others they require a fee; on average, the fees range from 5,000 to 20,000 leones (approximately US$1.25 to $5.00), depending on the device.[3] In other cases we heard conflicting information from health centre staff and community members about the fees charged for contraceptive devices and services. We also heard about fees being charged for some family planning services, such as contraceptive injections, that are supposed to be available free of charge. Some girls and women also stated that insertion of the contraceptive implant is free but that removal of the device might cost 20,000 leones (US$5.00) or more.

The adolescent-friendly spaces in PHUs also include a child protection component, focusing on identification of vulnerable children and coordination with trained "focal point" persons on sexual and gender-based violence. Once identified, we were told, children would receive support and education on their rights, and referral to the appropriate FSU within the Sierra Leone Police and/or other community authorities. The child protection components

were not, however, present in all of the adolescent-friendly PHU spaces and even where they were they were mentioned much less frequently and we were not able to observe their activities.

The adolescent-friendly health spaces thus face some challenges in delivering on their intended goals of providing a safe space for teenagers to spend time and as a point of contact for accessing information and services related to SRH. Logistical difficulties with their set up make it difficult for teenagers to access confidential advice and there is confusion about whether the services offered are always available as well as about their cost.

School and girls' clubs

The education and child protection programming encompassed by health-focused programs is not unique to PHUs; there are also school clubs and community-based girls' clubs providing "friendly spaces" focusing on similar issues. Most of these friendly spaces are aimed specifically at girls and young women, unlike many of the health centre-based programs, which were open to both girls and boys. The clubs are supported by NGOs – both international and national – and include an educational component covering issues of personal safety, behavior, and health, particularly related to the topic of early pregnancy. The school clubs in particular focus on providing a space for girls (there are clubs at both primary and secondary schools) to spend time outside of school hours, sometimes for the purpose of providing extra educational support and/or social activities, or simply in an available safe space. Much of the messaging seems to be around the importance of staying in school and avoiding pregnancy, staying away from men, and raising self-esteem.

Many of the school clubs meet formally once or twice a week, though the space might be available other days as well. Some club leaders told us that the groups meet every day, though it seemed that attendance at both daily and weekly meetings varied quite a bit. In some communities, it appeared that nearly all of the girls in the school took part in the club regularly, while other clubs were less well-attended. School clubs probably have an easier time maintaining meeting schedules and ensuring attendance, given the relatively "captive" audience. These clubs may be open to all girls – and in some cases also boys – or might target girls identified as being the most "at risk" (of pregnancy, dropping out, etc.) though it was not clear how such an identification was made. Some of the girls' clubs had formal, regular meeting times, while others appeared more ad hoc, with meetings when the leaders called them, and spaces that might be open for certain hours every day for girls to access at will. We saw these spaces being utilized to varying degrees.

All the clubs depend upon volunteer leadership. In the case of schools, the club leaders are usually teachers working as volunteers or receiving a

small stipend to put in extra hours as the club coordinators and educators. In the case of the girls' clubs where the meeting space is in the community, a teenage girl or – more often – young woman in her mid-teens to early-20s is selected by the chief, the sponsoring NGO, or by vote of the community. The leaders may receive a small stipend and/or training opportunities, though the leaders we spoke with also appeared to invest a significant amount of time and effort beyond the remuneration they received. Some of the leaders have a fixed term of two years, in others it seemed they could fill the role indefinitely until they turned 25. In some places, we heard about girls' club leaders who had themselves become pregnant, particularly during the Ebola crisis; such developments generally bar these young women from continuing to serve the clubs, whether on principle or simple practicality. These decisions seem to be made on a case-by-case basis within the communities and organizations in question.

The activities of the clubs were somewhat hard to parse: while many of the NGOs and teachers or club leaders involved spoke of a focus on sexual and reproductive health and education, fewer of the participating girls described those topics as central to the club activities. Some of the clubs also organized recreational activities for the girls, such as theatre projects or football games, and extracurricular education projects. It seemed that there was not always consistency between the messages that the sponsoring NGOs intended to send and those passed along by club leaders. This is often the case in interventions utilizing a "train the trainers" model (Denney et al., 2014). Messages are culturally and personally filtered, and therefore differently understood and communicated, as they are passed down the line. In some cases, this may allow club leaders to better tailor their activities and messages to the needs of their particular group or community – which is one of the reasons to use locally based leaders in the first place – but also means that the messages may morph quite a bit along the way. This suggests that closer monitoring may be needed.

We saw several examples of how the localized application of this model can both challenge and reinforce some cultural beliefs, stereotypes, and knowledge gaps around early sex and teenage pregnancy. In locations where the girls' club has a dedicated space, we saw rooms with books and sometimes encouraging signs on the wall and informational posters describing a variety of messages related to staying in school, or avoiding early sex and early marriage. Some of these messages were more positive than others – while some messaging challenged norms around discussing rape and identities of perpetrators, some also reinforced the responsibility of girls to prevent rape; the first listed aspect of "risky situations that can lead at [to] rape" in one girls' club was "wearing provocative/indecent/offensive clothing." Another example came from several primary schools where we spoke with

teachers and noticed a standard poster – apparently distributed to many schools – describing various parts and systems in the human body: the reproductive system was distinctly missing. Children are thus starting off with misconceptions of the human body and its key systems and functions – a problem that is not at all unique to Sierra Leone (see Ingras et al., 2015). This means that they enter both the physical and social phase of puberty and adolescence with little to no understanding of what is happening to their bodies. Such messages demonstrate the persistence of the cultural lens through which programming is filtered, regardless of the messages that an NGO might want passed along. This underscores the extent to which donor and NGO projects are only one of a number of places that teenagers spend time and access information. Other sites, such as churches or mosques, secret societies, the football field, home and school continue alongside these, also exerting influence.

Outreach and sensitisation programming and implementation challenges

Another key component of NGO programming to reduce teenage pregnancy is outreach and sensitization efforts to increase awareness about the importance of girls staying in school, delaying sex and using contraceptives. These awareness raising activities are conducted by people associated with the adolescent/girl-friendly spaces (such as CHWs and leaders of girls' clubs), as well as by government health staff, NGO staff and community volunteers and leaders they have trained. Their efforts include community meetings, which are often run by an NGO or a local facilitator(s) hired and trained by an NGO running programs in the community, house-to-house visits to facilitate conversations with parents and intergenerational dialogues within households, and public events such as parades. In some cases, those meetings focus on wider programs – such as explaining and encouraging participation in girls' clubs – while in others they are more broadly focused on discussing issues of teenage pregnancy, education, contraceptives, and other topics of importance to the community. The focus is strongly on health and education messages targeting girls: about abstaining from sex, staying in school and using family planning methods. Health centre staff, NGOs, community volunteers, and district medical officers alike all spoke of the importance of outreach efforts and the need to increase their frequency and reach, and noted with regret that these activities had largely ceased during the Ebola crisis due to restrictions on public meetings. Many NGO respondents noted that the efforts had stopped during the Ebola crisis, and partially blamed the reported rise in early pregnancies during that period on the lack of outreach and support to target populations (mostly teenage girls).

The thinking behind outreach and sensitization programming is that providing knowledge and awareness about the dangers of early sex, ways to prevent pregnancy, and the importance of girls staying in school will help build a context in which girls know how to avoid getting pregnant and are better-supported by their families and communities to stay in (or return to) school. The logic is that increased knowledge and awareness will lead to behavior change. This logic is widely used and broadly accepted in the public health literature, though there remains considerable debate as to *how* such change takes place (Prochaska and Velicer, 1997; Schwarzer, 2008). Yet in the case of reducing teenage pregnancy in Sierra Leone, this approach assumes that girls are becoming pregnant largely because they are making poor decisions, and that the provision of better SRH information and knowledge, along with encouragement and life-skills training, to girls will enable them to make better choices, and thereby avoid pregnancy. These assumptions face a number of practical challenges related to implementation.

First, the knowledge shared through outreach and sensitization efforts is not always accurate. While many NGO programs employ passionate and dedicated staff and volunteers, many of whom are skilled and knowledgeable practitioners and facilitators, there is substantial misinformation surrounding SRH in Sierra Leone. The well of misinformation and rumors is deep, as the responses from teenage girls and boys, as well as adults, participating in or advising adolescent-friendly spaces, make clear. These are spaces where, at least in theory, teenagers are being taught about family planning and pregnancy prevention. We were told that the use of contraception can result in bleeding, weight loss, flatulence, cancer, permanent infertility, and other undesirable physical problems or changes, and that condoms could "get stuck inside," cause bad odors that the girl would be unable to mask or could lead to giving birth to an albino child in the future. More dramatically, teenagers, as well as adults, repeated the warning that early pregnancy could or would result in the death of the adolescent mother. Other teenage girls and boys told us that younger boys could not (yet) get girls pregnant, or that younger girls would not become pregnant, so contraception was unnecessary for them. We also heard from one teenage boy that HIV had been eradicated along with Ebola so condoms were no longer needed. Those advisors or volunteers providing information in the friendly spaces and during outreach efforts were often aware of the multitude of misconceptions and saw their outreach efforts as attempts to counter such misinformation (although, as discussed below, these providers at times held some of the same misconceptions).

Second, the messages promoted are not always clear, or are incomplete. We heard advisors and educators repeating the same message that we often heard from parents and community leaders about girls and pregnancy: girls should abstain from sex, but if they do not, they should use contraception.

This is obviously a mixed message, and creates a scenario in which it is nearly impossible for teenage girls to do the "right" thing. At the same time, there is significantly less focus on boys through abstinence or contraception campaigns; a few boys told us that they use condoms ("one-foot socks") when having sex, but many said that it is the responsibility of girls to make sure that they avoid pregnancy. Knowledge of appropriate and effective use of condoms was rarer still. One boy explained that a boy will use a condom if the girl insists, but prefer to cut off the end for pleasure, in which case "the sides are still protected." Such misconceptions underscore the importance of practical education demonstrating the proper use and functions of contraception.

Unpacking the logic behind common interventions

In addition to the practical challenges of implementation discussed in the preceding section, the two common programming approaches we have examined also face some more fundamental challenges at the conceptual level. These relate to the often implicit underpinning logics and whether they hold in practice. It is these deeper challenges that we unpack in this section.

Staff and volunteers are part of the same culture that programs are trying to change

Those doing much of the outreach and sensitization, or working in health clinics, are just as steeped in local culture and beliefs, thus leading in some cases to a repetition of the myths and misinformation, or an unwillingness to support particular views or services. The knowledge that those advising teenage girls (and boys) have about issues related to sex and pregnancy themselves thus varies as widely as that of those they advise. We came across PHU staff who were not comfortable giving contraceptives to young girls (below 15 or 16) who were engaging in sex, or providing any care related to abortions (which currently remain illegal in Sierra Leone but are frequently accessed clandestinely, with many health facilities providing critical post-abortion care in response to poor or botched procedures). Similarly, we met leaders of girls' clubs who were not comfortable discussing contraception because they believed girls still at school should simply not be having sex, and so only discussed abstinence. This highlights the challenge of getting the awareness raising messengers to deliver accurate messages based on a realistic understanding of teenage girls' and boys' sexual activity in the first place. This problem is also noted to extend to staff within line ministries at the district and national levels.

In all of these scenarios there emerges a tension between the role of advisors – be they nurses, teachers, or volunteer club leaders – as being responsible for promoting awareness raising on a range of SRH and education

messages, and their role as members of that community themselves, and therefore subject to its norms and culture. Ultimately, it should come as no surprise that those in charge of advising teenagers about sexual and reproductive health, and other life skills, have the same range of views and values as their fellow citizens. As community members, they are subject to the same cultural context, assumptions, norms, religious beliefs, and social expectations that govern all of Sierra Leonean society.

In some cases, this results in such staff espousing resolutely abstinence-only views, refusing to refer for safe abortions, or repeating misinformation about pregnancy and contraception. The tension is perhaps most apparent in relation to abortion.[4] Illegal abortion, ranging from herbal-induced miscarriage to unlicensed surgical procedures, is believed to be widespread, and complications from unsafe abortions rank as the fifth most common cause of maternal mortality in Sierra Leone (Paul et al., 2015). Many respondents to our research noted that abortions are often sought clandestinely. Where support in accessing abortions is forthcoming, those who offer it are knowingly acting contrary to legal and social norms. Thus, we found many advisors to the girl-friendly spaces, and even sexual assault counselors, who voiced their opposition to abortion. Similarly, we came across girls' club leaders who encouraged girls to dress modestly so they will not be raped. This highlights the extent to which teenage pregnancy is not only a public health or educational issue but also a socio-cultural one. Efforts to reduce teenage pregnancy are not just a matter of protecting girls from the dangers of giving birth or supporting their future opportunities by keeping them in school. They are also a matter of social and cultural values and beliefs.

Knowledge does not always lead to behavior change

Even where accurate knowledge does make its way through to teenage girls, providing knowledge and awareness through outreach and sensitization assumes that this knowledge can then be operationalized and turned into changed behavior. Yet girls often face a number of constraints regarding their sexual and reproductive health that have little or nothing to do with their level of knowledge. There are often access issues, particularly in rural areas where people may live far from a PHU or other health facility and have to walk several hours to get there. Marie Stopes vehicles try to reach every district in the country to distribute free contraceptives, but their schedules may be irregular and coverage is spotty, not to mention that they had to cease operations in many areas during the Ebola crisis. Girls are not always able to obtain appropriate advice and care with true confidentiality given the public nature of PHUs, which may increase their vulnerability in that parents or other family members may be hostile to their attempts to access con-

traception or other resources, or it may drive them toward the most easily available options rather than the one most medically suited to them.

These realities mean that, even with better knowledge, it is not clear that teenage girls will be in a better position to avoid early pregnancy. Many teenagers we spoke to, of both sexes, were clearly aware of the dangers of pregnancy (and in some cases were also aware of the dangers of sexually transmitted infection that come from engaging in unprotected sex. Teenage girls in particular were also well-informed about contraceptive options (although there was a range of misinformation regarding their potential side-effects). Yet despite this knowledge, many reported that their peers do not use contraceptives. This suggests that improved knowledge will not necessary lead to the behavior changes sought. This is in keeping with wider SLRC findings on how mothers face difficulties in translating knowledge acquired through NGO programs into practice (Denney et al., 2014b).

It is also the case that contraceptive devices may indeed have negative side effects, and it is not uncommon for girls and women (the world over) to have to try several types of contraception before they find one that is comfortable and effective for them. In the severely challenged public healthcare system of Sierra Leone, however, most girls do not have access to a provider that knows them well and can take the time to carefully advise them regarding their choice or explain complications and assist them in trialing other options. Many girls simply go to their local PHU (or the back door of a nurse's home) or to the outreach vehicle from Marie Stopes International and request or purchase one of the kinds they have heard about (we were told that the implant, or "captain's band," is the most popular among teenage girls due to its ease and invisibility, though it does nothing to prevent sexually transmitted infections). If their chosen type has unpleasant side effects (and we heard of girls experiencing a range of these), they may not have the resources, patience or opportunity to try others. In this way, knowledge may encourage or promote steps toward behavior change, but such efforts may fizzle in the face of challenges without the resources and infrastructure in place to sustain them.

In these cases, it is not clear that the adults charged with supporting girls through the clubs and spaces were available or supportive in a substantive manner, or that girls necessarily feel comfortable reaching out to adult or peer advisors. There are obvious potential health ramifications to suffering these ill effects in silence (or perhaps worse, obtaining advice from untrained peers). The cost of contraceptives also becomes a salient issue where girls experience side effects without education or personalized advice available. One young woman said that after having experienced a negative reaction to the implant and then the frustration and cost of getting it removed, she would not use other forms of contraception in the future, despite the acknowledged risk of pregnancy.

This is not a unique phenomenon – people regularly make decisions that go against what they know to be true, or make decisions more likely to pay off in the short term even if they carry greater long-term risks. This was apparent during the Ebola outbreak, for instance, when "Knowledge, Attitude and Practice" studies found that people had good knowledge of the symptoms of Ebola and the appropriate steps to take in response, but that they did not act on this knowledge in practice (Focus 1000, 2014a; 2014b). People's behavior and decisions are informed not only by their knowledge, but also by a range of other factors that mediate that knowledge. Inequitable power relations between genders and age groups, for instance, can lead to girls having sex without a condom when an older male sexual partner declines to wear one – despite the fact that she may know the importance of condom use. Similarly, girls may know that they risk getting pregnant by engaging in transactional sex but nonetheless choose to do so because their (real or perceived) need for associated resources or opportunities appears to outweigh the risk.

This underscores again the importance of recognizing that girls' behavior and decisions are not themselves the source of the problem of teenage pregnancy – rather it is the wider context in which girls are making those choices and decisions. It is this wider context that shapes whether and in what ways girls can apply what they know in their day-to-day lives. Knowledge, therefore, does not lead to behavior change unless the wider structures that constrain a person's ability to act on that knowledge are addressed simultaneously.

Emphasis on girls' behavior

Both the girl-friendly spaces and the outreach and sensitization projects we heard about have a nearly singular focus on girls' behavior, and the adolescent-friendly health centers and school clubs also target teenage girls in particular. This is despite the fact that girls are often actually the *least* powerful actors in their situations, with limited agency or perverse options. Implicit in most of these programs is the view that it is up to girls to abstain from sex, successfully use contraceptives, and stay in or return to school. This approach is problematic for several reasons.

First, it overlooks the cultural and contextual drivers and constraints that force girls into situations in which they have sex in order to meet their material needs or desires, gain favor or protection from more powerful men, or because they are forced to. We heard a variety of such stories, ranging from the transactional and tactical sex with boyfriends/sugar daddies, *okada* riders, and others described earlier, to stories of rape and incest, to teachers coercing sex for grades. Of course, no amount of encouragement or pressure on girls to abstain, stay in school, etc. will enable them to resist coercion in a

highly male-dominated culture or provide realistic alternative means of meeting their basic needs. Many people told us that the main problem driving teenage pregnancy is poverty, and while the explanations are not quite that simple, it is important not lose sight of the many ways in which poverty forces girls into situations in which they become pregnant for reasons far outside their control. This is not to suggest that teenage girls are not also making choices – as highlighted above, girls are also exercising their agency. However, these choices are highly circumscribed, incentivizing or making possible certain courses of action over others.

Second, the focus on girls also essentially ignores the actions of men and boys, many of whom described it to us as unproblematic – if not perhaps a point of pride – that they might have multiple girlfriends, children by different women, and more children than they could financially support (to say nothing of providing social and emotional support). It thereby reinforces the gender roles and male behavioral norms by which girls and women carry most of the stigma and responsibility for pregnancy and parenthood. The simple fact is that girls cannot realistically be expected to avoid sex while boys and men face no similar discouragement (in fact, generally the opposite). Of all the programs we visited, only one – FINE Sierra Leone's "Husband Schools" – was directly targeting the behavior of men and boys in an effort to change their own perspectives and sense of responsibility for problems like teenage pregnancy. This program appears to be making some important headway, partly because of the use of locally respected religious leaders who run the schools. One Husband School participant, a local imam, told us that, thanks to the training he had received, he is now kinder to and more supportive of his wife: "If her head aches, then my head aches also …. If I hear her weeping, I also weep." Yet until there is a significant shift in male gender roles away from validating their pursuit of girls' early sex and marriage, sex with multiple partners, and even coercion of girls into sex and sexual relationships, and toward respect for women and girls, financial responsibility, use of condoms and other positive behaviors, then any changes in girls' behavior will continue to be undermined as quickly as they might be achieved. Such shifting of social norms is not easily or quickly achieved, but requires incremental and sustained support. As eloquently put by a Husband School participant: "We have completed Husband Primary School but now want to go to Husband Secondary School."

Even the emphasis on keeping girls in school is potentially problematic, in that it seems to rely on something of an all-or-nothing premise that fails to take into account the realities of girls' lives and families' economic realities. Some NGO and government staff made a distinction between "on-track" and "off-track" girls to describe the girls remaining in school versus those who become pregnant. Such a framing stigmatizes teen pregnancy along with the

other reasons that girls might leave school, and attributes more power to girls – to remain "on track" – than many realistically possess. The reality for parents and children in Sierra Leone is that school is costly and money is in short supply; many parents save and borrow in order to send even some of their children to school (and they generally privilege boys), and their ability to do so may always be precarious. Many schools are full of students who may be far outside the "normal" age range for students in their grade level, due to the financial difficulties of staying in school, which often force students to leave school for a year or more and return later once further money has been raised to pay fees and other associated costs. Indeed, we encountered students in secondary school who were 20 years of age or older, and adolescents who were still working to complete primary school.

What is more, while there is certainly an important intrinsic value in education, finishing secondary school, let alone accessing tertiary education, is not a reality for many children in Sierra Leone, and there are neither the jobs nor the opportunities to cater to them were they all to do so. As a result, for many girls, leaving school at 16 to get married or have a child seems like the best and most viable option.

In efforts to keep girls (and boys) in school for as long as possible, it is important not to overlook the relative benefits of partial completion of secondary school compared to only finishing primary school. The rhetoric that dropping out before the end of secondary school is disastrous or suggestive of failure may be neither helpful nor empowering given the realities that children and their families face, and the statistical likelihood that girls will leave school – for any number of reasons – before finishing secondary education. This is not to suggest that efforts to keep girls in school should stop – the potential economic benefits of girls staying in school are not disputed. In aiming for an ideal, however, programming must be careful that it does not dismiss more incremental progress that is more realistic given the context in Sierra Leone.

While it might seem to intuitively make sense that programs to reduce teenage pregnancy focus on girls, this ignores the ways in which girls are simply those who ultimately carry the burden of a series of wider societal problems. Addressing these wider problems means engaging not just with girls, but also with boys, men, parents and other influential groups.

Missing justice and socio-cultural aspects

We found that the justice and socio-cultural aspects of teenage pregnancy were relatively overlooked, with the balance of programming overwhelmingly focused on health and education approaches (Denney et al., 2015). Additionally, we saw sectoral siloes that prevent some organizations working on the justice and socio-cultural aspects from engaging with wider efforts to

reduce teenage pregnancy. Most of the organizations we came across working on the justice aspects of teenage pregnancy, for instance, were not aware of nor invited to attend meetings of the National Secretariat for the Reduction of Teenage Pregnancy. This suggests there is significant room and need for programming to take greater account of the justice and socio-cultural dynamics of teenage pregnancy.

In many of our interviews with policy-makers and NGO practitioners, educators, community members, and teenagers themselves, respondents consistently identified the lack of legal response to issues related to teenage pregnancy as a problem. Both rape and sexual penetration (statutory rape) are under-reported and, where they are reported, rarely result in convictions. As one community leader told us, "there is not very much justice." We found that many people, including teenagers in both urban and rural areas, were aware of the law; one teenage boy in Port Loko province noted the law and asked whether perhaps it was new and had not yet come into force, since he had never seen anyone held accountable to it. Other respondents said that cases were starting to be reported more than they had been in the past, though we rarely heard of more than one in any community. Respondents told us most of those cases result in settlement between families with an agreement to "take care of" (financially support, or even marry) the girl and baby, regardless of how (non)consensual the sex or what resolution the girl might want. This is the same resolution that often seems to happen in situations not reported to law enforcement. It is widely acknowledged that the law is rarely enforced. Rancourt notes, for instance, that of the 60 rape cases and 1,246 sexual penetration cases were reported to the police in 2013, 25 rape cases and 508 sexual penetration cases were charged and zero rape cases and 19 sexual penetration cases resulted in convictions (2015: 12). Many interviewees, including teenage girls, suggested that enforcing the law – that is, criminal prosecution and punishment of men and boys who have sex with girls under 18 – would send a strong message to potential perpetrators to think twice before engaging in sexual activity with underage girls.

Enforcement of the law is partly hampered by an overstretched and under-resourced justice sector. The Family Support Units (FSUs) of the Sierra Leone Police (SLP) are charged with responding to crimes involving women and children, including rape, sexual penetration, incest, and other violence against women and girls, and are thus the responsible body for dealing with sex with minors. The FSUs, however, are allocated a budget so minimal as to be essentially non-existent: in 2015 it was doubled to 2 million leones (US$500) per quarter to support all 68 FSUs nationwide (CARL, 2014). In addition, officers are regularly rotated in and out between the FSUs and other SLP units, and therefore may have little specialized experience or training, particularly with the dearth of funding to their department. We spoke with

officers in several FSUs in Kambia, Freetown, and Western Rural, and heard similar stories of lacking manpower, vehicles with which to visit incident sites, equipment for evidence gathering, and even basic office supplies. A number of respondents in communities noted a need for more FSUs to expand their coverage and ability to respond.

The financial constraints on justice sector responses to sex with underage girls are numerous, and respondents from both the SLP and international NGOs noted that there is little donor support to the sector, either for police or justice mechanisms (the United Kingdom's Department for International Development and UNDP being the exceptions). Interviewees in communities noted that cases that go to the FSUs often lack follow-up, at least partly due to these resource constraints. We also heard that such challenges often prevent people from reporting incidents in the first place, as they may lack the money for transport, or might hesitate to spend the money given the slim prospects of "successful" conclusion through the courts, along with the costs of multiple trips to district or provincial headquarters during the process.

Another reason for the weak justice response to teenage pregnancy, however, is the fact that socio-cultural attitudes do not always see teenage pregnancy as problematic in and of itself. One NGO worker told us that some in the community view the FSUs as "scattering families" and not an appropriate response to teenage pregnancy. In relation to socio-cultural attitudes, the connections between secret society initiation, early marriage and teenage pregnancy remain under-explored, with little programming on reducing teenage pregnancy directly grappling with these issues. Some argue that secret society initiation (involving female circumcision) also contributes to early marriage (and thus early sex) with girls seen as ready for marriage upon completion of initiation, while others note that early marriage seems to be a result, rather than cause, of teenage pregnancy (de Koning et al., 2013: 11). Initiation is now illegal before the age of 18 according to the law in Sierra Leone, but it is still widely believed to be practiced at all ages – from infancy through to 18 years – and this was confirmed by our focus group discussions with teenage girls. One chief interviewed in Port Loko told us that the Koran says a girl should get married when she starts menstruating. When asked what this means if a girl begins menstruation at 13 years old, he said that her mother could decide to delay marriage for "a few years" until she was, say, 16 years old. There is, of course, a range of views across the country – other chiefs told us they forbid marriage of girls under 18 in their communities. Nonetheless, socio-cultural attitudes are hugely influential and remain relatively overlooked in the current spread of programming.

Summary of reflections

Reducing teenage pregnancy is a long-term process. These critiques are not to suggest that this kind of programming is fruitless; to the contrary, research by Shirley et al. (2014) and UNFPA (2011), among others, suggests that the kinds of programs described above can have a significant impact on teens' and other community members' attitudes and knowledge, as well as their openness to discussion and learning about these sensitive topics. Most of the programming described here is aimed at cultural shifts, which are inherently a long-term project and difficult to measure. They also do not take place in a vacuum, but are subject to their circumstances just like all the people involved; hence, crises like the Ebola outbreak may roll back progress in some ways – as we heard from a number of interviewees – while advancing it more quickly in others. Programming faces both implementation challenges, as well as more fundamental challenges related to the underlying logics involved in programming approaches. This section has offered some reflections from our observations of how efforts to reduce teenage pregnancy are conducted and received that demonstrate these challenges. Improving existing efforts to reduce teenage pregnancy thus requires addressing the implementation challenges but also grappling with the deeper flaws in programming logic. This also may require a greater appetite among NGOs and the donors that fund them for programs that do not necessarily deliver tangible and quantifiable outputs, given the attitudinal shifts reduction of teenage pregnancy requires. Donors should also, therefore, seek to strengthen their own mechanisms for dealing with complexity and uncertainties inherent in addressing this challenging problem.

Recommendations

We conclude with six recommendations that aim to improve efforts to reduce teenage pregnancy. These recommendations were formulated to be particularly relevant to the process of reviewing and updating Sierra Leone's National Strategy on Reducing Teenage Pregnancy in 2016, and also to inform future programming at large. Many of these recommendations will not come as a surprise, yet they remain areas in which programming has not kept pace with acknowledged problems. While the recommendations are made in relation to efforts to reduce teenage pregnancy in Sierra Leone, they will have relevance for some other contexts as well.

The overarching prescription is to shift the focus of strategies away from changing girls' (perceived or labeled "bad") behavior to address and seek to change the wider context in which girls are incentivized to make the choices and decisions that they do. The current focus suggests that it is girls'

behavior that is problematic and that the onus is thus on them to fix the problem of teenage pregnancy. This misses the fact that the choices girls make are the outcome of a constellation of factors related to gender roles, power, poverty, the various forms of sex and knowledge about sex that combine to make teenage pregnancy more likely. An effective National Strategy must shift to a focus on engaging with these factors that shape the wider context which is responsible for teenage pregnancy.

Focus on communities as a whole, especially males and parents

An overwhelming focus of much programming on reducing teenage pregnancy is about changing girls' behavior – by getting girls to use family planning, abstain from sex, stay in school, and so on. While this might make intuitive sense, it ignores the fact that girls' behavior is the outcome of the context in which they find themselves and their ability to turn these well-intentioned messages into practice is always mediated by that context. For instance, girls cannot easily choose to stay in school if their families are poor and there is pressure for them to work or get married to obtain a bride price. Similarly, girls cannot easily choose to use family planning if they are located at a distance from health facilities, there is a charge for contraceptives, or if their sexual partners encourage or force them not to use it. Focusing on girls' behavior in such situations places the burden of solving the problem on those with the least power, neglecting the disadvantaged positions in which girls find themselves and how these limit their ability to exercise agency.

Rather, our findings suggest that efforts to reduce teenage pregnancy need to engage more broadly with those elements that shape the context in which girls are engaging in unsafe sex. Many organizations themselves acknowledged a failure to engage with men and boys. Yet in male-dominated society, it is ultimately men whose attitudes towards and expectations of girls and women most shape gender roles and resulting behaviors and expectations. At a more basic level, of course, men are responsible for impregnating their sexual partners; pregnancy does not happen without their participation. However, there are obvious cultural norms justifying unequal distribution of responsibility. We heard men and boys describe an entitlement to sex, little or no responsibility for preventing pregnancy – and sometimes pride in impregnating their sexual partners – and the desire for multiple girlfriends, including for married men.

In addition to working with men and boys, parents are an important target group who have influence over the wider context in which girls are getting pregnant (for instance by not talking to their children about sex, making decisions about sending sons rather than daughters to school, or sending girls out at night to collect water). Our interviews revealed that parents tend to

react angrily if their teenage daughter becomes pregnant, often kicking her out of the home and admonishing that "you're an adult now; go take care of yourself." We also heard that parents feel powerless to control their children's behavior. Many pointed to a post-war breakdown in respect for elders and the introduction of the "child rights" discourse as negative influences that have led children to disregard their parents' authority and advice.

To genuinely reduce teenage pregnancy – and not just to help girls avoid it – programming should move to engage with these components of the problem, recognizing how a variety of different actors contribute to it. Interventions may involve facilitating conversations between men and women and between parents and children on broader topics such as respect for women and girls, household relations, domestic violence and supportive childrearing practices. Rather than focusing on what girls should do differently, these can and should promote healthier attitudes towards and expectations of girls, and more supportive environments for both girls' and boys' development. Some NGOs are already implementing projects along these lines, such as FINE Sierra Leone's Husband Schools and previous projects by Concern and the International Rescue Committee (Rancourt, 2015). There is space for significantly more and greater creative efforts along these lines.

Of course, "changing the context" is not a short-term endeavor, and there are likely to be challenges in fitting this sort of programming into the tangible results frameworks favored by many donors. Programming could strike more of a balance between efforts to change girls' decision-making in the short term and efforts to transform the context in the longer term. This two-track logic could be explicitly integrated into theories of change to help take a more comprehensive approach to programming and change the context, not just the girls. A preference for quantifiable outputs could also be replaced with rigorous monitoring of attitudinal change, for instance.

Address the complexities of girls' relationships and sexual activity

There is a need to disaggregate the various types of sex that girls are engaging in and how those result in teenage pregnancy. Transactional sex, sex with peer-age boyfriends, and rape happen for different reasons. Efforts to reduce teenage pregnancy thus need to engage with the specifics of each of these categories (recognizing that girls are often engaging in multiple types of sex at once; and that individual relationships can cross over more than one category). Targeting interventions in this way will also connect programming with girls' own experiences of sexual relationships in a more relevant way. Rather than talking about the importance of using family planning, for instance, programming can address the specifics of how this applies in different sexual relationships – including who pays for it, how it is accessed,

etc. Programming that seeks to minimize girls' risk of and vulnerability to rape will necessarily look different from programming aimed at girls who are having sex with their peer-age boyfriends. This requires donors and NGOs to be clearer about which aspects of the problem they are focusing on and how, and what are the root causes they need to address.

In regard to transactional sex – the category that emerged most often in our research – programming efforts should internalize and promote an understanding of it as rooted in girls' limited livelihood opportunities. This would help to counter ideas that transactional sex is due to girls' loose morals and bad behavior, which results in teenage pregnancy being blamed on them and policy responses punishing the girls. Even where transactional sex is utilized by teenage girls to gain access to seemingly unnecessary resources, such as clothes and phones, this must be understood from the perspective of teenagers and the lack of avenues to financial and social capital available to them.

Programs should deepen their understanding of how rape is understood by girls and women, as well as by men and boys, and integrate this understanding into programming. Our research suggests that actions that constitute rape and sexual penetration are often not viewed as such by those who perpetrate or experience such crimes. Where these terms are not clearly understood or utilized, programming should consider how best to broach issues of unwanted and underage sex in order to open up conversations and avoid backlash. Tackling the issue head on – for instance by telling husbands that having sex with their underage wives is a form of rape – may not, in all cases, be the most productive approach. On the other hand, making clear that transactional sex with minors is a crime might help to build stigma around such sexual relationships and help to deter them. Here, the views of parents and community leaders are especially important, as they are currently key in decisions to settle cases of sexual penetration and rape informally, sending the message that such behavior is, if not acceptable, then certainly redeemable.

Recognize and invest in the socio-cultural and justice aspects

The focus of most programming on teenage pregnancy is overwhelmingly from a health and education perspective – providing SRH knowledge and focusing on girls staying in school. These are, of course, critically important components of the problem. Yet we found that the justice and socio-cultural aspects of the problem were largely overlooked from a funding and programmatic perspective. Even where interventions were cross-cutting, including child protection aspects, these were substantially weaker than the health and education components. This oversight matters because it has the effect of

treating teenage pregnancy as an overwhelmingly developmental problem when it is also an issue of rights, legality and culture.

One of the most striking suggestions we heard from teenage girls when asked about how they think teenage pregnancy can be reduced was to actually prosecute men who get girls pregnant. Many had seen men taken to the police, but almost none had ever seen anything further come of that in terms of punishment (of the man himself) or deterrence (for men in general). As long as there is impunity for men committing statutory rape, along with limited encouragement of condom usage, the burden of preventing teenage pregnancy will continue to fall to girls. While there are some organizations working on the justice components, most do not have national coverage, and support for government authorities such as the FSUs and Ministry of Social Welfare, Gender and Children's Affairs is limited. There is clearly a long way to go before they are robustly funded and equipped to meet their mandate, not to mention the need for the justice system to keep pace.

The socio-cultural aspects of teenage pregnancy also remain overlooked. The relationship between secret society initiation, early marriage and teenage pregnancy remains under-explored but certainly influences community perceptions of teenage pregnancy. Socio-cultural attitudes are hugely influential, and opportunities to engage with chiefs through the Council of Paramount Chiefs, secret society elders through the Traditional Healers Union (which includes *soweis*), and churches and mosques, for instance, should be explored.

Improve coordination across sectors

Despite efforts to coordinate the many actors working on reducing teenage pregnancy, including by the National Secretariat for the Reduction of Teenage Pregnancy, there remains a siloed sectoral approach to programming. The new National Strategy would benefit from a wider framing of the problem of teenage pregnancy, including areas outside of health and education. A good way to begin to put the reduction of teenage pregnancy on the political radar of different ministries and actors in government is to ensure that their relevant areas of influence are noted and incorporated as relevant to reduction efforts in the new National Strategy.

Another important step to address such siloed approaches would be ensuring that all those organizations working on the different components of the problem of teenage pregnancy are aware of, and have the opportunity to engage with, the National Strategy process. Some organizations and parts of government working on the justice and socio-cultural elements of teenage pregnancy, for instance, do not even know about the National Secretariat's coordination meetings. The process itself must also become more effective

and efficient; the meetings of the National Secretariat are currently said to be too long and not strategically focused, with the many NGOs in attendance giving long updates on their activities. The new National Strategy needs a more structured approach with working groups that meet on specific areas of operation that report up to the Secretariat, with representatives meeting across working groups to ensure cross-fertilization. The involvement of more actors must be structured so that it does not simply create longer meetings, but generates more useful cooperation and action.

Provide real sexual and reproductive health education for girls, boys, communities

For all the focus on SRH, there is still surprisingly little in the way of frank, informative knowledge available about sex. The vast majority of the messages that reach the girls we spoke with – those who had access to adolescent-friendly health spaces, girls' clubs, school clubs and community outreach activities – focused on the dangers of sex and pregnancy. The spreading of ideas such as "if you get pregnant before 18, you will die" creates misinformation and fear rather than better educated and empowered girls. Presumably this idea stems from the higher rates of maternal mortality associated with teenage pregnancy, yet the scaremongering effect of this messaging is unhelpful.

What is needed are sensible, fact-based conversations about sex and pregnancy. These should focus on giving girls *and their wider communities* real knowledge about sex – its biological, social and emotional aspects. Such conversations should not just target girls, but both sexes, and include inter-generational discussions about sex, pregnancy and child-rearing. It is likely that many parents of teenage girls have never had such conversations about sex themselves. Further, inter-generational and mixed-sex conversations might also help to break down uneasiness in talking about sex and promote healthier attitudes towards it, contrary to the view we heard from some respondents that males and females talking about sex – in any forum or manner – only brings them closer to having it.

Involve community leaders in behavior change efforts

Who delivers messages about behavior change matters. This is not a new revelation but one that warrants repeating. This was perhaps made most apparent during the Ebola response in Sierra Leone, where engagement with community leaders such as chiefs and traditional healers was crucial to getting public health messages through to communities. That lesson should not be forgotten post-Ebola. Relationships built with such community

leaders and the channels of communication opened up through them should continue to be utilized in wider behavior change efforts, including around reducing teenage pregnancy.

The participation of religious leaders, in particular, would also serve to challenge a fundamental socio-cultural aspect of pregnancy prevention, which is, as a local leader put it: "In Africa we don't believe in family planning – we believe God gives us children." Not all religious leaders are likely to be enthusiastic participants in campaigns for sexual health education and pregnancy prevention. That said, a more holistic understanding of the problem of teenage pregnancy, as outlined above, suggests a number of alternative aspects and avenues in which such leaders might be engaged, including poverty reduction, de-stigmatizing teen mothers, encouraging an end to legal impunity for crimes such as rape, and overall respect for women and girls.

FINE Sierra Leone's Husband Schools were one good example of this approach. Using local religious leaders, with the support of local chiefs, to reach out to men on issues such as domestic violence, the importance of antenatal visits, ensuring their children go to school and taking an interest in children's development, and so on, appeared to have resonance to many men attending the schools. Focus groups with the wives of men attending the school suggested that their husband's treatment of them and their children had indeed improved – with continued room for improvement, of course. Some of the husbands interviewed spoke quite earnestly about how difficult it was for them to control their temper and not simply hit their wives when frustrated – suggesting patterns of learned behavior and a lack of alternative methods for expressing anger. Critical to the tentative success of the Husband Schools seems to be the involvement of locally respected religious leaders who are responsible for organizing them. As one NGO representative explained, religious leaders "are a mouthpiece … they have power." Because the organizers are known, respected and seen to be "from" the same culture that they are simultaneously trying to change, they are well-received by the men the program targets. The same result would likely not be achieved were the schools run by those perceived to be "external" – from Freetown or abroad – and thus unknown.

While many programs aim to support local actors to deliver programming, it is important that those supported are respected and have the capacity to influence whoever the targets are. Where the targets are teenage girls, having a "lead girl" – such as in the girls' clubs – might be appropriate. However, lead girls are unlikely to influence those in the wider community, particularly boys and men, who also need to be engaged if we are to change the context, not just the girls.

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NOTES

1. Throughout this paper we use the term "teenagers" to refer to 13–18 year olds. In some cases, we refer to "children" to denote those under 13 years old. It should be noted, however, that all those under 18 years old are technically children, and referring to "teenage" pregnancy can mask this fact. The term "youth" is avoided given the wide age bracket that this can denote in Sierra Leone.

2. Presumably this relates to the higher rates of maternal mortality in teenage mothers compared with adult mothers, but the logic behind this statement is not unpacked – leaving girls with a scare message rather than helpful information.

3. According to UNDP (2016), more than 60% of Sierra Leoneans live on less than US$1.25 per day, highlighting the significant cost of contraception. This does not account for the difficulties that girls, in particular, may have in obtaining such cash in hand.

4. A Safe Abortion Bill was unanimously passed by the Sierra Leone Parliament in December 2015, but the President has refused to sign it into law and instead referred the matter to the Constitutional Review Committee.

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UNDERSTANDING THE UNEVEN SPREAD OF LGBT RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN, 1999–2013[1]

JAVIER CORRALES
jcorrales@amherst.edu
Amherst College, MA

ABSTRACT. LGBT rights have expanded across the Western Hemisphere, albeit unevenly. This article seeks to explain this uneven progress. It argues that important tenets in the literature on the expansion of social rights deserve to be revised to account for this variation in outcome. Specifically, 1) higher income is important, but it is not a sufficient condition to explain the expansion of LGBT rights; 2) social movements are essential for expanding LGBT rights, but their influence expands if they operate under favorable political institutions (competitive political parties, federalism, and independent and progressive courts); and 3) religion continues to be the most important attitudinal and institutional obstacle, but the veto power of religion is most strongly felt where Protestants and Evangelicals are dominant, growing, or have a strong presence in Congress.

Keywords: LGBT rights; Latin America; the Caribbean; income; social movement; religion

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Outside of the North Atlantic, no region in the world has undergone more progress in expanding the legal rights of Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, and Transgender (LGBT) people than Latin America. Some of the most advanced legislation and policies on LGBT rights in the world, such as non-discrimination statutes, legalized same-sex marriage, expansion of health services for LGBT people, and pro-LGBT court rulings, have been established in Latin American countries during the last ten years. This begs the question: What does Latin America's experience teach us about the conditions under which rights in general, and LGBT rights in particular, expand?

Why Study the Expansion of LGBT Rights?

A major innovation in democratic theory in the late 20th century is the proposition that, for a regime to qualify as democratic, the state must offer recognition and protection for sexual diversity and gender fluidity. While states historically varied in the extent to which they have tolerated or persecuted deviations from heteronormativity, there never quite existed a corpus of theory seeking to justify the need for recognizing and protecting these deviations until the end of the 20th century.

Most democratic thinkers agree that when the state is responsible for direct acts of homophobia, it is violating human rights, not just democratic rights (e.g., Carroll and Itaborahy, 2015; Weiss and Bosia, 2013). Democratic thinkers recognize that one way to start to right these wrongs is through liberal democracy. Key pillars of liberalism can be used to defend minorities of all type, including non-heteronormative individuals: e.g., the defense of individual freedoms and rights (Voltaire, Paine, Locke), toleration of pluralism (Locke), safeguards for the rights of minorities against majorities (Hamilton, Madison, Mill), concern for checks and balance and separation of powers (Montesquieu), separation of church and state (Jefferson), etc.

The problem is that liberal institutions alone have been shown to be insufficient to protect citizens from heteronormative norms and biases, stemming from either the state or citizens (Foucault, 1976). The fundamental dilemma is that individuals and institutions that adopt heteronormative biases can also use liberal principles to justify their biases. Thus, parents can claim liberal principles to defend their right to raise children under heteronormativity; schools and businesses can use liberal principles to defend their right not to incorporate LGBT individuals; communities of faith can claim liberal principles (freedom of religion) to maintain homophobic dogmas, majorities can petition referenda to legislate heteronormativity, etc. Even tolerance, a principle that is so fundamental for liberal democracy, is not only insufficient to prevent forms of intangible intolerance, but also reifies the notion of value inequality: the tolerated act is intrinsically seen as inferior or less valuable even if it needs be allowed (e.g., Brown, 1976).

Because of the inadequacy of relying simply on liberal principles, it is important therefore to offer active rights and protections for individuals. As comparativists, we want to understand not just the rise of liberal institutions, but the conditions under which specific LGBT rights are granted.

One advantage of focusing on Latin America to study questions of LGBT rights expansion is that the region displays variation in outcomes. While rights have expanded in many countries and in many domains of the law across the region, they have also stagnated or even reversed in others. This variation in outcomes allows for more careful evaluation of some of the most important theoretical claims about the causes of LGBT rights expansion.

The conventional wisdom about the causes of expansion of social rights in general, and LGBT rights in particular, goes something like this: rights are more likely to advance in high-income democracies (the modernization hypothesis), where social movements are abundant, strong, organized, and sufficiently-networked (the social movement hypothesis), and where religion is less influential in the daily life of majorities (the secularist/culturalist hypothesis).

This article argues that these propositions, for the most part, hold true, but they must become more nuanced to account for the experience of Latin America in the past ten years. In particular, institutional factors, such as the role of alliances between movements and political groups, degree of party competition, degree of federalism, and degree of court assertiveness and progressiveness, should supplement structural variables, such as income. In addition, the notion of secularism needs to incorporate a discussion of the different ways in which two branches of religion – mainstream Catholicism and Evangelicalism – influence politics.

The Status of LGBT Rights and Representation in LAC

One way to appreciate the magnitude of Latin America's LGBT rights transformation is to look at some of the standard legal benchmarks associated with LGBT rights. As a measure of the quality of LGBT life in the region, focusing on legal rights alone is admittedly incomplete and imperfect, as it tells us little about enforcement policies, such as treatment by the police, education campaigns, public health policies, and general attitudes toward employment and housing. Yet, some of these legal rights, however circumscribed, are hard to obtain worldwide, and in some countries, inexistent. They are therefore not trivial landmarks, and most scholars agree that it is better to have them than not. Thus, it is useful to focus on legal rights as one way to capture the evolution of LGBT rights in any given country.

Table 1 compares LGBT legal rights in 1999 and 2013, across a number of domains. These trends stand out:

- Widespread coverage: Decriminalization of homosexuality, already a strong current in the region by 1999, was the norm in 76% of countries.
- Significant coverage: Next to decriminalization of homosexuality, the area of most improvement is anti-discrimination statutes and the right to serve in the military.
- Modest coverage: protections for gender identity.
- Minor coverage: hate crime laws, rights and protections for civil unions, and same-sex marriage. However, considering that no country had these protections in 1999, the record so far, especially with hate crime, is worthy of note.

In addition, there are region-specific patterns: Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking Latin American countries (SPLA) are unquestionably in the lead in the region. If one excludes non-SPLA countries, which are mostly small countries in the Caribbean, the record of coverage of LGBT rights is even more impressive. All have de-criminalized homosexuality and the vast majority have protections against discrimination and freedom to serve in the military. The LGBT rights revolution is clearly an Ibero-America phenomenon.

Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that all this progress coexists with lack of progress. No domain achieves a perfect score in the region. Only three countries by 2013, Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay, achieved progress in all categories.

Perhaps the region's standard-bearer is Argentina (see Appendix 1) because it was such a pioneer. In 2010, Argentina became the first country in Latin America, the second in the Americas (after Canada), and the second in the Global South (after South Africa) to legalize same-sex marriage and adoption rights for LGBT people. Then in 2012, also through Congressional action (Senate vote of 55–0), the Argentine government enacted one of the most progressive transgender laws in the world. The law established public funding for sex reassignment surgery while virtually eliminating the red tape for transgender persons to correct legal documents, such as driver licenses and birth certificates, to accurately reflect their gender identity.

Today, Argentina is not alone in the region. Uruguay, Brazil, and Colombia, together with several states and districts in Mexico, including Mexico City, also adopted marriage equality. Because Uruguay, unlike Argentina, also has hate crime legislation in the books, thus scoring a perfect score in our index, it could very well be considered the most-LGBT friendly country in Latin America, at least in terms of legal rights.

Overall, these are impressive legal achievements in countries that, at the start of the 21st century, had very limited legal protections for LGBT people and where the topic of civil unions was not even on the agenda of most major political parties. The story of LGBT issues in the region is thus remarkable. This progress contrasts with the situation in many African and Eastern European countries, where LGBT rights have receded recently, and in the Middle East and Asia, where there has been very little progress.

Nevertheless, some positive signs of change in the area of political representation are visible. The number of openly out politicians occupying subnational offices and, to some extent, cabinet positions, is increasing. In addition, there are more signs of out LGBT politicians running for national office. In 2013, two trans women in Ecuador and Chile, Diane Rodríguez and Valentina Verbal, respectively, made history as the first openly trans-gender individuals to run for office in their national legislatures. In 2015, Venezuelans elected the first transgender woman, Tamara Adrian, as an alternate deputy for the National Assembly.

Table 1 LGBT Rights in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1999 v. 2013

	Latin American and the Caribbean (n = 42)				Spanish and Portuguese-Speaking only (n = 20)	
	1999	-	2013	-	2013	-
	No. of Countries	Percent of Total	No. of Countries	Percent of Total	No. of Countries	Percent of Total
Decriminalization (1)	24	57.1	32	76.2	20	100
Civil Unions (2)	1	2.4	6	14.3	6	30
Marriage (3)	0	0	3	7.1	3	15
Adoption (4)	0	0	3	7.1	3	15
Military Service (5)	13	30.9	24	57.1	14	70
Anti-Discrimination (6)	4	9.5	16	38.1	14	70
Gender-identity (7)	3	7.1	12	28.6	11	55
Hate Crime (8)	0	0.0	7.5	17.9	7.5	37.5

Notes: (1) Same-Sex Sexual Activity Fully Decriminalized; (2) Same-Sex Relationships Legally Recognized; (3) Equal Rights of Marriage Extended to Same-Sex Couple as for Heterosexual Couples; (4) Homosexuals Enjoy Same Rights to Adopt Children as Heterosexuals; (5) Homosexuals Allowed to Serve in the Military; (6) Strong Legal Protections Against Discrimination Based on Sexual Orientation; (7) Strong Legal Protections Against Discrimination for Gender Identity, and (8) Hate crimes based on sexual orientation considered an aggravating circumstance.

Source: Calculated by author based on data from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/LGBT_rights_by_country_or_territory; and http://old.ilga.org/Statehomophobia/ILGA_State_Sponsored_Homophobia_2013.pdf

And yet, the record so far is one of significant political underrepresentation and continued barriers for trans people. In Chile, Valentina Verbal had to withdraw from the election after TRICEL, the country's electoral body, refused to let her run using her social name, rather than her legal name.

Latin America, therefore, is distinctive in the global politics of LGBT rights for exhibiting a major paradox: LGBT rights have become quite developed for world standards (mostly in SPLA), but representation remains low.

This leads to at least two observations – one positive, one negative – about how democracy is working (or not) on behalf of LGBT rights in Latin America. The positive observation is that LGBT rights openings, where they are occurring, are not being driven by elite-politics, but by pressures from below, including professional social movements. The LGBT rights transformation is, to a remarkable degree, a bottom-up phenomenon. The negative conclusion is that, despite the legal progress achieved, coming out remains (or is seen as) highly unsafe for high-level politicians seeking votes. This is reason for concern. If a true civil rights revolution requires that civil-rights claimants from below forge strong ties with both allies and representatives at the state level, then the region cannot be said to be yet on a secure path toward full progress on LGBT rights.

There is one more salient paradox about the region. Despite impressive legal advances, Latin America continues to be the scene of startling incidents of public homophobia. Some of these incidents (e.g., hate crimes, hate speech by public figures including religious leaders, violence) occur routinely in countries with low LGBT representation and legal rights scores (which is not surprising), but also in countries with higher scores, such as Brazil and Mexico, which is shocking.

In short, the region faces substantial challenges, even though legally, it is far more advanced than it was a decade ago, and some countries enjoy legal protections for LGBT people that are rare in the world. It makes sense, then, to study why some Latin American countries have been able to move so decidedly on the question of legal rights.

The rest of this paper seeks to explain the causes for the expansion (or lack thereof) of LBGT rights in the Americas. I organize the discussion following the standard practice in the field of Comparative Politics of grouping arguments according to three explanatory categories: structure (especially issues of income), institutions (with an emphasis on social movements, parties, the court system, and federalism), and culture (with an emphasis on public opinion and the role of religion).

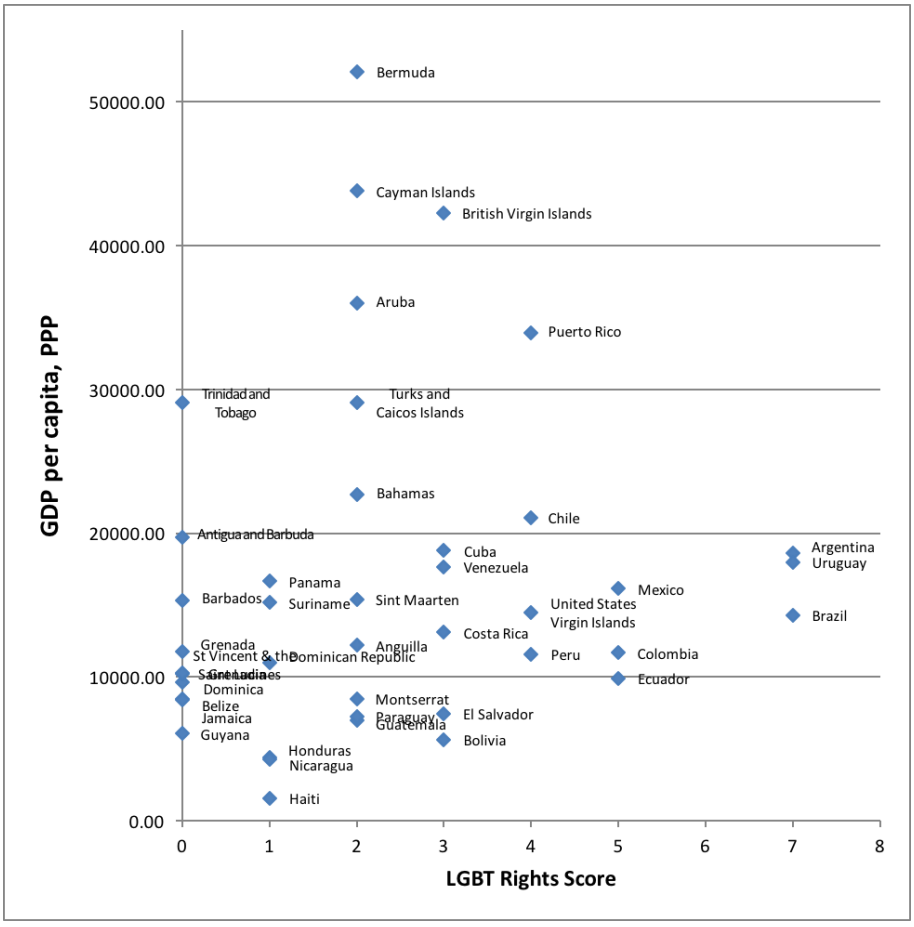
The Income Argument

Since the heyday of modernization theory, political scientists have been familiar with the argument that rising incomes (including rising levels of urbanization and rising middle classes) are associated with increases in political and social rights. This argument is somewhat confirmed by the experience of LGBT rights expansion in Latin America. The region's super achievers in terms of LGBT legal rights (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and perhaps Mexico) are without a doubt the richest, most urbanized, most middle-class countries in the region.

Furthermore, LGBT rights are strong in cities that are also among the wealthiest in the developing world: Mexico City, Buenos Aires, Bogotá, São Paulo, and Rio. The middle-class component is a key factor. A recent paper by the Andean Development Corporation shows that in Latin America there is a strong connection between middle-class status and "post-materialist" values, meaning less interest in securing economic sustenance and shelter, and more emphasis on issues of "self-expression," "subjective-wellbeing," defense of ideas and quality of life (CAF, 2014; Inglehart, 2008; Inglehart and Carvalho, 2008). Post-materialist environments are generally considered more amenable for the rise of LGBT rights.

However, the problem with the income argument is that there are too many exceptions within the region. Oil-rich Venezuela along with most non-SPLA countries are high-income, and yet their LGBT progress is modest or non-existent. One could even say that even Chile and Mexico, given their generally high-income status and fast-rising middle class since the 2000s, should have higher on scores on our LGBT rights index. Income therefore seems to be a contributing but not a sufficient condition.

Chart 1 GDP Per capita and LGBT Rights in Latin America and the Caribbean, 2013



Source: GDP per capita derived from World Development Indicators.

Social Movements, Queer Allies, and Network-Building

Rather than focusing on income, many scholars have tried to explain the rise of rights by looking at social movements. The central idea is that a country needs to not just be a wealthy democracy, but also home to the right kind of social movements. Thus, the bulk of scholarship on LGBT rights expansion in the region has borrowed heavily from social movement theory. Here too, the experience of Latin America confirms and defies expectations.

On the one hand, there is clear evidence that rights have expanded thanks to pro-active efforts by LGBT social movements (see De la Dehesa, 2010; Díez, 2015; Encarnación, 2016). It seems that marriage-equality or civil unions have occurred in countries with the longest tradition of holding Gay

pride parades, which is a proxy for social movement longevity and visibility (Kollman and Sagarzazu, 2015).

But the remarkable puzzle is that many of Latin America's pro-LGBT social movements, even long-established ones, do not seem, prima facie, to be equipped for success. In most countries, at least until the late 2000s, these movements were typically very small, not well organized, and generally devoid of resources and cross-class allies. They operated in countries that did not necessarily offer the right "political opportunity," given that national attention tended to focus on issues such as economic crisis, unemployment, crime, poverty, corruption, and instability. In the early 2000s, therefore, both pro-LGBT movements and their causes were marginal. Most political scientists would thus have predicted little influence by these social movements. How then to account for the success of many pro-LGBT social movements in Latin America?

Political scientists point to *strategy* and *framing* as reasons for success (see Díez, 2015). While the experience of Latin America suggests there is not one single winning strategy, the most important theme that dominates is the value of network-building strategies: pro-LGBT movements that succeed in establishing strong partnerships with *bigger* movements or political actors, or which develop innovative network-building strategies, are more likely to succeed.

Another reason for the success of social movements is due to their advocacy efforts. When LGBT movements are strong and active, they typically force political debates on LGBT rights. These efforts alone succeed in changing public opinion. A study in Colombia shows that between 2010 and 2014, tolerance for homosexuality improved by a rather large 12.3 points in the approval scale, an improvement that cannot be explained by changes in schooling or in income status, but rather, by the expansion of public debate on this topic during this period (Observatorio para la Democracia, 2016).

On the question of alliance-building, the literature on social science suggests that, to be successful in changing policy, *small* social movements must develop alliances with *larger* social movements or political actors (De la Dehesa, 2010). This was the case in Argentina and Mexico City, where pro-LGBT movements formed key alliances with the largest and most developed social movements in each country: human rights groups in Argentina (especially those seeking that more be done to uncover human rights abuses during the dictatorship) and democratizing movements in Mexico (those that have been fighting since the 1990s to make Mexico more democratic). In Ecuador, LGBT movements achieved success, including protection for sexual and gender minorities in the 2008 constitution, by aligning themselves with strong feminist and indigenous movements, each of which had become particularly salient in Ecuadorean politics since the late 1990s (Xu and Corrales, 2010). In Brazil, social movements formed alliances with large groups

advocating for fairer economic development, particularly the improvement of health provisions as both democratic and development rights. This strategy was deployed in full force when the AIDS epidemic broke out in the 1980s and continued into the 1990s (see Gomez, 2010). Brazilian LGBT groups worked together with NGOs, many of which had connection with elements of the bureaucracy, to help design effective strategies to educate the public and provide health services to serve the HIV+ or high-risk communities. Furthermore, left-leaning bureaucrats, interested in developing effective strategies to deal with AIDS, sought out alliances with these AIDS-related NGOs, resulting in some type of mutual symbiosis: the NGOs allowed the bureaucrats to achieve success, and these "activist bureaucrats helped to strengthen civic groups" (Rich, 2013)

Yet, some alliances have been a bit more surprising, and this is where the experience of the region defies theory. Many network-building strategies by LGBT movements do not conform with strategies that one typically expects from left-leaning social movements. In many cities, for instance, LGBT movements have formed alliances with business communities. This is one of the most controversial strategies employed by Latin American LGBT movements. The strategy consists of demonstrating to the private sector, and even the public sector, that there is such a thing as a "gay market." LGBT groups have learned that demonstrating (even exaggerating) the spending power of LGBT voters and consumers allows them to earn allies in government and business (see http://www.thegayguide.com.ar/). This strategy is predicated on whetting the appetite of both business groups as well as city officials, as a way to turn them more amenable to LGBT rights and policies. Capitalizing on city official's interest in promoting tourism (Bowman, 2016), LGBT groups have been forged alliances with local businesses and officials to promote gay tourism. For instance, Mexico's Secretary of Tourism launched a campaign called #MéxicoFriendly aimed at encouraging LGBT tourism. In Argentina, the government-run Institute for Tourism Promotion has its webpage dedicated to LGBT travel http://www.argentina.travel/es/type/lgbt. This strategy is controversial because it is seen by some as selling the soul of the movement, a commodification of gay culture, and an exaggeration of the purchasing power of LGBT people (and thus, a non-appreciation of the socioeconomic plight of many LGBT individuals). This strategy played a major role in getting same-sex rights in unexpected places such as the state of Quintana Roo (Cancún), where the tourism industry tries to combat the image of a country besieged by gangs, as well as the city of Buenos Aires, which during the 2001–02 economic crisis saw itself desperate to generate new forms of revenues (Herrera, 2015). LGBT people have also specialized in buycotts (more so than boycotts) and this makes them debit-card pressure groups par excellence.

Another area of innovation, related to the previous one, has to do with the relationship between pro-LGBT movements and globalization. Whereas the traditional left in Latin America has never quite come to terms with globalization, always responding to it with various forms of negativity ranging from suspicion to extreme repulsion, some LGBT movements have adopted an approach that leverages globalization (Corrales, 2012). Many LGBT groups systematically use resources provided by globalization and markets to enhance their bargaining leverage. For instance, they use traditional and new media such as the Internet to actively monitor – and adapt to local circumstances – the strategies adopted by LGBT movements elsewhere on the planet (especially Spain and the United States). They are, in the words of Friedman (2012), "norm receptors," not just activists.

In short, while some pro-LGBT movements have fruitfully allied with groups from the left and adopted framing strategies with themes that resonate with the left, they have also used framing strategies focused on a more pro-market, pro-globalization orientation. LGBT groups are globalization users rather than globalization bashers, and this allows them to win allies across different sectors and to learn about best practices from multiple sources.

The overall message is that there is no one winning ally or one winning strategy. Many allies and strategies can do the trick. The idea is to pick an ally that has some leverage in the country: either because of size or because the issues that they defend have broad appeal beyond the natural constituency of pro-LGBT movements.

Institutions

While the literature on LGBT rights has been rich in accounts that focus on social movements, it has been less expansive on the institutional factors that facilitate the expansion of LGBT rights. The experience of the most successful cases in Latin America reveals that three institutions in democracies are central: 1) inter-party competition; 2) federalism; and 3) the courts.

Parties and Party competition

One set of overlooked institutional factors are political parties and party competition. The Latin America experience seems to suggest that: 1) parties are crucial allies without which social movements would be less effective; and 2) party support for LGBT causes is likely to rise when the party system becomes highly competitive.

In the 1980s and 1990s, leftist social movements generally expressed disdain for political parties. Many social movements and civic groups, especially younger ones emerging during that decade of political opening, saw parties negatively, as unrepresentative, ineffective, corrupt copouts. As a conse-

quence, many eschewed ties with political parties. LGBT social movements in Latin America that instead forged strong ties with parties, and this seems to have yielded some success at changing the status quo (Corrales and Pecheny, 2010). No doubt, this movement-party cooperation, where it has occurred, has had limits: for instance, social movements have made scant inroads in getting parties to encourage candidates to come out or to select out candidates. Nonetheless, pro-LGBT laws and policies have emerged in countries where LGBT movements found ways to cooperate with parties. The question is, under what conditions are pro-LGBT movements likely to find receptive allies among parties.

a) Party Ideology. A common argument to explain conditions under which LGBT movements and parties cooperate focuses on party ideology. Most pro-LGBT social movements naturally gravitate toward leftist parties, even though many parties on the left, especially prior to the 2000s, were neither committed nor sympathetic to LGBT rights. In the 2000s, pro-LGBT movements did find far more receptive allies among the "moderate" rather than the "contestatory" left parties (Schulenberg, 2013: 37). Moderate left parties are those that are more respectful of liberal institutions, such as checks and balances and market forces (Weyland et al., 2010). In the 2000s, the moderate left dominated politics in Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, and Costa Rica. The contestatory left was instead more interested in radically transforming the status quo in a socialist direction (away from "middle-class values") with less regard for checks and balance. The contestatory left has dominated politics in Venezuela, Cuba, Nicaragua, Ecuador, and Bolivia since the 2000s.

The best examples of fruitful links between pro-LGBT movements and the moderate left are in Brazil and Uruguay. The Worker's Party (PT) in Brazil and the Frente Amplio (FA) in Uruguay have been the LGBT movement's strongest allies within their respective national legislatures. The PT and FA have supported efforts ranging from civil union and anti-discrimination legislation to national coverage for gender confirmation surgeries. Under the leadership of party founder Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva, the PT unveiled a 51-policy plan for promoting LGBT rights (Encarnación, 2016). And Uruguay, under the leadership of the FA, went on to score the highest points on our LGBT ranking, becoming the first Latin American country to legalize civil unions in 2007, which was followed by progressive pro-LGBT transgender, adoption, marriage, and military rights. The one difference is that the PT has had less success in the legislature than the FA (more on that later).

b) Up-and-coming parties. An alternative way to look at the movement-party connection is to focus less on party ideology and more on inter-party competitiveness. Many times, the key distinction between a receptive versus a non-receptive party is whether the party is an up-and-coming, non-dominant party hoping to defeat a more dominant party. In these environments, parties may decide to compete for the LGBT vote, even the title of LGBT rights

champion. Even non-leftist parties can end up supporting LGBT causes. LGBT rights have advanced not only where movement-party alliances form, but also where there is the possibility of strong inter-party competition on the question of LGBT rights.

Argentina is a good example. Party competition helps explain the transformation of the Republican Proposal (PRO) party from one of the most anti-LGBT to one of the most pro-LGBT parties in the Americas. The PRO is a young, conservative party that is strong only in Buenos Aires. In 2005, it won the election for the city's Chief of Government office under the leadership of Mauricio Macri, a wealthy businessman owner of one of the country's most important soccer teams. Macri was a known homophobe, famous for saying that he would never recruit a homosexual athlete because homosexuality is a "sickness." But in 2009, Macri shocked the conservative establishment, including his own party and the Catholic Church, by refusing to appeal a ruling by a judge declaring the ban on gay marriage unconstitutional (Byrnes, 2009). Though he subsequently vacillated in his support, he eventually came around, and by the early 2010s, Macri has succeeded in converting Buenos Aires, and his government, into one of the most pro-LGBT arenas in Latin America. One could even argue that it was Macri's fast-conversion, circa 2009, that prompted President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, to finally come out in favor of marriage-equality in 2010 and thus get the law approved in Congress. The reason for the PRO's conversion could very well have to do with this up-and-coming party-competition argument. The PRO was trying to become a real alternative to the nationally-dominant, left-leaning Peronist party. The PRO decided that one way to compete with the Peronists was to capture the progressive sentiment of the urban vote in Argentina.

A similar process occurred in Chile. The less dominant, center-right party National Renewal was the first party to publicly embrace LGBT rights. This was done during the electoral campaign of 2009, when the party's candidate, Sebastián Piñera, was waging an uphill battle to win the presidency against the center-left Concertación, which had dominated Chilean politics for twenty years. Piñera's campaign made history when it released a nationally televised ad featuring gay couples, affirming his commitment to legally recognizing same-sex unions (Bonnefoy, 2009). Once in office, Piñera became the leading proponent of Chile's first (and one of Latin America's leading) hate-crime laws in 2012, the so-called Zamudio Law, which was adopted following the brutal hate-based murder of Daniel Zamudio. He also promoted a civil union bill. While one could argue that Piñera could have gone farther (see García, 2015), the truth is that he went farther than any president before, including Socialists.

A final example of the importance of inter-party competition occurred in Mexico City. Mexico's relatively young Democratic Revolution Party (PRD)

also switched from being against civil unions to supporting a civil union's bill in 2006 and the 2010 same-sex marriage bill in Mexico City. One possible explanation for the change of heart in the PRD could be a change of leadership (from Andrés Manuel López Obrador to Marcelo Ebrard). But an equally plausible explanation is that this was the result of intra-party competition. While seeking to oppose the long-established National Action Party in the national elections, and seeking to differentiate itself on the left from the PRI, the PRD might have seen an advantage of taking on a more pro-LGBT rights position (Díez, 2013; Lozano, 2013)

Federalism

It could be argued that, as in the United States with same-sex marriage, one major institutional feature contributing to the expansion of LGBT rights is federalism, that is, the degree to which sub-national governments have sufficient autonomy to legislate, adjudicate, and implement programs, that is, when there is a sub-national congress, court system, and autonomous bureaucracy (Cameron and Falleti, 2005).

Federalism can be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, delegating powers to subnational units might empower conservative constituencies, which tend to be strong in sub-national governments, especially outside of large cities. On the other hand, federalism can be beneficial for the expansion of pro-LGBT rights by providing arenas for incremental change, even experimentation, especially when national institutions are off-limit. And the chance to change the status quo incrementally, rather than sweepingly, might in the end provoke less fear, and thus, appear more politically feasible as a strategy. Federalism offers options to make inroads in subnational units, where some of the most important veto players might not be that influential or impossible to defeat. Also, courts at the subnational level can prove to be more amenable. And as LGBT rights expand sub-nationally, the ground can be paved for more substantive changes nationally.

Brazil is a good example of the importance of federalism. The Brazilian constitution does not specifically protect citizens against discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity. For many years, getting pro-LGBT legislation through the national congress was proving impossible. Pro-LGBT social movements began to focus on generating anti-discrimination provisions at the state level (ATHOSGLS, 2007). The expansion of civil unions and even marriage equality also began to happy at subnational governments. A similar process happened through municipalities: by the early 2010s, over 80 Brazilian municipalities adopted their own anti-discrimination ordinances (Encarnación, 2016: 193).

The federalist variable might explain why LGBT rights have been harder to expand in Peru and Venezuela. These countries are significantly more

centralized than Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico. In Venezuela, first under president Hugo Chávez, and then Nicolás Maduro, governors lost significant autonomy from the central government. Pro-LGBT groups face hard obstacles at the national level in all these countries, but in Venezuela and Peru they do not have opportunities to achieve some progress at the sub-national level and expand from there.

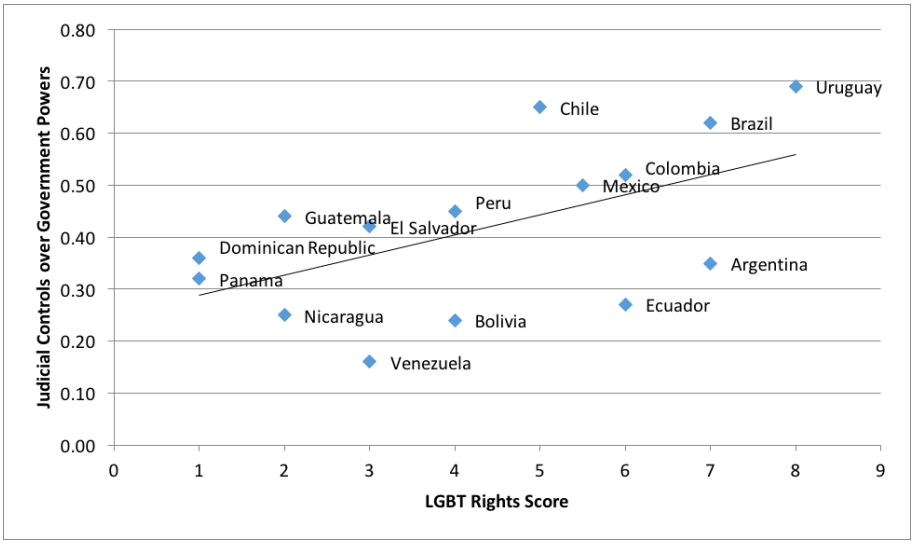
The Court System

The third important institutional factor contributing to LGBT rights is the court system (Pierceson, 2013; Encarnación, 2014). In SPLA, some of the most important pro-LGBT laws and protections have come as a result of court rulings. When all else fails – when social movements are unable to sway public opinion, the Congress, the bureaucracy, the Executive Branch, subnational governments, or private institutions – it is often courts that force a change in the status quo in the direction of LGBT rights.

As with all other institutional factors, there is variation in outcomes in Latin America. Not all courts in the region have been equally forceful advocates of LGBT rights. It seems that for courts to be receptive and active on behalf of LGBT rights, they need to exhibit at least two characteristics:

a) Sufficient assertiveness, and independence. The former conveys a certain degree of professionalism; the latter, a certain degree of ability to go against the preferences of the other branches of government. Chart 2 shows one measure of court assertiveness for SPLA countries for which data is available, based on an index developed by the World Justice Project of the degree to which the court system is able to impose limits on government powers. Only courts that are both assertive and independent can score high on this index, and thus, it is useful to use it as a way to test the argument about the importance of courts. The chart shows that there is indeed a positive correlation.

Chart 2 Judicial Assertiveness and LGBT Rights, 2013



Notes: This index measures whether the judiciary as a whole, and the members of the high courts, enjoy in practice the capacity to exercise effective checks and oversight of the government, based on surveys of the general population and local experts.
Source: World Justice Project, Rule of Law Index, 2014.

b) Progressivism. The courts must subscribe to a theory of jurisprudence that is generally sympathetic to issues of human rights, equality before the law, anti-discrimination, reproductive and women's rights, commitment to separation of church and state, trans-national legal doctrines, etc.

We do not have an index of progressivism, but qualitative evidence tells us that one of the most progressive courts in the region is Colombia and one of the most non progressive courts is Chile's. A study by Colombia Diversa, an LGBT-advocacy group in Colombia, identified 73 court rulings favoring gay rights in a wide array of issues: identity rights, freedom of expression rights, serving in the military, intersexuality, sex reassignment, social security, adoption, marriage, etc. (Jiménez, 2015). In contrast, the Chilean court has been far less receptive to LGBT rights than one would expect given the country's income level and the size of its middle class. Despite having one of the highest scores in judiciary assertiveness and independence in the Americas, Chilean courts are known for their historic conservativeness (Hilbink, 2007). Even prior to the Pinochet period, Chilean courts insisted on adhering to "positivism" and remaining "apolitical," meaning that they would focus on applying rather than reviewing or adapting the law. This has given the Chilean court a strong bias in favor of upholding rather than challenging the legal status quo. In fact, the Chilean courts are famous for one of the most homophobic rulings in the Americas – the Atala case. In

2004, the Chilean Supreme Court removed Karen Atala from her three daughters on the grounds that she was living with another woman. Atala brought her case to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (the *Atala Riffo and Girls v. Chile*). The Inter-American Court ruled in favor of Atala, condemned the Chilean state for violating Atala's right to equal treatment, and forced the Chilean state to pay damages in the amount of $50,000. The Inter-American Court's ruling is considered today one of the most important cases in the history of international jurisprudence in favor of LGBT rights.

In Puerto Rico, federal district judge Juan Pérez-Giménez upheld a gay marriage ban in October 2014. He based his ruling on the technical argument that the court does not have the power to overrule a supreme court decision – he was referring to Baker v. Nelson, a ruling that states that gay marriage bans at the state level do not violate the 14th amendment. Pérez-Giménez's ruling is only the second out of sixteen other rulings to uphold gay marriage bans at state level in the United States, revealing that on his technical argument, he is now in the minority. But Pérez-Giménez also expressed his personal opinion on the matter: "Traditional marriage is the fundamental unit of the political order… And ultimately the very survival of the political order depends upon the procreative potential embodied in traditional marriage. Those are the well-tested, well-proven principles we have relied for centuries" (Wolf, 2004). This statement suggests that a deeply conservative argument actually informed the technical argument.

Another example of an unreceptive court system is Venezuela. There, the problem is that the courts are not progressive enough and are unwilling to defy the ruling party, the United Socialist Party of Venezuela (PSUV). Thus, they are unlikely to hear demands of groups that are not vocally loyal to the ruling party. In 2003, for instance, the pro-LGBT movement, Affirmative Union, submitted an Appeal of Interpretation of the Constitution to Venezuela's Supreme Court aiming to obtain state recognition of economic rights for homosexual couples (Merentes, 2010). The Supreme Court's 2008 ruling stated that "homosexual individuals have all their rights protected by the constitution, but homosexual couples may not claim those rights before the state." The ruling indicated that same-sex couples' rights could be recognized through laws drafted by the legislature (Merentes in Corrales and Pecheny, 2010).

If we combine these two variables – assertiveness and progressiveness – we can generate the following 2x2 matrix to explain the role of courts in the advancements of gay rights in SPLA (see Table 3). The most assertive and progressive courts produce the strongest LGBT rulings. All the other courts produce either softer rulings, no rulings, or even unsympathetic rulings.

Table 2 Court Features and LGBT Rights

	Court's Capacity to Act Independently	
	Assertiveness	**Submission**
Progressive	Strong pro-LGBT rulings: Courts likely to promote more comprehensive LGBT rights or block serious homophobic initiatives. Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, Argentina*	Soft rulings: Courts likely to advance *limited* rights such as non-discrimination norms, if at all. Argentina,* Ecuador, Bolivia, Nicaragua
Non-progressive	Unsympathetic courts (swayable mostly by international pressure) Chile, Peru, Puerto Rico	Dismissive courts Venezuela, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Paraguay

Notes: *Argentina is probably an in-between case in terms of assertiveness and progressivism. That explains why the courts did not play a pro-active or consistently supportive role in gay rights, but they have also not been major obstacles either.
Source: Author's elaboration.

The Backlash

When the judiciary plays a decisive role in expanding LGBT rights (Colombia, Mexico, Brazil, and the United States), a potential negative consequence is the rise of some sort of backlash. This backlash is often led by faith communities, often in conjunction with legislative actors and schools (teachers and parent associations). They come together to block the expansion of new LGBT rights. This has happened in Brazil, Colombia, Mexico (and the United States).

In Brazil, for instance, the so-called Frente Parlamentar Evangélica is an informal coalition of Evangelical legislators, from different parties, who vote together on many conservative issues. Condemning what they call "Cristofóbia," they have systematically opposed most issues having to do with gay rights, reproductive rights, and gender identity. With 70–90 members and substantial internal discipline, this Front is probably the most cohesive "party-like" block in a congress otherwise notorious for party fragmentation and party switching. In Colombia, Evangelical and Catholic movements, with ample support from several legislators, mobilized in 2016 on behalf of so-called "children's rights" to try sway Congress to approve a referendum intended to stop adoptions by non-heteronormative couples. Claiming that "gender ideology" is anti-family and immoral, these groups led marches against efforts by the Ministry of Education to distribute pamphlets among schools intended to teach about the dangers of bullying. In Mexico, a similar coalition organized defense-of-marriage protests in 2016 across several states

and Mexico City. Prompted by President Peña Nieto's decision to push for nationwide marriage equality bill (with support from international organizations like the United Nations), these groups organized protests in several states and Mexico City. In the United States, shortly after the famous Supreme Court ruling in favor of gay marriage, a number of state legislatures, with support from the Christian Right, have passed or tried to pass a number of so-called "bathroom laws" and "religious protection laws," designed to block transgender access to bathroom and legal requirements forcing faith-communities not to discriminate against LGBT individuals.

Thus, part of the problem of relying on courts, rather than social movements and legislators, to approve gay rights is precisely that they risk generating a backlash of voters who feel that they were not consulted and that the state is encroaching on their right to religious freedoms. This raises the importance of the persistence of conservative societal attitudes and institutions, especially churches. That's the topic of the next section.

Cultural Variables: Public Attitudes and Secularism

So far, I have discussed the structural factors (income level), social movement factors, and institutional factors that help promote LGBT rights and/or representation. Even when all these factors are aligned in a favorable direction, it is important to bear in mind that the cultural setting matters. Two cultural factors are worth discussing: public opinion and degrees of secularism. Neither a public hostile to gay rights nor high religiosity is favorable for the expansion of LGBT rights, although of course, there are exceptions.

Public Opinion

I argued before that one reason that courts have taken a prominent role in promoting LGBT rights is that often political parties or subnational governments themselves are unable or unwilling to deliver on LGBT rights or LGBT representation. The question still remains: why so much party failure? The answer could very well be the prevalence of homophobic public opinion.

Americas Barometer has data on one measure of homophobia: tolerance for homosexuals running for office and for marriage equality (2014–15). The record is discouraging. By 2015 only Argentina, Uruguay and perhaps Chile and Brazil could one claim that majorities express tolerance. In most cases, the rate of support does not surpass 25% of respondents. Once again, SPLA countries tend to do far better than non-SPLA countries (for which data exists). Yet, even among SPLA cases, some cases display very strong anti-same-sex-marriage attitudes: Ecuador, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Dominican Republic, Panama, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Guatemala, Honduras

and El Salvador. This low level of support is noteworthy because it signals to political parties that there are scarce electoral gains to be had from advocating for LGBT rights, or from politicians coming out.

Having said that, the record on public attitudes is not uniformly dismal. Homophobic attitudes are declining, in some cases, quite drastically. This decline is clear in most countries when we compare data from 2010. This suggests that unfavorable public opinion regarding LGBT rights and representation can move quickly.

Secularism

One of the most important variables in explaining the expansion of LGBT rights worldwide is the propagation of secularism: the extent to which both the state and citizens are able to adopt positions that are independent of those held by organized religion. Because we know that religious groups are the most vocal and active opponents of LGBT rights, secularism can be an important predictor of whether countries will struggle to adopt strong LBGT rights. Secularism is prevalent in many European countries, but not so much in Latin America and the Caribbean.

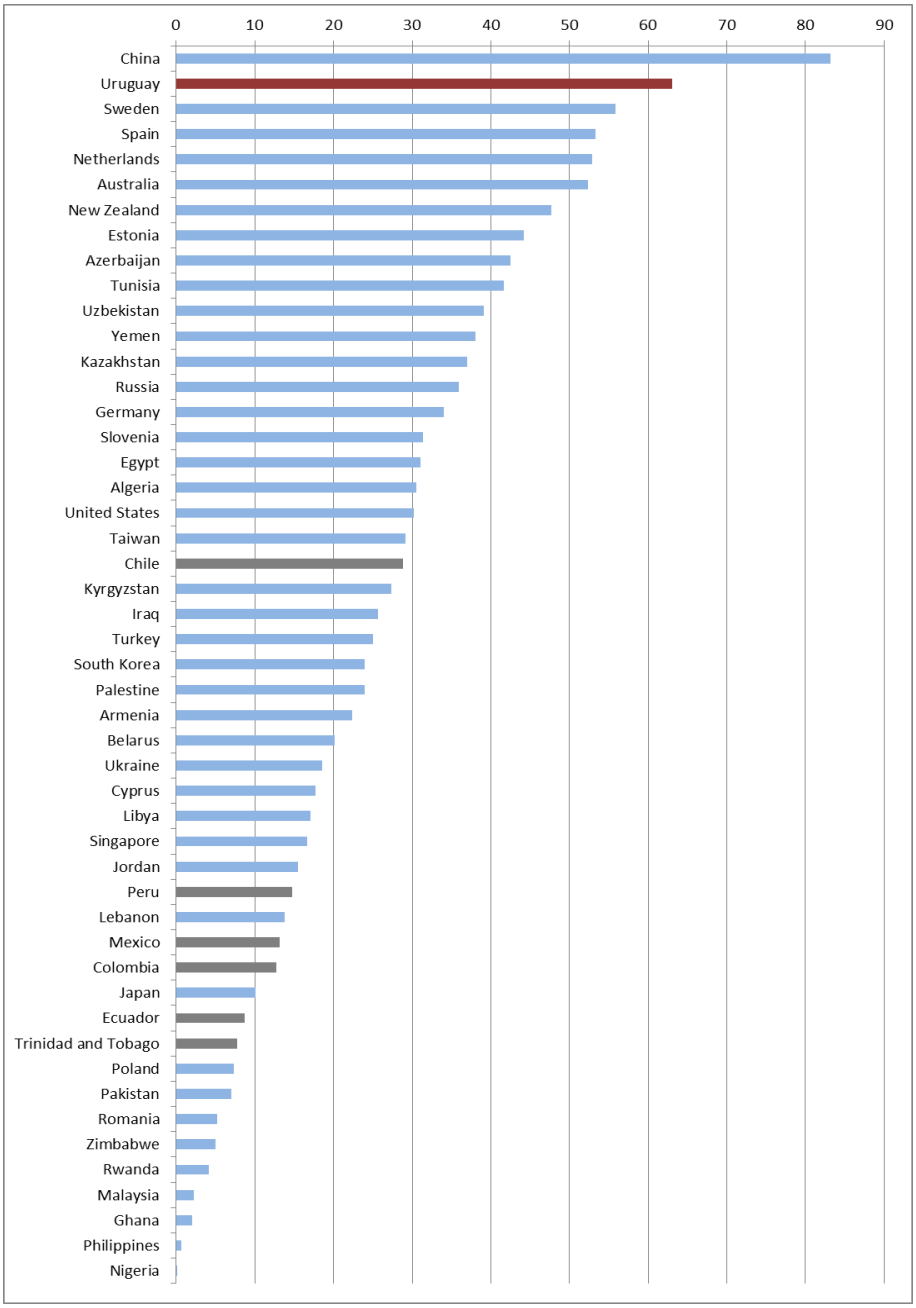
Studies suggest that, rather than becoming more secular, Latin America seems to be experiencing "religious migration." The number of self-declared Catholics is dropping dramatically, while the number of Evangelicals is rising, almost in tandem. The region is thus divided now into a few countries that are predominantly Catholic (with more than 75% of the population reporting Catholic affiliation) and those, with a few exceptions, that are experiencing a rapid increase in the Evangelical population.

By far, the clearest exception is Uruguay. Based on two possible measures of secularism – number of non-believers and levels of church attendance – Uruguay stands apart as highly secular. The number of Uruguayans who self-identify as "agnostics," "atheists," or not affiliated to any religion is extraordinarily high: 38% (Latinobarómetro, 2014). Chile comes in second place, with 25%. In terms of church attendance, Uruguay's secularism is even more striking. Uruguay has the second largest number of respondents in the world who claim to "never attend church," second only to China, according to the World Values Survey (see Chart 3). While this latter survey excludes many Latin American countries, it seems reasonable to conclude that Uruguay is unmatched in terms of the size of the population that does not attend church. That alone is a key factor in explaining the three most important features of Uruguay's expansion of LGBT rights – it has been broad across domains (like Argentina and Brazil), has come through the legislative process (like Argentina), and has generated very little controversy (unlike any other case).

But if no other Latin American country with the possible exception of Cuba is strongly secular, what then might explain the relative progress of LGBT rights in some of these cases (and of course, the lack of major progress in Cuba)? Furthermore, the expansion of LGBT rights worldwide has occurred in countries with large Catholic populations (see Reynolds, 2013). At this point, we need to refine our understanding of the role of religion beyond conventional measures of secularism. Specifically, we need to understand the ways in which specific home religions affect politics differently from country to country.

A useful starting point is to understand some of the differences between Catholics and Evangelicals. Their positions on LGBT rights are not exactly identical. While the clergy of both religious groups is overtly opposed to same-sex marriage,[2] and in the 2000s, has adopted an increasingly combative anti-LGBT rights stance, the Catholic clergy tends to be less opposed to questions of anti-discrimination statutes than the Evangelical clergy. Sometimes, the Catholic clergy has come out in favor of civil unions, while still opposing gay marriage. In Argentina, for instance, Jorge Bergoglio, today's Pope Francis, led the fight against same-sex marriage, but offered civil unions as a possible compromise. The Catholic clergy's more flexible stance toward issues of discrimination may be one reason that the rise of anti-discrimination laws has been less polemical in SPLA countries, especially those that are majority Catholic.

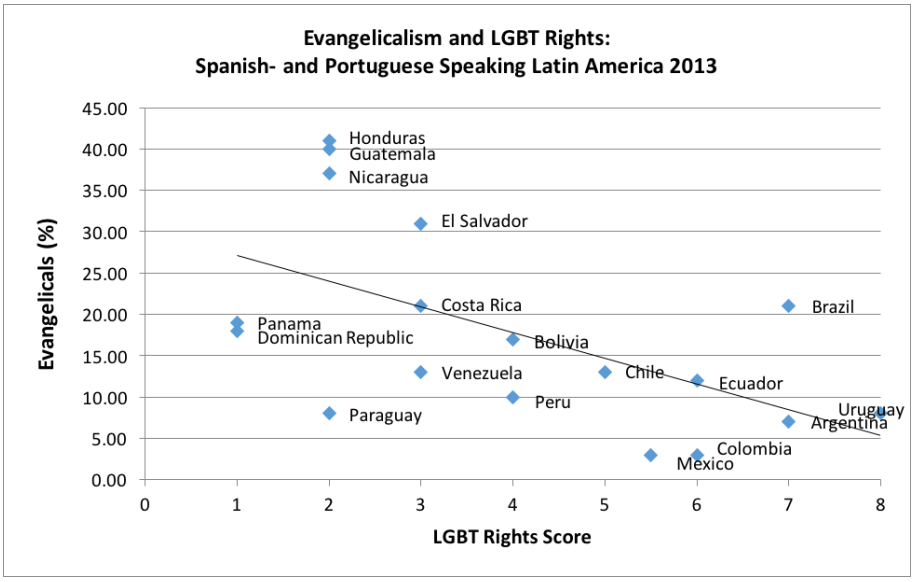
Chart 3 Percentage of the Population who Never Attends Church



Notes: Percent of respondents answering "Never, practically never" to the question: "Apart from weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services these days?"
Source: World Values Survey, 2010–2014.

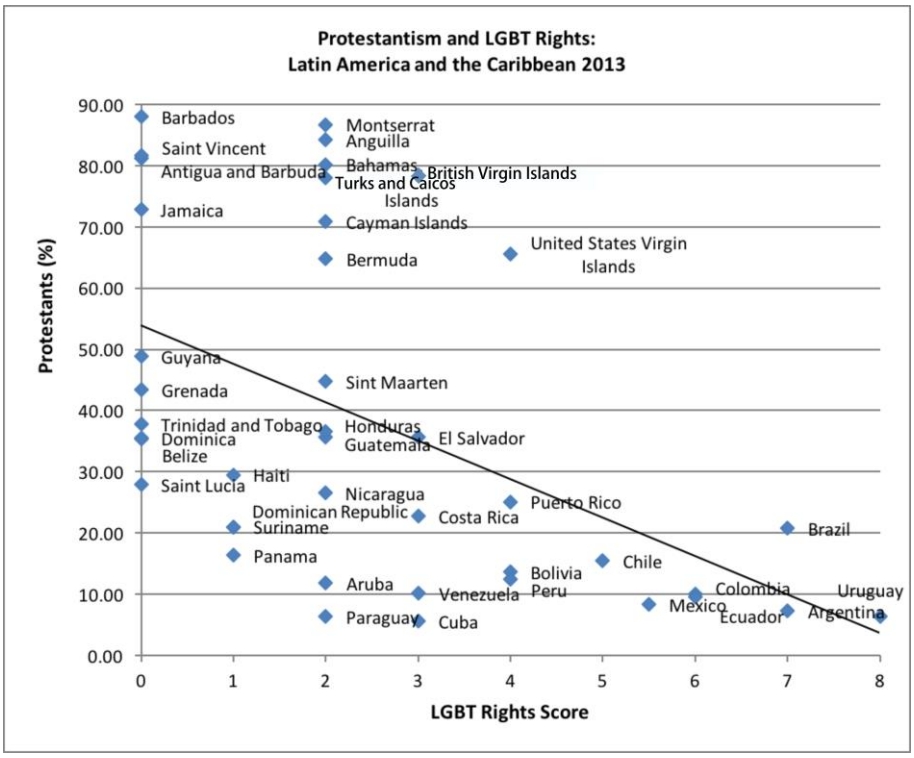
Furthermore, the laity (not just the clergy) seems to differ between the two religions. Studies show that the Catholic laity is far more divided on LGBT issues than Evangelicals. In Latin America, the difference between Protestants and Catholics in terms of support for same-sex marriage can range from 3 to 23%, depending on the country (Pew Research, November 13, 2014: 71).

These differences have implications for the politics of LGBT rights in the region. They suggest that in Protestant, and especially Evangelical-dominant countries, the chances of expanding LGBT rights are considerably lower – these countries exhibit the powerful combination of both clergy and laity forming a strong lobby *and* electoral pressure group to block LBGT rights.



Notes: Percentage of respondents who declare themselves to be Evangelicals (as opposed to "Catholic," "Other," or "Agnostic, Atheist, None").
Source: Latinobarómetro 2014.

This argument helps to explain why English-speaking countries have some of the lowest scores in LGBT-rights and representation in the world, comparable to scores observed in Africa and the Middle East. Despite having more than five or six decades of stable liberal democratic government and in some cases relatively high incomes per capita (both of which would predict good scores on our LGBT indices), these countries have very few Catholics.



Source: http://www.pewforum.org/2011/12/19/table-christian-population-as-percentages-of-total-population-by-country/

Among SPLA cases, Brazil is a remarkable example of the rising electoral power of Evangelicals. Although the Evangelical population is not as large as in most Central American and Caribbean countries, the electoral power of Evangelicals has expanded phenomenally, so much that Evangelicals have their own block in Congress and enough electoral sway to keep even the PT relatively nervous about defying them (Queiroz, 2013). Since 2006, Evangelical churches in Brazil have adopted a "Brother votes for Brother" stance, and this has created a powerful effect in terms of voting and electing members to Congress dedicated to embracing an Evangelical agenda (Boas and Smith, 2015). The strong presence of Evangelical groups both in the PT and separately in Congress is one reason that Brazil, unlike Uruguay and Argentina, has had to rely more on the courts to expand LGBT rights.

We tend to think that the key issue is to ensure separation of church and state, but in Catholic-dominated countries, perhaps what is most important is to have separation of church and party. More concretely, the issue in Catholic-dominated countries is how powerful the clergy is, and more important, how much influence it exerts over large political parties, in office or in the opposition. In those countries where the dominant parties have historical

connections to the Catholic clergy, one should expect party-based opposition or lack of enthusiasm for LGBT rights: the PAN in Mexico, the Christian Democrats in Chile, the Conservatives in Colombia, COPEI/Primero Justicia/Voluntad Popular in Venezuela. Even in Cuba, the ruling Communist party has become closer to the Catholic Church since the early 1990s (and so has the opposition). A similar turn-toward-the Church has occurred with Nicaragua's ruling Sandinista party. In contrast, one reason that Argentina and Uruguay were able to produce party-sponsored LGBT rights is that most parties in Argentina and the ruling party in Uruguay are significantly secular – they do not have a history of actively cultivating ties with the clergy and religious constituencies. They were thus freer to act against Church wishes.

Conclusion

This paper's main conclusion is that to explain the variation in LGBT rights and representation in Latin America and the Caribbean it is important to refine conventional explanations about the origins of political and social rights:

1. Higher income is important, but it is not a sufficient condition to explain the expansion of LGBT rights. Many high-income countries in the region lag behind on LGBT rights; and some lower-income countries are making headway.

2. Social movements are essential for expanding LGBT rights, and they can prevail even if they are weak, but mostly contingent on institutions and strategy. Institutionally, social movements stand a better chance of prevailing if they operate in a context of competitive political parties, federalism, and independent and progressive courts. Strategically, they are more likely to prevail if they forge alliances with larger, less traditional allies, including even business interests.

3. Finally, religion continues to be the most important attitudinal and institutional obstacle. No country in the region truly qualifies as secular, except perhaps Uruguay. But religion exercises different degrees of influence, depending on domestic characteristics. The veto power of religion is most strongly felt where Protestants and Evangelicals are dominant, growing, or have a strong presence in Congress. In predominantly Catholic countries, by contrast, religion tends to be decisive where church attendance is high or where strong historical ties exist between the clergy and at least one dominant political party.

The overall conclusion is that the dramatic transformation of LGBT rights in Latin America, unimaginable 15 years ago, is an example of how social movements and institutions can trump culture. Movements and institutions have been able to make impressive inroads in the legal environment of many countries, despite the prevalence of adverse cultural attitudes and norms.

Appendix 1 LGBT Rights in LAC, 2013

Country	Sexual Activity	Relationships	Marriage	Adoption	Military	Anti-discrimination	Gender Identity	Hate Crimes	Total
Anguilla	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Antigua and Barbuda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Argentina	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	7
Aruba	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Bahamas	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Barbados	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Belize	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bermuda	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Bolivia	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	4
Brazil	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	7
British Virgin Islands	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	3
Cayman Islands	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Chile	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	5
Colombia	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	6
Costa Rica	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	3
Cuba	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	3
Dominica	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dominican Republic	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Ecuador	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	6
El Salvador	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	3
Grenada	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guatemala	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
Guyana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Haiti	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Honduras	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Jamaica	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mexico	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0.5	5.5

Montserrat	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Nicaragua	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Panama	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Paraguay	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Peru	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	4
Puerto Rico	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	4
Saint Lucia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sint Maarten	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Suriname	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Trinidad and Tobago	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Turks and Caicos Islands	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
U.S. Virgin Islands	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	4
Uruguay	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
Venezuela	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	3

Notes: Excludes non-autonomous jurisdictions such as Guadeloupe, Martinique, French Guyana, and St Martin.
Source: Author's elaboration based on http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/LGBT_rights_by_country_or_territory; and http://old.ilga.org/Statehomophobia/ILGA_State_Sponsored_Homophobia_2013.pdf

NOTES

1. An original version of this paper appeared as "LGBT Rights and Representation in Latin America and the Caribbean: The Influence of Structure, Movements, Institutions, and Culture," at https://globalstudies.unc.edu/files/2015/04/LGBT_Report_LatAm_v8-copy.pdf, and in Spanish at https://www.amherst.edu/system/files/media/LGBT_Report_LatAm_Spanish_v4.pdf

2. For more on how the Catholic clergy plays an active role in disseminating ideas about moral values, see Htun (2009).

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ALTERITY IN HOMER: A RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF FEMALE MARGINALIZATION

BÁRBARA ÁLVAREZ RODRÍGUEZ
balvarod@stanford.edu
Stanford University

ABSTRACT. This article explores female alterity in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in an attempt to show how women's marginalization is already present in these early works, which have had such a lasting influence on Western literature and thought. First, I analyze how men treat aristocratic women, who are systematically excluded from war and speech despite their idealization as heroines. Then, I focus on women who fall into the category of slaves or concubines to illustrate women's absolute objectification and to demonstrate how the violence of this exclusion structures women's experiences. Through an interdisciplinary framework, I study Greek antiquity through combining contemporary alterity studies with literary analysis. I argue that Western society has been structured in a patriarchal and androcentric way since its beginning. Thus, my objective is to suggest, through the lens of the philosophy of alterity, how we might reach a more ethical consideration of the Other in the study of classic literature.

Keywords: Homer; epic poetry; female alterity; patriarchy

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1. Introduction

Is patriarchy a modern issue? Some scholars of Greek Antiquity[1] have tended to romanticize gender relations or avoid calling the society depicted in Homeric poems[2] a patriarchal[3] and androcentric one. Among the justifications for doing so are usually, first, a quite positive vision of women's role in the poems and, second, a concern about falling into anachronism. In her text

"Eloge de l'anachronisme en histoire,"[4] Nicole Loraux advocates for accepting the risk of the anachronism, since "the anachronism is imposed from the very moment in which present time is the most efficient engine of the drive to understand" (p. 175, my translation). Loraux says that we must "get close to the past with current times' questions, in order to come back to an enriched present with what we understood from the past" (my translation). I could not agree with her more. In analyzing the relationships between men and women as depicted in Homeric poems, I cannot help recognizing in them an incipient form of what we understand today as a patriarchal society.

The persistence of patriarchy throughout Western history hinges precisely on the fact that women are viewed as Others. In this sense, the presence of the formulaic expression "γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων" in the *Odyssey* is quite significant. In Greek, there is a difference between ἄλλος "other, another" and ἕτερος "the other" (speaking of two people or things). The suffix contains the Indoeuropean form *ter, which is also found in the Latin word "alter." It is a contrastive suffix which shows an opposition or difference; moreover, in Classical Period it was used to build the comparative grade in adjectives (Chantraine, p. 75).[5] This suffix appears in the adjective θηλύτερος, "female, woman." According to Chantraine, this adjective "describes the feminine class as different, especially in the formulaic expression γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων." Chantraine maintains that in sentences where θηλύτερος appears it is normally opposed with a masculine form, which does not require the suffix because it does not need to be marked. As Martin points out,[6] formulaic expressions in epic poetry are the oldest remains of epic language. Therefore, the fact that the only two times that the aforementioned expression appears in the poem as a formula is a reflection of its antiquity (*Od*. 11.386 & *Od*. 23.166). Thus, this expression illustrates the idea of women as Others is embedded in the language and thought since the very beginning of Western history.

Being Achaean, male, and belonging to an aristocratic family[7] defined the dominant collective identity in Homeric society, and all of these characteristics are acquired at birth. The members of this dominant group have the exclusive capacity of taking an active part in the communities. Such roles determined the structure of society, because men negotiated and managed power through war and politics (assembly). From this archetypal definition of the dominant identity, we can negatively construe alterity. The construction of alterity ultimately has social and political dimensions, and it is structured around the laws of identity and non-contradiction: "A is A and not ~A." Group membership criteria is defined by the community, so what is perceived or considered common is part of it (i.e., A), and what is different stays out, not A (the alterity). This delimitation has political consequences in the sense that the organization of societies is built normatively, depending on

subjects that form the dominant identity. My understanding of what alterity means is mainly influenced by the philosophy of E. Levinas,[8] J. Butler, G. B. Reguera. In this sense, the Other that I shall study in this paper is the Other (women) as a whole, not the female alterity as individuals.[9] Namely, I shall not study Penelope or Helen to seek whether they represent alterity or not.

In this paper, I aim to show that the marginalized and subordinated role that women play in Western societies dates back to the first two complete books of Western literature, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Upon analyzing the poems as fruit of the orality,[10] and container of its remembrances, it is possible to understand the power that epic poetry had in the minds of the people, and the role that it played as educator of several generations of Greeks (as Havelock[11] points out). Through understanding the social role that the Homeric poems played in Greek Antiquity, we can see how the poems depict hierarchical relations, the functioning of hierarchies where one group dominates above others, a system that has been passed down through history.

Relationships between men and women in the world depicted by Homer occur in what Bordieu calls "social spaces."[12] Analyzing women within the social group they are a part of allows for a better understanding of the situation and position each group holds. First, I shall analyze female members of the aristocratic class. Secondly, I analyze those who are slaves or concubines. If we use the traditional distinction dividing the social sphere between public and private space, the roles played by female characters in the world depicted in the poems exist only in the private realm.[13] While the activities of the Homeric men are developed outside the private sphere, women are closely linked to domesticity. Additionally, in the world depicted in the poems, collective identity is rooted in participation in assembly and war. Because women are excluded from both these spaces, they exist outside of the place where identity is articulated.

2. Alterity and Women in Homer

Thus, women depicted in Homeric poems are limited to *oîkos* (household), the private domain and, within it, their roles are also limited: in the case of women who are part of an aristocratic family, they are recognized as mother/wife (and before that, daughter), and if not, they are likely a concubine/slave. There is only a single case in the *Iliad*[14] in which a woman is mentioned, not an Achaean but a Trojan one, Theano, who holds a public function: she is Athena's priestess in Troy. Kirk[15] understands this datum as an innovation, since Theano is the only priestess mentioned in the poems. According to him, choosing a woman who is not the wife of the king could be due to an introduction of later customary elements. She is chosen by the Trojans to execute that prestigious job (*Il*. 6.300) but we should not mis-

understand her position; it is not an exclusive job, and her main occupation, as every woman, is to run the household. Theano is a matron, a Trojan woman, wife of Antenor (Priam's adviser), and she must deal with the domestic issues, as is confirmed in *Il*. 5.70, where is said that Theano had to raise her own children and the bastard of her husband.[16]

The poems reveal a general tendency of referring to women through the males they are related to. This is clearly viewed in Book 11 of the *Odyssey*, when Odysseus tells his encounters in the Underworld with fourteen "wives and daughter of princes" (*Od*. 11.227). In this scene, women are defined by being "daughter of," "wife of" or "mother of" a noble man.[17] Women introduce themselves to Odysseus telling their lineage (*Od*. 11.233–234), which is featured by the figure of the man of the house (either the *oîkos* of their husbands or their fathers).[18] But also in the episodes where the poet is speaking about (living) women, Homer refers to their father first, and to their husband later to define women as social beings. Such an example is founded in the *Iliad*, where Trojan females are referred as "the wives of the Trojans and their daughters" (*Il*. 6.238), or just as "the wives of the Trojans" (*Il*. 7.80). It seems that woman is never seen as an individual,[19] but she is identified a daughter, a mother or a wife of a noble man; she receives her social self from external factors, in a passive way. While women do not have the individual capacity to change society, women do have the active capacity of causing dishonor or shame to their own family, as shown by the cases of Epikaste and Eriphyle (*Od*. 11.272–273 & 327).

Redfield echoes this duality in the vision of females and, borrowing Levi-Strauss' terms[20] of "diatonic" and "chromatic," maintains that "men are diatonic, women chromatic. This chromaticism is a disordering power; therefore (as in tragedy) women are often to blame when things go wrong, or are what things go wrong about. On the other hand, this chromaticism is also an ordering power, particularly in the complex, modulated order which is a successful marriage."[21] Another possible explanation of this double, sometimes even contradictory, view of women as passive or active agents is that of Bergren who points out that "Women are *like* words, they are 'metaphorical words,' but they are also original sources of speech, speakers themselves. They are both passive objects and active agents of linguistic exchange […]. In this relation to the linguistic and the social system, the women […] [are] paradoxically both secondary and original, both passive and active, both a silent and a speaking sign"[22] (her emphasis).

In addition, Homeric women tend to show a code of conduct that responds to masculine principles.[23] Thus, Nausikaa says: "I myself would disapprove of a girl who acted/so, that is, without the good will of her dear father/and mother making friends with a man, before being formally/married" (καὶ δ' ἄλλῃ νεμεσῶ**,** ἥ τις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι/ ἥ τ' ἀέκητι φίλων πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς

ἐόντων/ ἀνδράσι μίσγηται πρίν γ' ἀμφάδιον γάμον ἐλθεῖν. *Od*. 6.286–289). Also Helene refuses to share the bed with Paris, being afraid of the censure of all Trojan women (*Il*. 3.410–412). Another woman who shows this kind of fear is Penelope,[24] when she admits fearing negative comments from the women of her community if they learnt that Penelope would not make a shroud for her father-in-law, Laertes (*Od*. 2.101–103; *Od*. 19.144–146 & *Od*. 24.138–136). Women internalize male notions about themselves, and tend to subscribe to the dominant, male view of things. Furthermore, Telemachus, in *Od*. 16.73–76, says that his mother "ponders two ways,/whether to remain here with me, and look after the household,/keep faith with her husband's bed, and regard the voice of the people,/or go away at last with the best man of the Achaians." Zeitlin has made an interesting analysis of the sentence "to stay in place by one's child and keep everything safe" (*Od*. 11.178; 16.74–77 & 19.525–527). According to her, this sentence expresses the marital fidelity in Homer, since "there are no precise terms in Homer either for sexual adultery or for marital fidelity. […] In traditional diction, terms for adultery and fidelity focus on the state of the marital bed, defined between the two poles of 'shaming' (*aischunein*, 8.269) or 'respecting' (*aidomenê*) its sacrosanct qualities. Yet marital fidelity assumes still another dimension, expressed in the phrase, 'to stay in place by one's child and keep everything safe'."[25] Zeitlin's reference to the lack of terms for "adultery" and "fidelity" connects back to Benveniste's analysis of moral terms in Homer. Benveniste[26] points out that the vocabulary related to moral concepts has not an individual sense yet, but rather it refers to social values. If we agree to Benveniste's analysis, it might be more appropriate to link fidelity to the sentence "keep faith with her husband's bed, and regard the voice of the people" (εὐνήν τ' αἰδομένη πόσιος δήμοιό τε φῆμιν) instead of "to stay in place by one's child and keep everything safe" (ἠὲ μένει παρὰ παιδὶ καὶ ἔμπεδα πάντα φυλάσσει), as Zeitling does. The first sentence shows perfectly the connection between moral realm of fidelity (individuality) and normative behavior (social value), for it refers, ultimately, to the opinion of the others.[27]

In Homeric society, the role of a daughter is to become (and the sooner, the better) a wife and a mother. The poet presents Nausikaa as the model of single, noble and virgin lady. When a daughter reaches the age of marriage, marriage becomes urgent, as Book 6 of the *Odyssey* shows: Athena is disguised as Nausikaa's friend who accuses her of negligence (*Od*. 6.25), since she is not at the loom, weaving her future wedding dress, a wedding that, according to the goddess, is imminent. A single daughter, when she reaches an appropriate age, must prepare to play her wifely role in society that of becoming a wife. Therefore, she must be ready for the wedding's arrangements: a careless woman who is not concerned about these kinds of issues would bring shame to her father, as townsfolk would criticize her (and

her behavior), and, by extension, her entire family. On the other hand, a *parthenos* who shows interest in domestic affairs is admired by her community, since "It is from such things that a good reputation among people/ springs up, giving pleasure to your father and the lady your mother" (Ἐκ γάρ τοι τούτων φάτις ἀνθρώπους ἀναβαίνει/ ἐσθλή, χαίρουσιν δὲ πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ. *Od.* 6.29–30).

Preparing her wedding is not the only task of a single daughter, she must also help in the housework. Thus, when Nausikaa borrows a carriage from her father in order to go to the river to wash some clothes, she refers to her duty to keep clean the clothes of the male members of her family (*Od.* 6.60–65). Furthermore, a lady must keep up appearances; she cannot be seen accompanied by a man who is not a family member, since that would disgrace her and her family. In Book 6, when Nausikaa advises Odysseus to ask for hospitality at her father's house, but she warns him that, before arriving in town, he must separate from her and her maid servants, in order to avoid the distrain (ἀλεείνω φῆμιν ἀδευκέα) of the Phaiakian people (*Od.* 6.273). On Scheria Island, Odysseus appears only once accompanying a lone female (*Od.* 7.19–25 & 37–38), and it is not with a woman but with a young girl. It seems that girls, before reaching the nubile age, are immune to rumors of people. Although Homer insists that Odysseus does not walk by her, but he follows her a few steps behind.

As told, when a young lady reaches the nubile age, her father must find a husband for her as soon as possible. It has been maintained that in an earlier version of the poem, Odysseus may have been a suitor of Nausikaa.[28] Nevertheless, in today's version of the poem Alkinoo does offer her daughter to the stranger (*Od.* 7.311–315), and, since the king gives his daughter with gifts, we can infer that it is not because of a pecuniary necessity. It seems that his offer has to do with fearing the rumors of the people, namely it has to do with what Dodds called "shame-culture" referring to Homeric society,[29] as opposed to a later "guilt-culture."[30] As mentioned before, in the world depicted by Homer, the opinion of townsfolk is so valuable that, in most occasions, it is what controls the normative behavior of the others. So, an extension of the single status of a daughter would bring, inevitably, the dismay of the people about why that happens. Besides, it looks like only a (lawfully) married women might receive honors from a familial level as well as a social level. For instance, this is said of Arete: "Alkinoös made her his wife, and gave her/such pride of place as no other woman on earth is given/of such women as are now alive and keep house for husbands./So she was held high in the heart and still she is so,/by her beloved children, by Alkinoös himself, and by/the people, who look toward her as to a god when they see her,/and speak in salutation as she walks about in her city" (*Od.* 7.66–72). From these verses we could infer that a woman is honored because

of her husband, and she rules her house, but not even in this private space is she completely free and autonomous. She rules under the law of her husband (*Od*. 7.68). I shall analyze Arete's role in her community below.

The vocabulary that involves the main kind of relationship among men and women – the marriage – is not neutral but asymmetrical, and this asymmetry is one of the features that allows us to talk about women as alterity in the Homeric poems. Women do not appear as free agents; rather they are subordinate to others' capacity for action.

Aristotle[31] maintained "there is no word in our language which exactly describes the union of husband and wife"[32] (Ἀνώνυμον γὰρ ἡ γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρὸς σύζευξις (Arist., *Polit*., I, 3, 1253b). As an abstract concept "marriage," namely, a noun which named the fact that a man and a woman had an exclusive, lawfully and socially recognized union. Indeed, there is no noun that name in either the *Odyssey* or the *Iliad*. Although there is no single word for marriage many unions are described, there is an array of arrangements that link a woman to a man.

For the celebration, for the wedding-feast, Greek language did have a word to name it, that it already existed in Homeric epic: γάμος.[33] As Benveniste puts it (*IE*, p. 193), Greek language comes from the Indo-European, and, according to him, there was no term in Indo-European to refer to "marriage." There were, indeed, words to name the act of being wed; however, (and this is pretty interesting) the category of these terms change depending on whom they refer to, whether a man or a woman. Indo-European language uses verbs to refer to the wedding of a man, but nouns in reference to a woman. When it is the groom who is going to marry, Indo-European language has the verbal root word **wedh*-, "to conduct," and, specially, "to bring/conduct a woman at home." On the other hand, if the father of the bride is who acts as subject of the act, the verb that used was "to give"; thus, in Greek there are the verbs δίδωμι and ἐκδίδωμι.[34] Other verbs which also refer to the act of wedding someone, as ὀπυίω and γαμέω, show the particularity (that is kept in later Greek language) that they are used in active voice with regards to a male,[35] but in middle-passive voice in relation with a female (cf., γαμέομαι: *Od*. 1.275, *Od*. 2.113, etc., and ὀπυίομαι: *Il*. 8.304, etc.). The same happens with the verb ἔχω,[36] "to have," which is use in active voice in the sense of "to have a wife" (cf., for instance, *Il*. 3.123, 336, *Il*. 11.740, *Il*. 13.173, 697, *Od*. 7.313, *Od*. 11.70, etc.), and in middle-passive voice in the sense of "to be had as wife" (*Il*. 6.398). This shows that in the marriage the male is viewed as an agent who does the action in a voluntary and conscious way, unlike female who are understood as a passive object on which the action falls.[37]

Language is not neutral, according to Hartog:[38] "Ever since the narrative of Genesis it has been clear that naming involves a degree of mastery. By

naming God's creatures, Adam proclaims his preeminence over them. […] Giving names or knowing names thus implies a measure of power. A name is always more than the mere sound of it." The philosopher Judith Butler holds something similar when she says that language prescribes not describes. It has an effect on the society.[39] The same opinion is shared by Martin, who, in the aforementioned analysis of *muthos* in Homer, redefines the word *muthos* as an "authoritative speech-act" (*LH*).[40] With regard to the function of language, I would add that there is a double movement in the relationship between language and society.[41] I strongly agree with Butler's and Martin's interpretation, and I do believe that language has an effect on society. I also believe that language is a token that allows us to understand different societies: the lack of a term to name something may be an indicator of the lack of the very concept in a particular society.[42]

At the beginning of this paper, I maintained that one of the features of a patriarchal society is that women have no say regarding their marriage, and, besides, they work as a tool for the sake of male alliances. This very same characteristic will be also a feature of women's alterity, so the following step is to view how Homer depicts the marriage institution itself: this would be quite enlightening for the analysis. According to Lacey, "In Homer, the state of marriage was the state of living openly with a woman and calling her your wife, installing her as the mistress of your *oîkos* and acknowledging her children as your heirs."[43] In the epic world, there are multiple kinds of marriage models,[44] sometimes intermingled, but there are two that appear clearly differentiated: the marriage with ἕδνα, and without it.

Marriage with *hedna* is mentioned most often in the society pictured in the poems:[45] the groom-to-be gives the bride's father (or whoever be the bride's *kurios*) several gifts (ἕδνα or bridewealth),[46] and the woman becomes a part of the groom's *oîkos*. Hence the inheritance, the transfer of power, and the status is kept in the home of the groom's father. As Vidal Naquet has pointed out,[47] the marriage with *hedna* has been customarily identified with the selling of the bride, where the woman is seen as an item with a particular economic/material value. Yet Finley maintains that the *hedna* cannot be understood as a simple price to pay for the woman, nor is the wedding like the purchasing of the bride. To justify his reading, Finley says that the activity of trading in the society depicted in the poems is almost non-existent. There are very few episodes where the poet mentions buying anything except slaves.[48] According to him, we should speak in terms of exchanging of goods, instead of selling and buying.[49] Consequently, we should interpret the marriage with *hedna* as a kind of exchange. Vernant has the same opinion as Finley, and he points out that the *hedna* should not be seen as a price to pay for the woman, but as the material token of an alliance between two families. In the Archaic aristocratic social world, the establishment of these sorts of

bonds had a vital importance, since they resulted in gaining political and economic allies, which could provide or demand aid in critical situations. In the poems, there are two ways of obtaining this compromise: through marriage and through guest-friendship. Due to the lack of written laws that legitimated this bidirectional agreement, the tie became visible through a gift exchange.[50] Women were a part of this gift and counter-gift activities, as Finley named it.[51] Gifts were external tokens of the political alliance reached (*TWO*, p. 64): when both families come to an agreement, the *hedna* was the first token of the deal; the second part, the counter gift, was the wife-to-be. As Vernant puts it[52] (*M&S*, p. 60), women were a valuable good that, depending on their lineage, would give prestige to the *oîkos* into which they would integrate, and they would provide important allies as well. That is why the more valuable the bride was, the more the *hedna* that the suitors would offer in exchange.

The second kind of marriage that appears in epic poetry is that in which the father of the wife-to-be provides his daughter with goods, and the future husband integrates into his wife's *oîkos*. Despite the fact that the groom is exempted from giving *hedna*, sometimes, before marrying, he has to do a deed for the benefit of his future father-in-law.[53] If the wife does not have brothers, the inheritance would go to her husband and their children; but if she has brothers, her husband would have a subordinate position in relation to the head of the family. One of the most famous examples of this kind of marriage is that of Bellerophontes,[54] to whom the king of Lykia gave his daughter and the half part of his kingdom (while still alive. *Il*. 6.192–195), by asking Bellerophontes for prowess and support to the king (*Il*. 6.180–189).[55]

In addition to the marriage with and without *hedna* that I have just analyzed, there are in the poems some mixed cases: parents who provide their daughter, who, regardless, moves to her in-laws'. It has been maintained that the very convention of Homer's diction has something to do with this blending: the poet would use formulas that stress the richly dowered (ἄλοχος πολύδωρος[56]) of the wife in order to magnify the value of the women.

I have mentioned that women's social exclusion is already implicit within the vocabulary used to refer to marriage and the terms related to it. Language is a human construct which, in a more or less subtle way, reflects social structures. In this respect, I do not agree with some readings of Homeric view of women as being more positive than the later Greek literature. When speaking about marriage in the poems, Madrid[57] maintains that "relationships between husband and wife are founded in mutual respect and harmony" (my translation). A very similar point of view about the marriage is maintained by Arthur: "the famous romanticization of Penelope's relationship with

Odysseus stands out as a striking example of that mutual respect and affection which characterized the Homeric ideal marriage" ("OGA," p. 15).

It should be added that marriage is based on woman's respect towards man, and not the other way around.[58] In the case of Penelope, I cannot see any kind of symmetric or mutual respect, as Penelope is still linked to the domestic side of the social sphere, where her fidelity towards Odysseus is considered her best feature in the Homeric idealization of women.[59] It could be true, as Madrid and Arthur have suggested, that in Homeric epic there is not the misogynistic vision of women that appears later in Greek literature. According to Arthur: "The Homeric poet focuses almost exclusively on the positive side of the position of women; it emphasizes women's inclusion in society as a whole, rather than her exclusion from certain roles; it celebrates the importance of the functions that women do perform, instead of drawing attention to their handicaps or inabilities" ("OGA," pp. 13–14).[60] Just because later Greek literature is more explicitly misogynist does not diminish the fact that societies depicted in Homeric poems are founded in exclusionary violence, Homer still shows a patriarchal society where women are marginalized. Our analysis of the function of women in epic cannot depend on a false logic that ignores that Homeric poems represent the beginning of misogynistic attitudes towards women still present in Western culture.

Moving forward, sometimes in the world depicted by Homer a man lives with his legal wife but also with a slave concubine, with whom he may have even offspring. In these circumstances, there are at least three possible reactions of the wife to it.

Firstly, the legal wife has no option but to accept the situation impose on her by her husband. Nonetheless, it may result in domestic conflicts. The story of Phoinix provides an example (*Il*. 9.448–456). Phoinix, at the request of his mother, sleeps with his father's slave concubine, an action which is in disastrous for the hero, as he has to leave his hometown in order to avoid his father's punishment when the latter learn the betrayal. It seems that in a situation like this the wife does not approve the state of affairs, and she tries to put an end through her son, who, at the same time, understands that his father, by having a concubine, is, in any way, rejecting his mother. Homer does not state anything about what happened with the concubine when Phoinix leaves the house, but it seems that her mother did not obtain the goal of forcing her husband to reject the concubine when he learns that the woman slept with his own son, and not his son, as it happened indeed.

A second kind of situation is shown the *Odyssey*, when Laertes refuses to take Euryclea as a concubine in order to not annoy his wife (*Od*. 1.428–433). This episode is a clear token that a husband is pretty aware of the fact that by having a concubine he may hurt his wife's feelings (also, remember how Clytemnestra kills Agamemnon and his concubine).

Much more permissive than Phoinix's mother is the Trojan woman Teano, Antenor's spouse. Her instance serves us to analysis the third kind of reaction to share a life with a concubine. Homer says that she looked after and raised her husband's illegitimate son like "for her own children, to pleasure her husband" (ἶσα φίλοισι τέκεσσι χαριζομένη πόσεϊ ᾧ. *Il*. 5.71).

In general, it seems that the fact that a married man has a concubine, despite it not being strange, is on the edge of the socially bearable, and sometimes it causes domestic troubles. However, a concubine could be the mother of the legitimate offspring of aristocratic men, as it is shown in Book 4 of the *Odyssey* with Menelaus' son. Arthur maintains ("OGA," p. 12) that in the Homeric epics there are the mixture of two kinds of warrior codes – the traditional heroic code, and the new code that gives rise the pre-polis society – which have consequences in the consideration of the women. She considers that in the new code the role of the concubine almost disappears and "the wife is upgraded," that is why, according to her, in the poems we find these responses against having a concubine. Another scholar who also maintains that the poems show two different ideologies is Rose, although in a bit divergent way.[61] In reference to women status, Rose has put it that the *Iliad* shows far more sympathy for women like Helen, Andromache, and Briseis, for example, that the fear and ambivalence characterizing the *Odyssey* (*CAG*, p. 143). Nevertheless, since the position of women in the epic is not an essential part of his thesis, he does not go deep about it.[62]

There are actually no examples of women having an affair with a slave or a commoner, but it seems that this relationship would not be either allowed or acceptable. As evidence of this, it is worth looking at Kalypso's speech when she complains to Hermes. She claims that the male gods are committing an injustice towards the goddesses, when they prevent goddesses from taking mortals as lovers (when the other way around is allowed and even common, see for instance *Od*. 11.240–268, *Il*. 14.317–324). If we take into account that in the Homeric epic, the divine world is completely anthropomorphize, it seems plausible to read this episode as mirroring the social rules of the human world. While it was completely socially acceptable that noble men maintain sexual relationships with slaves or lower class females, it was socially unacceptable for noble female; and their families would punish such action in the same way the lovers of the goddesses are punished in the *Odyssey* (see *Od*. 5.120–129). Kalypso protests against such an inequality, something that could be accepted because she is a goddess (besides she is not married), and she has her own life outside Olympus. In other words, her habits would not affect the daily life of the divine home.

Female fidelity seems to be an unquestionable condition for noble women, and when that it is not the case, terrible consequences happen (remember, for instance, Helen and Clytemnestra's cases). However, as Lefkowitz maintains,

for men things were different: Penelope "does not demand strict fidelity; neither she nor Helen object to their husbands' liaisons with other women, so long as they are temporary; Odysseus tells Penelope about Circe and Calypso; Menelaus is able jointly to celebrate the marriage of Hermione, his daughter by Helen, and of Megapenthes, his son by a slave woman" ("WH," p. 34).

Whereas the activities of Homeric males (mainly, assembly and war) happen out of private space, those of the females are closely linked to the domestic realm. A married woman is the keeper of her husband's *oîkos*, δέσποινα of the servants and slaves. She is in charge of the smooth working of the household, the observance of the rules, and the following of her husband's will.

There are several episodes where we see the exclusion of women from warfare and assembly. Women's exclusion from warfare is found in Hector's speech to his wife; in Book 6 of the *Iliad*, he commands her: "Go therefore back to our house, and take up your own work,/the loom and the distaff, and see to it that your handmaidens/ply their work also; but the men must see to the fighting,/all men who are the people of Ilion, but I beyond others" (*Il*. 6.490–493).

An example of the second exclusion is found in the words that Telemachus addresses to his mother. He specifies where women must be contained: loom, spinning and being quiet. Speech is for males: "the men must see to discussion,/all men, but I most of all. For mine is the power in this household" (Μῦθος δ᾽ ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει/ πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ᾽ ἐμοί· τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἔστ᾽ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ. *Od*. 1.358–359).[63] Redfield makes a very interesting reading of both episodes. According to him, both show a normative attitude towards women. Female space falls into domesticity, where the primary task is weaving.[64] In these episodes weaving is opposed with the man's sphere: with war (in the *Iliad*) and with speech (in the *Odyssey*), "in both cases, the man intends to confine the women to a lesser world" ("NGW," p. 195).

This raises the question about the power of women in epic: do women have any kind of power over males in Homeric poems? Answering this question is, in part, answering the question about the reason for men's attitude toward women. I would like to quote Walcot,[65] who wonders about the attitude of Athenians towards women: "why the Athenians were so mistrustful of women, why they were so suspicious, bothered, and edgy, and why they were always prepared to think the very worst of any women. Was it because the Athenian male thought women weak and feeble and so held them in contempt? Or was it because he found women to be strong and effective and so regarded them with fear?" and she concludes, "it is because of the immense power that the female wields through her sexuality." Even though her analysis is focused on the Classic Period, as she herself admits, the beginning of this issue is found in Homeric epic. I do agree with that

affirmation. As I have already mentioned, the thesis that I am trying to show in this paper is that Western patriarchal culture and, consequently, Western attitudes towards women are already shown in Homeric poems.

Male control over female sexuality has been a commonplace within Western (and not only Western) societies,[66] part of the dynamic of this control is already found in both poems. For example, two practices that we see in the poems[67] – arranging the daughter's marriage as soon as she reaches her puberty (when the problem of her sexuality is firstly shown) and female seclusion within the *oîkos* ("GAW," pp. 37–38) – are two patriarchal, institutional, and structural practices to control women's sexuality. But why that concern with female sexuality? Why such worry about controlling it? I argue that this is due to the fear of the unknown,[68] the fear of the Other. The male's necessity of heirs and women's power to create life place women in a privileged position, but it is a position outside (at least in the beginning) male sphere, and therefore, it belongs to the unknown realm. The control over the unknown has been a tenet of Western thought: during almost the whole of Western History, the unknown has been controlled, and its alterity has been controlled, either by dominating it or by killing it.[69] The consequences of a powerful and uncontrolled female sexuality are featured in the *Odyssey*, through the characters of Kalypso and Kirke. As Karakantza shows in her great analysis of these episodes,[70] both divinities must be understood as a sign of the dangers (according to Ancient Greek thought) that a man may suffer if the sexuality of a (powerful) women is not controlled. One of them is represented in these episodes: the fear of being turned into a sexual slave. As Walcot has put it, "the Greeks believed women to be incapable of not exercising their sexual charms and that the results were catastrophic" ("GAW," p. 39).

Another feature that allows us to categorize women as alterity is their role within society: women are excluded from public life and limited to household. Regarding the role played by women in the poems, there are some episodes that may be misunderstood, making us think that women could play a role more important than that of their husbands. Thus, for instance, is the case of the episode in the Escheria Island, when Nausikaa advises Odysseus to go to the palace in order to ask for help, but he must go past his father, and beg at Arete's knees (*Od*. 6.310–315). Hainsworth[71] reads this episode as a symbol of Archaic manners (and not as a residue of any matriarchal society): if the lady is there, you must show your respect to her first. However, it seems that there is a contradiction in the role played by the queen.[72] On the one hand, Odysseus is told to address her first to ask for help but, on the other, as Wohl has pointed out, the powerlessness of Arete towards Odysseus' situation is unexpected: "It is Alcinoos and not Arete, who offers the stranger *xenia*. Arete does not speak for over 100 lines. Then

at 7.237 she speaks a *muthos*, asking Odysseus who he is and where he got his clothes […]. Odysseus does not answer her directly, but at the end of his long digression about Calypso, Alcinoos brings the subject back to Nausicaa, offering her to Odysseus in marriage. So twice in this scene Arete's unspoken authority forms a silent focus around which the action occurs, but she herself exerts no direct influence."[73]

Wohl understands Arete's role in relation to Martin's theory of *muthos* as a speech-act;[74] Arete's implied acceptance of Odysseus at 7.153 and her *muthos* at 7.237 should be understood as a speech-act "then hers is the speech (or silence at 153), and her husband's the act" ("SS," p. 30). Nevertheless, from my point of view, to understand the social role played by the queen, it is important to remember the words that Athena says about Arete, who Alcinoos "made his wife, and gave her/such pride of place as no other woman on earth is given/of such women as are now alive and keep house for husbands" (ὅσσαι νῦν γε γυναῖκες ὑπ' ἀνδράσιν οἶκον ἔχουσιν *Od*. 7.68). As Arthur points out, from this sentence at 7.68, "it is fairly clear that her (Arete) participation in the life of Phaeacia is based upon her husband's willingness to share authority: although Odysseus supplicates Arete, it is Alcinoos alone who has the power to accept him as a suppliant (7.167ff)" ("OGA," p. 18). In addition, Alcinoo reaffirms himself in being the holder of the power when he says "the men shall see to his convoy/home, and I most of all; for mine is the power in this district" (*Od*. 11.352–353). Males are, ultimately, the ones who dictate the rules, and the ones who allow wives to rule the household. According to Arthur, "since Phaeacia is the Homeric Utopia, the domestic harmony and high respect for Arete […] may represent Homer's commentary on the traditional divisions, and on the usual exclusion of women from public life" ("OGA," p. 18).

Women are not exempt from doing housework, it seems that their main tasks are to work with the loom, since they are the ones who must weave the clothing for the family (vid, for example, *Od*. 6.52–55; *Od*. 6.305–309 & *Od*. 7.108–110), and keep an eye on the servants. Thus Hector, in a command addressed to his wife, allows us to confirm the former: "Go therefore back to our house, and take up your own work,/the loom and the distaff, and see to it that your handmaidens/ply their work also; but the men must see to the fighting" (εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε/ ἱστόν τ' ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε/ ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· πόλεμος δ' ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει *Il*. 6.490–492).

Since their daily life passes within the household, women are isolated from each other, whereas men have relationship among themselves; and they are continuously conversing. Women hardly make contact with their peers outside the *oîkos*[75] (however, it seems that single ladies do have some kind of friends).[76] Pedrick[77] has made an analysis about the reason for this

situation. She seeks to figure out why the heroine should not take in consideration her friend's pieces of advice, as they usually are wrong, she considers that this "suggest a deeply rooted prejudice about women's counsel. […] These scenes of corruption through confidence teach a correspondingly subtler lesson: it is actually dangerous for a woman to listen even to her closest companions" ("EE," p. 98). She takes the characters of Eurycleia and Eurynome, including the relationship that both have with Penelope, and she says that Homer depicted both as opposite paradigms "while Eurynome's advice would corrupt Penelope from her loyalty to Odysseus if she followed it, Eurycleia's counsel is valid and saves her mistress from disaster. That Eurycleia gives good advice proves to be an illuminating exception, since she counsels Penelope not primarily for her sake but for the sake of her son and husband's best interest" ("EE," p. 98). Upon analyzing the features of both characters, Pedrick finds out the reasons for this discrepancy between the outcome of these pieces of advice. Her findings are quite interesting: "Eurynome bases her advice on what a woman would normally do in Penelope's circumstances, but Penelope cannot behave normally" ("EE," p. 103), as she is the model of the perfect wife, a role constructed from masculine archetypes. Conversely, Eurycleia is depicted as "the feminine voice of the male side of the family" ("EE," p. 107). She points out that

> In that thought lies a clue about what underlies the dismal failure of advice from close female companions. […] Patricia Spacks notes than from early modern times on, men have employed various methods for controlling the private gossip among women that threatens them. Stern sermons on the sinfulness of gossip alternate with cautionary folktales about the humiliation of being caught. […] The ancients seem to have employed yet another method, constructing a negative paradigm of the untrustworthy confidante ("EE," p. 108).

They do not have a free relationship with males either; nonetheless, it is sometimes shown that they have relations with males who come to their husband's palace as guests. Such is the situation, for instance, of Helen when Menelaus hosts Telemachus and Peisistratos as guests. Homer depicted the gathering, and all of them, even Helen, are chattering in the room. However, we should notice that Helen does not address the other men directly, but she firstly talks to her husband (*Od*. 4.137–140). At the same time, the men nowhere speak directly with her, but they do it throughout Menelaus (*Od*. 4.235–294). However, a few books later, Helen gives Telemachus a robe she made (*Od*. 15.124–126). If we understand Helen's gift as part of the guest-friendship gifts, this scene strikes me as odd; for in the world depicted by Homer, gifts are the external token of a political and economic alliance

between lineages. So women are, by all means, out of this activity (except by being part of the gift itself, like in marriage alliances, as we saw above). I do not think, as Wohl, that this gesture of Helen hides an "unusual degree of authority" that "can be explained in part by the fact that Sparta is her home, not Menelaus'; a matrilocal arrangement would no doubt allow somewhat more freedom to the wife" ("SS," p. 32), but as a token of the activity of exchanging gifts. As Finley maintains, the exchange of gifts must be done between peers[78] ("MSG," p. 179), and, from my point of view, this scene must be understood as a gift from a woman to another woman, as Helena explicitly says that the gift is "for your wife to wear at the lovely occasion/of your marriage. Until that time let it lie away in your palace,/in your dear mother's keeping" (*Od*. 15.126–128) without any kind of political repercussion.

Penelope must host the suitors in the palace without being the male head of the family, and this situation may be quite embarrassing for her. When she has to face them in Book 1 of the *Odyssey* (*Od*. 1.328–335), she wears a veil,[79] and asks for the company of some of her slaves.[80] This behavior is different from that of Penelope in Book 18, when she decides (though inspired by Athena) to show herself to the suitors without the veil, even though she asks again for the company of two of her maid servants since, she argues: "I will not go alone among men. I think that immodest" (οἴη δ' οὐ κεῖσ' εἶμι μετ' ἀνέρας· αἰδέομαι γάρ. *Od*. 18.184). For Wohl this scene must be read as Penelope's wish to show her authority over Telemachus and the suitors: "the scene reveals the immense potential power of Penelope's sexuality and her renewed willingness to use this power" (Wohl, 1993, pp. 40–41).

So far I have been analyzing the role and relationships with women who are part of the aristocracy. Nonetheless, they are not the entire group of females that appear in the society depicted in the poems. We should study, then, the role and the image of non-free women shown in the poems. What characterizes these women is, mainly, that they were acquired by a man through buying, looting, war, or even having been won as a trophy in an athletic competition. This implies a more common feature of all of them: they are foreigners.

According to Vidal-Naquet,[81] slavery can be understood as an individual disaster with which anybody could be threatened, but women, as well as children, were much more likely, in times of war, to end up as slaves. It is also true that men could have that ill luck, but their most common fate, if they lost in war, was death. An example of the former could be found in *Il*. 6.414–427 when the Achaeans attacked Thebe, the city of Eetion. In punishment for Thebes's aid to the Trojans, all males of Andromache's family, namely, her father, Eetion, and her seven brothers, were killed by Achilles, but not Andromache's mother, who was carried to Troy with the rest of the loot.

There are very few references in the poems to adult men being kidnapped in an act of piracy or taken as war booty, as compared with the many examples of women in that situation. Moreover, Henry's reading[82] of Homeric poems shows that the bounty is the purpose that leads men to war, and women always form a main part of the spoils.[83]

On the other hand, while in the poems there are several cases of men who were released in exchange for ransom,[84] there are only two occasions when the same is explicitly told of a woman.[85] As Redfield pinpoints (*N&C*), it looks like there was a kind of tacit agreement: if a male enemy is not executed, he must be sold to his own community in exchange for a ransom (*Il*. 6.46–50; *Il*. 10.378–381; *Il*. 11.131–135). Besides, he adds, a male slave who had been recently captured would not be as manageable as a woman or child.[86]

It was seen as quite common for women from the losing side to be turned into slaves and become part of the spoils of war.[87] Therefore, in Book 6 of the *Iliad*, Hector would already know the fate awaiting his wife in the event Troy falls and he dies (*Il*. 6.450–463):

> But it is not so much the pain to come of the Trojans/that troubles me, not even of Priam the king nor Hekabe,/not the thought of my brothers who in their numbers and valor/shall drop in the dust under the hands of men who hate them,/as troubles me the thought of you, when some bronze-armored/Achaian leads you off, taking away your day of liberty,/in tears; and in Argos you must work at the loom of another,/and carry water from the spring Messeis or Hypereia,/all unwilling, but strong will be the necessity upon you;/and some day seeing you shedding tears a man will say of you:/'This is the wife of Hektor, who was ever the bravest fighter/of the Trojans, breakers of horses, in the days when they fought about Ilion.'/So will one speak of you; and for you it will be yet a fresh grief,/to be widowed of such a man who could fight off the day of your slavery./But may I be dead and the piled earth hide me under before I/hear you crying and know by this that they drag you captive.

On the one hand, we can see in it a great capacity of empathizing with a woman, something rather unusual for a Homeric hero, which praises the Trojan prince. On the other, however, beneath Hector's words I can tell a pinch of shame if his wife is become a slave: he will be death and his reputation will be shamed because of she will be a slave. Also, it seems that female suffering here is merely being used to amplify male experience. The female voice is completely subordinated to the male. Regardless, what I would like to highlight of these words is the total assumption and foresight that the fate of women is turned into slave, in case a war or battle is lost by men.

Gazing upon her dead husband, Andromache in the last book of the *Iliad* laments the future that awaits her and her son: "(…) you [Hector] who guarded/the city, and the grave wives, and the innocent children,/wives who before long must go away in the hollow ships,/and among them I shall also go, and you, my child, follow/where I go, and there do much hard work that is unworthy/of you, drudgery for a hard master; or else some Achaian/will take you by hand and hurl you from the tower into horrible/death (…)" (*Il.* 24.729–736).

These examples highlight both that women were more likely to be enslaved, and that the possibility of enslavement extended to all women, whether they were of the nobility or not. It was their alterity (their construction as Other, different from all that males identify as, and their marginalization and exclusion from Homeric communities) that allows, ultimately, for all women share the same fate. The defenselessness toward abductions inherent in their gender in their society was complete. The fact that women are more likely to be turned into slaves is already a proof that the society depicted in the poems is a patriarchal one where women are the weakest gender, the most vulnerable and, therefore, the easiest to subjugate. As Gaca has pointed out, the fact that the subjugation of women was a basic purpose in ancient warfare is still "downplayed in our historical consciousness."[88] But the truth is that women, girls and children were one of the main aims of epic's wars,[89] they become "things" to sell into slavery, concubines, or free workers into the household. Gaca, in her study about the lexical and moral meaning of the Ancient war practice of andropadizing,[90] maintains that even though the term itself is not used in Homeric epic, the practice is regular among the conquerors ("RH," p. 130).

While it is true that the chances of being kidnapped increased considerably in wartime, it is also true that, in peacetime, the heroes depicted in Homer were frequently absent from home, carrying out acts of looting. Thus, in the *nóstos* to Ithaca of Odysseus, many acts of looting are attributed to him (so many that one of the epithets of the hero in the *Odyssey* is πτολίπορθος[91] "plunderer of cities"), whose aim is to achieve material and human goods, the latter formed by women, mainly, and children. For example, Odysseus' attack on the Kikonians, killing the men, leading off the women in *Od.* 9.41ff., also, Polyphemos' first words to Odysseus and his companions are quite relevant, *Od.* 9.252ff. It could even be said that, in many cases, there was little difference between the activities of Odysseus and those of the pirates that are also described in the *Odyssey*.[92]

The female slaves within Homeric societies are used as part of the workforce within the *oîkos* and as sexual merchandise.[93] The utility of the slave in this patriarchal society is perfectly summed up in the words that Agamemnon says to the priest Chryse at the very beginning of the *Iliad*: "The girl [Chryse's

daughter] I will not give back; sooner will old age come upon her/in my own house, in Argos, far from her own land, going/up and down by the loom and being in my bed as my companion" (*Il*. 1.29–31). In addition to being an expatriate uprooted from her hometown and immured in the drudgery of household servitude, symbolized here by the reference to the loom, the female slave will be a concubine, fully available to the sexual needs of her owner.

Other occupations of the slaves are described in the scene of the *Odyssey* in which Eurycleia, Odysseus's nursemaid, organizes the work of the day for the slaves: "To work. Some of you keep busy sweeping the palace,/and freshen the floor with water, and lay the purple coverlets/over the well-wrought chairs. Some others, wash all the tablets/thoroughly clear with sponges, and clean the wine bowls, also/the wrought and double-handled drinking-cups; others, be off/now to the spring to fetch the water, and come back quickly" (*Od*. 20.149–154). There is also information about slaves who had to work outside the home, such as the twelve millers that were responsible for milling the wheat for the palace of Odysseus. They worked in the early morning, and slept once they had ground the grain. Each one was assigned a fixed amount of wheat to grind, and the weakest one was forbidden to go to bed until she had completed her task (*Od*. 20.105–110).

A hierarchy was established among domestic slaves, since in every palace there was a kind of housekeeper (ταμίη), a woman in charge of slaves and servants (cf. *Od*. 3.392 & 479–480, *Od*. 7.166, *Od*. 16.151–153), who dealt with domestic management under the direct orders of the lady of the house. In *Od*. 4.53, Menelaus' housekeeper is called "venerable" (αἰδοίη), an epithet that is often applied to goddesses. In Odysseus' palace, a similar character is the aforementioned Eurycleia, who is not the housekeeper (as this is Eurynome), but, the nursemaid of Odysseus (*Od*. 19.352–355) and later of Telemachus (*Od*. 19.20). She serves as a trustworthy person and sometimes even counselor to her owner, Penelope. Eurycleia is also the "watchwomen (or guard) of the other slaves" (ἥ τε γυναικῶν δμῳάων σκοπός ἐσσι, *Od*. 22.395–396), which gives her certain privileges. She is one of the few slaves who receive a certain consideration from her first owner, Laertes, who had exempted her from the most humiliating and dehumanizing facet of slavery: being forced to be a concubine. Indeed, at the beginning of the *Odyssey* it is said that Laertes had bought her when she was a teenager, for a very high price, "twenty oxen," even though he did not sleep with her in order to avoid the anger of his lawful wife (*Od*. 1.430–434). There are two items worth mentioning in this passage. First, the fact that Homer has mentioned that Laertes did not sleep with his concubine can be understood as a sign that going to bed with a slave was considered normal, since he gives that information as anomalous. Secondly, Laertes refrains from sleeping with Eurycleia

not due to a kind of consideration or respect for the slave, but to placate his wife. In the world of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, female slavery is linked, inevitably, to sexual favors, and this example of Laertes and Eurycleia is, in that sense, unique. In regard to this, the case of the captive Briseis, wrenched from Achilles by Agamemnon, is significant. When later she is returned to Achilles, Agamemnon must first swear that he had not gone to bed with her, "as is natural for human people, between men and women" (*Il*. 9.134). Briseis is reduced to an item of merchandise that is given back intact to her owner, without being used.[94]

Returning to Eurycleia, in *Od*. 19.22 Telemachus called her "μαῖα," an affectionate and familiar term that means something like "little mother." But this should not make her forget that although she enjoys certain privileges, she is still a slave. Besides, her status could come from her advanced age, as elderly people in the world of Homer enjoyed a certain prestige, given their experience.[95] Lastly, she is still imprisoned in her owner's house and subordinated to his authority; the owner can do with her what he wants, even kill her. When Eurycleia recognizes the beggar as Odysseus upon seeing his scar, Odysseus is afraid of her ruining his plan to kill the suitors, and he threatens her with death despite his affection for her: "But now that you have learned who I am, and the god put it into/your mind, hush, let nobody else in the palace know of it./For so I tell you straight out, and it will be a thing accomplished./If you do, and by my hands the god beats down the arrogant/ suitors, nurse of mine though you are, I will not spare you/when I kill the rest of the serving maids in my palace" (*Od*. 19.485–490).

Indeed, the life of a slave is worthless, mainly if the slave betrays the interests of her owner. At the end of the *Odyssey*, Odysseus orders Telemachus, the cowherd, and the swineherd, to kill the female slaves who have betrayed Odysseus by colluding and sleeping with Penelope's suitors. Although the hero had ordered them to be killed with a sword, Telemachus decides that this is too quick a death for those who have dishonored the patriarchs of the house (namely, Odysseus and Telemachus himself, as he is already a grown man). Instead, he orders for them a slower and more shameful death, that of hanging[96] (*Od*. 17.472). It seems that physical mistreatment towards captives was a practice in Homeric world. As Gaca maintains ("RH", reference 62): "In addition to being beaten with the conquering warriors' fists, captive women and girls were struck with the butt end of their spears (*Od*. 8.523–30, Diodorus 17.35.7). […] The *Iliad* divulges the practice of beating captive women and girls with hands and fists when Agamemnon swears to an exception to the norm" that he never beats Briseis (*Il*. 19.261–263).

There are a few words that Eurycleia says which show in an interesting way what being a slave means: "You have fifty serving women here in your palace,/and these I have taught to work at their own tasks, the carding/of

wool, and how to endure their own slavery" (*Od*. 22.421–423). No one is born ready to be a slave; a slave is what one is turned into, and according to Eurycleia's words it seems as if slavery were teachable. Among the "virtues" that must be learned in order to bear slavery are obedience, being faithful to one's owner, and perhaps hiding one's own feelings. Being faithful to one's owner includes, among other things, sharing his sorrow. An example of this is shown in the *Iliad*: when Achilles is told about the death of Patroclus, the captives who are with him in the tent, "the handmaidens Achilles and Patroclus had taken/captive […]," (*Il*. 18.28–29) burst into tears, mourning and shaking their knees (*Il*. 18.30). Everything points to them feeling driven to mourn and to be with their owner during his grief, as Achilles had promised the lifeless body of Patroclus that every kidnapped female slave would lament his death (*Il*. 18.338–343). Here, it is important to take into account the episode where Briseis appears, crying because of Patroclus' death. Homer presents the woman in tatters, like Achilles, due to the sorrow that she feels at seeing the lifeless body of Patroclus. She is crying, scratching her face and bosom with her own hands and speaking to the corpse, remembering their relationship. As her speech progresses, she remembers how her family was killed by Achilles, how Patroclus did not allow her to cry, and how he told her she would marry Achilles, the same man that had just killed her whole family. Briseis finishes her speech by saying: "Therefore I weep your death without ceasing. You were kind always" (*Il*. 19.300). Briseis' words look strange. After all, she is remembering the murder of her entire family at the hands of Achilles, as well as Patroclus' promises of wedding her to the killer, and his forbidding her to cry for her family, an especially harsh command given the symbolic importance of weeping for them.[97] Eventually, it looks like a typical ironic episode of Homer, who ends the mourning scene in a masterful way: "So she spoke (Briseis), lamenting, and the women sorrowed around her/grieving openly for Patroklos, but for her own sorrows/each […]" (*Il*. 19.301–303). Therefore, I do not think that either Briseis' tears or those of the other slaves were sincere, but rather due to the required loyalty towards their owner, and the poet is aware of that.

There are some slaves who, at least for a time, hold a special position since they maintained with their owners a more or less stable sexual relationship.[98] We see this in the *Iliad* with Chryseis, a captive of Agamemnon, and Briseis a concubine of Achilles. The status of these women is somewhat special, but also ambiguous. Sometimes, the owner openly shows his affection for them, for example Achilles in *Il*. 9.343[99] or the words of Agamemnon in *Il*. 1.113–115, when he says that he prefers Chryseis before his lawful wife. But other times it looks as if these affirmations, said in tense moments, contain a great deal of rhetorical exaggeration rather than true feelings. So, for example, when Patroclus died, Achilles said that he would prefer that Briseis had died

the day when he sacked her city,[100] as that would have avoided his troubles with Agamemnon and the huge number of deaths on the Achaean side – including that of Patroclus (*Il*. 19.59–63).[101] For the noblemen, these captives are simple trophies, γέρας: a "prize of war." They are select parts of the plunder that are divided among the members of the group according to their bravery in the war and their status, symbolizing their value as warriors but also their position in the community. Therefore, when Agamemnon takes the trophy of Briseis from Achilles, he feels dishonored. The analogy made between γέρατα and captive in the *Iliad* is so strong that when the poet is speaking about the conflict between Achilles and Agamemnon, Briseis is called γέρας and her real name is not used (cf. *Il*. 1.120, 133, 135, 161, 167; *Il*. 9.344; *Il*. 18.444 & *Il*. 19.89), underlining her objectification.

3. Conclusions: Alterity, Exclusion, and Violence toward Women

Throughout this article I have tried to show how the relationship with the female alterity represented in the poems is framed by the very nature of the communities depicted there: a patriarchal communities,[102] highly stratified, where aristocratic males are the holders of the dominant identity, and where the community is governed by those noblemen.

First, we saw how relationships with aristocratic women are fixed in these kinds of societies. Women are marginalized; namely, they are excluded from taking an active part in the community's issues, and are obliged to follow the rules laid down for them by men. The main institutions on which Homeric communities are constructed are denied to women: assembly, where common laws are discussed and approved, and the battlefield, where the defense and survival of communities are contested. An essential feature of all societies, past as well as current, is that they are built around what is common. The Other is constructed in opposition to the common, and since Homeric women are understood through the lens of alterity, they are consigned to the margins in these patriarchal and aristocratic communities.

Speech, *muthos*, has a social function. As Martin points out, *muthos* is a speech-act, "muthos is, in Homer, a speech-act indicating authority, performed at length, usually in public, with a focus on full attention to every detail. […] The word muthos comprises a range of speech-genres similar to that of Chamula 'words for heated hearts': political talk, angry speech, and affectionate recollection" (*LH*, p. 12). Thus women are silenced, excluded from changing the society where they live. According to their own normative principles, dominant identity dictates the role that alterity must play. In the episode of *Od*. 1. 358–359, Penelope not only thinks that it is normal and fair to be remembered by a man who subordinates her, but she also admires this attitude of his son (*Od*. 1.360), as it means that he is becoming an adult, a

holder of the authoritarian identity. It seems that Penelope, as with every female, considers legitimate that a male identifies her role in the community, and that the role is being quiet, being excluded from speech, and therefore excluded from possessing the power of the word. In this sense, it could be said that a kind of discriminatory violence is established towards women. As Bello puts it: "discriminatory violence is not displayed as violence in its purest form but as necessary and legitimate violence"[103] (my translation). One of the characteristics of this discriminatory violence is that it is often addressed towards groups of people understood as Others.

This violence is perpetuated on an individual level, but women's difference and marginalization are also perpetuated through their relationships to men. According to the alterity framework that I use,[104] relationships between men and Homeric women are negatively asymmetrical: the dominant identity imposes the laws of normative behavior, including or excluding groups. For example, women are often defined through motherhood throughout the poems. Women's value lies in their capacity for being mothers. They give birth to males, but all value is transferred through paternal lineage: rank, fame, and so on. Women serve the communities in a totally utilitarian way. The only choice women have is obedience if they do not want to be repudiated and returned to their parents' *oîkos*, where they would be subject to the father's authority anyway.

If we pay attention to Homeric heroines, the depiction of woman as a main character will always be kinder, more positive than what actual women would have experienced in these societies. It is the "real" women who lived behind these heroines who we must consider in order to understand the persistence of patriarchy.

It seems that females are not understood as individuals but as a collectivity, as a gender. This is reflected in the words of Agamemnon, when he is speaking to Odysseus in the Underworld about his murder by his wife. According to him, the evil deed of his wife, Clytemnestra, will defame the whole group of women: "she with thoughts surpassingly grisly/splashed the shame on herself and the rest of her sex, on women/still to come, even on the one whose acts are virtuous" (ἡ δ' ἔξοχα λυγρὰ ἰδυῖα/ οἳ τε κατ' αἶσχος ἔχευε καὶ ἐσσομένῃσιν ὀπίσσω/ θηλυτέρῃσι γυναιξί, καὶ ἥ κ' εὐεργὸς ἔῃσιν. *Od*. 11.432–434). Clytemnestra's offense will be inherited by every woman through history. Her acts will cause ignominy for all of them, corrupting the entire female sex.[105] The same happens in the myth of Eve in the *Book of Genesis*. Eve's sin damages the whole gender, and the punishment is shared by all of them. This is a way of denying women's individuality. The reverse never happens: immoral acts from a man by no means will affect those with whom he shares gender.

Secondly, I have maintained that women as well as children are the most vulnerable group to becoming slaves in wartime. One simile that shows how commonly women and girls were kidnapped and turned into slaves, servants or concubines is that of *Il*. 16.7–11. According to Gaca, the scene depicts the suffering and anguish of a mother and daughter running away from their captors. The scholar maintains that this simile is a reflection of how Homeric characters "would know very well how such terrified girls and mothers looked and behaved in their efforts to elude capture, for the direct experience was theirs, either as the subjugators or the subjugated. The warriors were not above commandeering, dominating, and exploiting women and girls taken from peoples of foreign ethnicity as well as from enemies of the same or similar ethnicity as themselves" ("RH," p. 168). This shows how this experience is so commonplace for women and girls, but also shows how women were always considered among the main fruits of a war.

But even during peacetime, when the alternative was competition, women were turned into trophies or prizes, and they were passed between owners as if they were tripods or any valuable item, but above all objects.[106] An example of the former can be found in another of the Homeric similes, which are said to give a glimpse of daily life. In *Il*. 22.163–164 Achilles and Hector run around the Trojan walls. In order to stress the speed of the heroes, they are compared to the fast turn made by the winner horses in a race when they are reaching the goal. Homer adds that at the finish line is the prize: "a tripod or a woman" (*Il*. 22.164). This simile shows how women were treated in this patriarchal and aristocratic world: they must stand at the winning post waiting to be taken by the winner (*Il*. 23.261 & 263). These trophies are positioned in the middle of the field throughout the duration of the race (*Il*. 23.705). Women are completely objectified. As an object, she is someone's future possession.

Objectification and undervaluation of women reaches its peak when, in one of the funeral games for Patroclus, Homer tells that the prize for the winner will be a tripod valued at twelve oxen, while the loser will get a woman valued only at four. The following table illustrates examples of the market value of women in the society depicted in the poems, and also includes values placed on foreign men under ransom. It shows how women are chattel in this society:

Lykaon's ransom	**300 oxen**	**(*Il*. 21.80)**
Glauko's armor	**100 oxen**	**(*Il*. 6.235)**
Lykaon's sale	**100 oxen**	**(*Il*. 21.79)**
Euryklea (female slave)	**20 oxen**	**(*Od*. 1.431)**
Tripod (Patroclus' games)	**12 oxen**	**(*Il*. 23.703)**
Diomedes' armor	**9 oxen**	**(*Il*. 6.236)**
Female slave (Patroclus' games)	**4 oxen**	**(*Il*. 23.705)**

As we can see, the life of a male was more valuable than that of a female, which on occasion, could even cost less than a set of armor or a tripod. Under such circumstances, it seems not preposterous to claim that women are treated in a completely utilitarian way: they are used to provide sexual favors or to work in the *oîkos* or even as prizes or interchangeable items. Slaves are used and treated as objects, not human beings. Through this objectification and dehumanization of female slaves in a social context, we can see how women are deprived of their self and, therefore, turned into alterities maintained through all men's actions.

To conclude, space in the world depicted in the poems is fixed: the place of men is war and assembly. In turn, women are located in the *oîkos*. These worlds almost never overlap. This could also be a reason why men are murdered in the looting, while women are turned into slaves. Women in the poems are Others, and therefore the relations with them are determined by the alterity that they represent. Upon analyzing these poems as fruit of the oral tradition, and as containers of collective memory, we can see how the poems demarcate hierarchical relations that function as structures of domination of one group above others – a system that has defined all societies, at least Western ones, up to present times.

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NOTES

1. We will see some of these works further in this paper.

2. All English translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are from R. Lattimore's translation (2011), *The Iliad of Homer*. Chicago, IL, & London: University of Chicago Press, 2011, and (2007), *The Odyssey of Homer*. New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics.

3. If we understand "patriarchy" in its original meaning as "ruled by the father," we will see how the relationships depicted in the poems show these power relations, where the law of the father prevails within the Homeric household. But I understand that we can also see how patriarchy, with a more "modern" meaning (understood as hierarchical relations between men and women, male dominance in the public and private spheres, female exclusion from the public sphere, male control over female sexuality, women as objects of exchange for the sake of male political alliances, and so on) can be already found in Homeric poems. Nevertheless, Homer does not

include the same kind of justifications that arises later (like Aristotelian one). For further information of patriarchy, see Code, L. (2000), *Encyclopedia of Feminist Theories, s.v.* "patriarchy." London & New York: Routledge; Gardiner, J. (1999), *Encyclopedia of Political Economy*, s.v. "patriarchy," London & New York: Routledge; Gillogan, C. (2009), *The Deepening Darkness: Patriarchy, Resistance, and Democracy*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press. For an interesting book on patriarchy and feminist theory, see K. V. Hansen & I. J. Philipson (eds.) (1990), *Women, Class, and the Feminist Imagination.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press. Gillogan, C. (2009), *The Deepening Darkness: Patriarchy, Resistance, and Democracy*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

4. Loraux, N. (2005), *La tragédie d'Athènes: la Politique entre L'Ombre et L'Utopie*. Seuil: Paris, 173–190.

5. Chantraine, P. (1983/1984), *Dictionnaire Étimologique de la Langue Grecque: Historie des Mots*, 2 vols. Paris: Klincksieck.

6. Martin, R. P. (1989), *The Language of Heroes.* New York: Cornell University Press. Hereafter abbreviated *LH*.

7. G. M. Calhoun challenged the degree to which one finds a fully developed aristocracy in Homer, pointing out "the complete omission from the poems of the specific words for nobility of birth and for distinctions based on descent that are so abundant in the writings of later ages," (1934), "Classes and Masses in Homer" *Classical Philology* 29(3): 195.

8. See, for example, Levinas, E. (1987), *Time and the Other*, trans. by R. A. Cohen. Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press; (1998), *Entre Nous: On Thinking-of-the-Other*, trans. by M. B. Smith & B. Harshav. New York: Columbia University Press; (2003), *Humanism of the Other*, trans. by N. Poller. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

9. I should thank R. Martin for giving me this idea about the appropriateness in epic of the differentiation between the "Other en masse" and the "Other as individual."

10. The society that I shall analyze in this paper is not the "Homeric society" itself (if this term may mean something) but the society depicted in Homeric poems. Nonetheless, to understand my point on this issue I would suggest Redfield, J. M. (1975), *Nature and Culture in the* Iliad*: The tragedy of Hector*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 78–79; hereafter abbreviated *N&C*: "The heroic world is a less-real world which exists for the sake of the song. In this sense it is unhistoric. Yet song is for an audience and in this sense is located in history. In reconstructing the heroic world, we implicitly reconstruct the audience which understood it, the audience for whom the *Iliad* was not problematic. In this broad sense any careful study of Homer is a contribution to the study of Homer's period. […] The poet may or may not imitate the details of his culture. But if his work, as a whole, is to be intelligible to his audience, he must have a profound understanding of his culture. Therefore, if we assume that the work is intelligible, we can deduce the culture from the work."

11. Havelock, E. A. (1963), *Preface to Plato.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

12. Bourdieu, P. (1989), "Social Space and Symbolic Power," *Sociological Theory* 7(1): 4–25.

13. I do not share the interpretation of scholars such as Arthur or Foley, for whom the Homeric world lacks such division between private and public realms. See Arthur, M. B. (1973), "Early Greece: The Origins of Greek Attitude towards Women" in *Arethusa* 6: 7–58, hereafter abbreviated "OGA," and (1981), "The Divided World of the *Iliad* VI," *Women's Studies* 8: 21–46, hereafter abbreviated "DW." See also Foley, H. P. (1978), "Reverse Similes and Sex Roles in the *Odyssey*," *Arethusa* 11: 7–26.

14. *Il*. 6.295–311.

15. Kirk, G. S. (1990), *The Iliad: A Commentary*, Vol. 2, Books: 5–8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 165.

16. There are other two mentions of women who work outside the household in the *Iliad* (*Il*. 4.141–145 & *Il*. 12.433–435). Neither of them hold a public position, as Theano, but one of them is an artisan and the other is a day laborer.

17. Something similar happens in the Hesiodic "Catalogue of Women," where women are defined by the sons they gave birth. See Most, G. M. (2007), *Hesiod II*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

18. Women defined in that way include, for instance, Tyro (*Od*. 11.235–ff.), Iphimedeia (*Od*. 11.305–ff.), Antiope (*Od*. 11.260–ff.), Alkmene (*Od*. 11.266), Megara (*Od*. 11.269–270); Chloris (*Od*. 11.281–ff.), Leda (*Od*. 11.298–300), and Ariadne (*Od*. 11.321–ff.).

19. Which does not mean that we cannot see in the poems literarily-constructed individuals. Nevertheless, as I already mentioned, the Other that I shall study in this paper is the Other (woman) as a whole, not the female alterity as individuals.

20. For further information about Levi-Strauss' conceptions of women as both producers of signs and objects of exchange, see Levi-Strauss, C. (1969), *Elementary Structures of Kinship*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 233ff, hereafter abbreviated *ESK*.

21. Redfield, J. M. (1982), "Notes on Greek Wedding," *Arethusa* 15: 185–186, hereafter abbreviated "NGW."

22. Bergren, A. L. (1983), "Language and the Female in Early Greek Thought," *Arethusa* 16: 76; hereafter abbreviated "L&F."

23. Shame is what rules the behavior of both men and women. Males are afraid of shaming their companions and ancestors by cowardice in battle, while women rule their behavior by anticipating what other women might think. For further information about "shame-culture," see Dodds, E. R. (1957), *The Greeks and the Irrational*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, hereafter abbreviated *G&I*.

24. About Penelope's character, there are some interesting works, for example, Foley, H. P. (2007), "Penelope as Moral Agent," and Felson-Rubin, N. (2007), "Penelope's Perspective: Character from Plot," both published in *Bloom's Modern Critical Interpretations. Homer's* The Odyssey. Updated edition. New York: Chelsea House; and Clayton, B. (2004), *A Penelopean Poetics. Reweaving the Feminine in Homer's* Odyssey. Oxford: Lexington Books.

25. Zeitling, F. I. (1996), *Playing the Other. Gender and Society in Classical Greek Literature*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 29; hereafter abbreviated *PTO*.

26. Benveniste, E. (1973), *Indo-European Language and Society*, trans. Elizabeth Palmer. Coral Gables, FL: The University of Miami Press, 277; hereafter abbreviated *IE*.

27. Despite not paying much attention to this sentence, M. R. Lefkowitz does mention it when she maintains that this sentence shows that one of the reasons for Penelope's wait for Odysseus is a "matter of reputation," in her article (1983), "Wives and Husbands," *Greece and Rome* 30: 33; hereafter abbreviated "WH."

28. For further information about this issue, see for example: Lattimore, R. (1969), "Nausikaa's Suitors," *Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* 58: 88–102; Gross, N. P. (1976), "Nausicaa: a Feminine Threat," *The Classical World* 69: 311–317; Reece, S. (1993), *The Stranger's Welcome: Oral Theory and Aesthetics of the Homeric Hospitality Scene.* Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

29. E. R. Dodds, *G&I* pp. 28ff.

30. See also Russo, J., and B. Simon (1968), "Homeric Psychology and the Oral Epic Tradition," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 29(4): 483–498.

31. For further information about the role of women within marriage in Aristotle, see Redfield, J. M. (2003), *The Locrian Maidens. Love and Death in Greek Italy*. Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 56, hereafter abbreviated *LM*.

32. English translation by Ernest Barker, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1948.

33. In the *Iliad*, the word appears only five times: the term is referring to divine scenes in two occasions, see *Il*. 5.429 & *Il*. 24.62. The noun also appears in one of the scenes depicted in Achilles' shield (*Il*. 18.490). There are only two occasions where the term γάμος is linked to the human world, see *Il*. 13.381–382 & *Il*. 19.299. Only *Il*. 13.381–382 suggests that this term means something different from the wedding as a party. In that episode Idomeneus seems to be speaking about marriage's arrangements, where both sides could make an agreement (συνιέναι). On the other hand, in the *Odyssey* we find it in twenty-nine occasions: twenty out of twenty-nine times where γάμος appears, it refers to a possible wedding of Penelope and one of the suitors (see *Od*. 1.249 & 277; *Od*. 2.97, 196 & 205; *Od*. 3.224; *Od*. 15.524; *Od*. 16.126; *Od*. 17.476; *Od*. 18.272; *Od*. 19.137, 142 & 157; *Od*. 20.307 & 341; *Od*. 21.250; *Od*. 22.50; *Od*. 23.135; *Od*. 24.126 & 132). The other occasions where the term appears are at *Od*. 1.226; *Od*. 4.3 & 7; *Od*. 6.27, 66 & 288; *Od*. 11.415; *Od*. 15.126; *Od*. 20.74. Nowhere does the word have a different interpretation from the wedding reception.

34. However, there is no reference to this verb in either poem with this meaning. In the Homeric poems, the verb δίδωμι appears in some occasions with the meaning of "to give a woman in marriage." The active agents who give the women to a man could be the father, as we see in *Il*. 6.192, *Il*. 11.226 & *Od*. 2.54, the father and the mother (in *Il*. 19.291), a god (*Il*. 14.268), and, in the case of remarrying of a widow, the oldest son (in *Od*. 1.292 & *Od*. 2.223).

35. Cf., γαμέω: *Il*. 9.388 & 391, *Il*. 14.122, *Od*. 2.207, *Od*. 4.208, *Od*. 15.522, etc., and ὀπυίω: *Il*. 13.379, *Il*. 14.268, *Il*. 16.178, *Od*. 2.336, *Od*. 6.63, *Od*. 15.21, *Od*. 16.386, etc.

36. On ἔχω see *Il*. 9. 336, where Agamemnon is holding a woman who Achilles thinks of as a legal wife (Achilles says that Agamemnon: "keeps the bride of my heart," "ἔχει δ᾽ ἄλοχον θυμαρέα.") It is also interesting *Il*. 9.399 ("γήμαντα μνηστὴν ἄλοχον ἐϊκυῖαν ἄκοιτιν") since it stresses both the courting process and the more sexual idea of a bedpartner (ἄλοχον).

37. Equally, the verb μνηστεύω, "to court," "to propose to somebody," is found referring only to men who want to marry a woman (cf. *Od*. 4.684 & *Od*. 18.277).

38. Hartog, F. (1988), *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*, trans. Janet Lloyd. Berkeley & Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 242.

39. According to Butler, the subject is not one but two. On the one hand, he/she suffers the effect of the language, which turns him/her into a patient. On the other hand, when the subject he/she becomes an actor, he/she is able to perform the reality with his/her statements, judgments, opinions, etc. For further information about the performativity of language, see Butler, J. (1997), *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. New York: Routledge.

40. Preface by Nagy: "In a small-scale society myth tends to be viewed as the encoding of that society's view of truth," *LH*: xiv. Conversely, today myth meaning is quite the opposite. According to Martin, *muthos* is the speech-act of poetry itself. Myth implies ritual in the very performance of myth.

41. A stronger reading of this was made by the linguistic Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf. For further information see Lakoff, G., & M. Johnson (1980), *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

42. Snell, B. (1960), *The Discovery of the Mind: the Greek Origins of European Thought*. New York: Harper, and Fraenkel, H. (1951), *Dichtung und Philosophie des Frühen Griechentums*. New York: American Philological Association claimed that absence of a word equals absence of a concept. This debate over whorfism was also studied by B. Williams (1993), in *Shame and Necessity*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, who refuted Snell's theses.

43. Lacey, W. K. (1966), "Homeric *Hedna* and Penelope's *Kurios*," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 86: 62; hereafter abbreviated "HH."

44. For further information about the marriage in the poems, see: Finley, M. I. (1955), "Marriage, Sale and Gift in the Homeric World" in *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquite* iii 2; hereafter abbreviated "MSG": 167–194; W. K. Lacey, "HH": 55–68; Leduc, C. (1991), "¿Cómo darla en matrimonio? La novia en Grecia, siglos IX-IV a. C.," in *Historia de las mujeres en Occidente* I, Spanish trans. Marco Aurelio Galmarini. Buenos Aires: Taurus, 252–270; Fraga Iribarne, A. (1998), *De Criseida a Penélope. Un largo camino hacia el patriarcado clásico*. Madrid: Horas y Horas, especially 33–35; hereafter abbreviated *CP*; García Sánchez, M. (1999), *Las mujeres de Homero*. Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 51–74. About the wedding in Ancient Greece, see Nilsson, M. (1960), "Wedding Rites in Ancient Greece" in *Opuscula Selecta* 3: 243–250; Redfield, J. M., "NGW," 181–201.

45. See, for instance, *Od*. 11.117; *Od*. 11.282; *Il*. 16.178–180; *Il*. 16.190–191; *Il*. 22.466–472. Even in gods' world appears this sort of marriage. Remember, for example, the episode of Aphrodite's adultery; Hefestus demands the refund of the all the bridewealth (πάντα ἔεδνα *Od*. 8.319) of Zeus.

46. The quantity and quality of the *hedna* play an important role in the choice of a proper husband, as is shown in Penelope's words in *Od*. 19.528–529 when she considers whether to wait for Odysseus or to "go away at last with the best of all those Achaians/who court me here in the palace, with endless gifts to win me? (πορὼν ἀπερείσια ἕδνα)." As Lacey has pointed out: "they (the *hedna*) expressed the giver's quality, and this in turn carried the assumption that to be outdone in ἕδνα, as in gifts, would incur a slur on a man's rank" ("HH," 55).

47. As Vidal Naquet points out, this expression may come from Aristotle's comment in *Pol*. 2. 5. 12, 1268b 40 when he says: "The usages of old times were exceedingly simple and uncivilized: Greeks went about armed, and bought their brides from each other" (τοὺς γὰρ ἀρχαίους νόμους λίαν ἁπλοῦς εἶναι καὶ βαρβαρικούς. ἐσιδηροφοροῦντό τε γὰρ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐωνοῦντο παρ᾽ ἀλλήλων). English trans. Ernest Baker. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1948. Vidal-Naquet, P. (1979), "Economía y sociedad en la Grecia Antigua: La obra de Moses I. Finley," in *Clases y luchas de clases en la Grecia Antigua*. Madrid: Akal, 39. On the other hand, Finley doubts whether Aristotle alluded to Homer. "The context of the half-sentence in the Politics, which does not mention Homer, is that of the archaic, but post-Homeric, law codes" ("MSG," 178).

48. *Il*. 7.465-475; *Il*. 18.289-291 & *Od*. 15.461–463. Finley understands this trade society as rudimentary and fairly limited, since there have been only a few commercial rules in a society where transactions were made between strangers, whose encounters were sporadic.

49. The exchange worked as followed: beforehand, people haggled about the "price" of the goods, there cannot be any kind of compromise, as one of the sides would leave for its community or for another harbor in order to continue with the swaps. Finley "MSG," 172–177.

50. For further information about the role of the exchange in Archaic Economies, see Mauss, M. (1990), *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D. Halls. New York: Routledge, and Levi-Strauss, *ESK*, 63–68, who says: "The inclusion of women in the number of reciprocal prestations from group to group and from tribe to tribe is such a general custom that a whole volume would not be sufficient to enumerate the instances of it" (63).

51. Finley, M. I. (1965), *The World of Odysseus*. The Viking Press: New York, 62; hereafter abbreviated *TWO*. Besides, as Finley points out ("MSG," 172), "the marriages in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were between outsiders (…). This fact is to be explained by the circumstances that the characters all moved in the highest circles, in which marriage was an important instrumentality for the establishment of ties of power among chieftains and kings."

52. Vernant, J. P. (1980), *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece*, trans. Janet Lloyd. Sussex: Harvester Press; Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press; hereafter abbreviated *M&S*.

53. In other mentions of this marriage pattern, due to the presence of the wife's brother(s), the new husband is excluded from the inheritance, playing a role of subordinate of his father in law. In *Il*. 9.142ff. Agamemnon says that if Achilles accepts his proposition, he will be treated as if he were his son. Agamemnon, who already has a son, Orestes, offers Achilles (in exchange for the return to the fight of

the latter) any of his three daughters in marriage ἀνάεδνος, without having to give *hedna*, *Il*. 9.146. Instead of giving the *hedna*, Agamemnon provides his daughter with several gifts and goods (*Il*. 9.138–149); among them the king offers Achilles' the ruling of seven citadels within Argos (*Il*. 9.149–156). It is worth remembering that Achilles is an only child, namely, the only one heir. In addition, Agamemnon adds to the marriage bid seven cities close to Pylos. If Achilles had accepted the offer, he would have become a secondary prince, subordinated to Agamemnon, the main authority. But Agamemnon also offers the possibility of bringing the chosen daughter with Achilles to Phthia, without having to integrate Agamemnon's *oîkos* (*Il*. 9.145–146). For further information about Achilles' subordination to Agamemnon, see Alden, M. (2012), "The Despised Migrant (*Il*. 9.648 = 16.59)," in *Homeric Contexts. Neoanalysis and the Interpretation of Oral Poetry*, ed., F. Montanari & C. T. Rengakos. Berlin & Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 125.

54. Bellerophon's story is placed in a past time relative to that of *Iliad's* plot. Fraga-Iribarne (*CP*, 35–37) links this marriage-pattern to older strata of the poem. On the other hand, as Lacey pointed out ("HH," 59), this kind of marriage is also found in Tydeus' and Othryoneus' cases (*Il*. 14.119–125 & *Il*. 13.363–382, respectively), and despite the fact that both Bellerophon and Tydeus belong to an earlier generation, it is not the situation of Othryoneus who is a warrior of the Trojan side.

55. Another similar example is that of the Trojan hero Othryoneus and the Priam's daughter Kassandra (*Il*. 13.365–369): the hero asked Priam for his daughter's hand ἀνάεδνον (without *hedna*), but in exchange for it he had promised to expel Achaeans from Troy, to which Priam accepted. We know that this marriage never happened, but if they had gotten married, Othryoneus would not have been the heir of Troy, since Priam already had male offspring (about Kassandra as a resister of marriage, see Redfield, *LM*, 138–139). In fact, when Homer describes Priam's palace, he says that his married daughters live there with their husbands (*Il*. 6.251), namely, all of them are integrated into their father-in-law's *oîkos*. The same situation would have happened to Odysseus, if they had accepted the hand of Nausikaa, as the latter has some brothers.

56. See *Il*. 6.394 & *Il*. 22.88 in reference to Andromache, and *Od*. 24.294 to Penelope. Thus the formula may not be fitting with the reality, but a simple epic ornament. There are some episodes where this situation is mentioned. For instance, Laothoe's father dowered her with lots of gold and bronze, even though she lives in her husband's palace where she moved with her dower (*Il*. 22.50–52). Similar is the case of Penelope, who is referred as πολύδωρος ("richly dowered," *Od*. 24.294) but she lives in Odysseus' *oîkos*. Not only is it said that Penelope is "richly dowered," but also, as Finley ("MSG," 178) and Lacey ("HH," 56) have put it, it is mentioned twice that she is given *hedna* to bring to the house of her husband-to-be. The answer to this apparent contradiction given by Finley, and followed by Lacey, is that this is due to the very Homeric tradition of gift and counter-gift, and "they reflect (the gift) a genuine piece of social custom, and that brides did in fact not come to their husbands empty-handed" ("HH," ref. 10). On the other hand, Homer tells that Hector gave *hedna* to Andromache's father (*Il*. 22.473), but the latter dowered her too (*Il*. 6.394 & 22.88), and she moved to her father-in-law's *oîkos*. Finley ("MSG," 186) also maintains that in these kinds of societies where gift-giving had such importance

"the same word (for gift) could be used regardless of the direction in which the gifts traveled." Namely, it did not matter if the gifts were from the husband-to-be to the bride's father or from the latter to the former, Homer could have used the same word in every example. However, as Lacey has pointed out ("HH," 56), there are no cases of future husbands who give *hedna* but integrate into their wife's *oîkos*.

57. Madrid, M. (1999), *La misoginia en Grecia.* Madrid: Cátedra. The original text in Spanish: "las relaciones entre los esposos se fundan en el respeto mutuo y la concordia" (43).

58. It is worth remembering the piece of advice that Agamemnon gave Odysseus in the Underworld about how to treat his wife: "So by this, do not be too easy even with your wife,/nor gve her an entire account of all you are sure of./Tell her part of it, but let the rest be hidden in silence." ('τῶ νῦν μή ποτε καὶ σὺ γυναικί περ ἴπιος εἶναι/ μηδ' οἱ μῦθον ἅπαντα πιφαυσκέμεν, ὅν κ' ἐὺ εἰδῇς,/ ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν φάσθαι, τὸ δὲ καὶ κεκρυμμένον εἶναι. *Od*. 11.441–443). Later, he continues: "When you bring your ship in to your own dear country, do it/secretly, not in open. There is no trusting in women" (κρύβδην, μηδ' ἀναφανδά, φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν/ νῆα κατισχέμεναι, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι πιστὰ γυναιξίν. *Od.* 11.455–456).

59. I am aware of the versions where the fidelity of Penelope is questioned. Nonetheless, I do think that the bed trick in Book 23 of the *Odyssey* could be seen as a clear proof not only of Odysseus' identity, but also of Penelope's fidelity. For a further analysis of this trick see Zeitlin *PTO*, 25ff.

60. It seems that Arthur does not take into account, for example, what Agamemnon himself says about the power of negative statements about women (*Od.* 24.192–202): no matter how good Penelope is, she can't climb out of the shadow of Klytemnestra's ill-repute.

61. Rose maintains that the ideologies behind the poems are different. The ideology behind the *Odyssey* has to do with the birth of trade and new settlements, while that of the *Iliad* is twofold: on the one hand, there is the ideology of the meritocracy system, represented by Achilles. On the other, it states a new ideology of inherited power represented by Agamemnon – meaning that status determines appropriation of wealth and distribution of booty. Anyway, I think that Rose would agree with Arthur's reading of the two contrasting heroic codes shown in the *Iliad*. For further information, see Rose, P. W. (2012), *Class in Archaic Greece.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 93–165; hereafter abbreviated *CAG*. For Arthur, "OGA," 9–11.

62. For further information about Rose's outlook of females in the poems, see (1992), *Sons of the Gods, Children of Earth. Ideology and Literary Form in Ancient Greece*. Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press (especially 85ff.) hereafter abbreviated *SOG*. He maintains that the *Odyssey* shows "an intensification of the traditional ambivalence toward women" (*SOG*, 133–134), and, in general, more misogynistic features than the *Iliad.*

63. Martin has interpreted this episode as a reflection of Homeric irony: Telemachus' speech seems to imply an authoritative character. However, that is contradictory to Telemachus' character in other scenes. According to Martin, "a traditional audience familiar with this speaking mode would hear irony in Telemachus' words. He thinks he can handle the situation on Ithaka, but he still has

a lot to learn," in (1993), "Telemachus and the Last Hero Song," *Colby Quarterly* 29(3): 237.

64. A further analysis of weaving by Homeric women is made by Bergren, "L&F," 71–75.

65. Walcot, P. (1984), "Greek Attitudes toward Women: The Mythological Evidence," *Greece & Rome* 31: 39; hereafter abbreviated "GAW."

66. An extended analysis of this issue in modern Western societies can be found in Weitz, R., & S. Kwan (2010), *The Politics of Women's Bodies: Sexuality, Appearance, and Behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press.

67. A complete analysis of the reasons for male domination over female sexuality is made by Wohl in "SS." A broader study of the male control of female sexuality is made by Smuts, B. (1992), in "Male Aggression against Women. An Evolutionary Perspective," *Human Nature* 3: 1–44.

68. Male fears of female sexuality have always been a *topos* in the history of mankind. In Ancient Greece we find, for example, the myth of Tieresias, who, having been both a man and a woman, declared women have ten times as much pleasure in sex as males. Already in the twenty century, Fidel Castro invited an East German sexologist, Monika Krause-Fuchs, to reform sex education in Cuba. When she started going into detail about women's pleasure, Cuban males began to panic (for further information about this, see Krause, M. (2002), *Monika y la revolucion. Una mirada singular sobre la historia reciente de Cuba*. San Cristobal de La Laguna: Centro de Cultura Popular Canaria.

69. Women's capacity to produce offspring is not the only key element in male fears, but males have been always trying to limit female sexuality: the practice of clitoridectomy has nothing to do with female capacity of producing children and everything to do with male fears of female sexuality (see, for example, Masters, W. H., & V. E. Johnsons (1966), *Human Sexual Response*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, and Masters, W. H., & Johnsons, V. E. (1970), *Human Sexual Inadequacy*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown.

70. Karakantza, E. (2001), "The Sexual Servitude of Odysseus. An Interpretative Approach to Kirke and Kalypso Episodes in the *Odyssey*," in Πρακτικά του ΙΑ Συνεδρίου της Παγκόσμιας Ομοσπονδίας Κλασικών Σπουδών (FIEC), Athens, 468–481; hereafter abbreviated "SSO."

71. Hainsworth, J. B. (1988), *A Commentary on Homer's* Odyssey, vol. I (Books 1–8), eds. Heubeck, A., S. West, & J. B. Hainsworth. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 325 (comment Book 7.66ff.).

72. This contradiction could be also explained due to a special utopian status of the queen, since the poet depicts the land of the Phaeacians with all sort of utopian features.

73. Wohl, V. J. (1993), "Standing by the Stathmos: The Creation of Sexual Ideology in the *Odyssey*," *Arethusa* 26: 30; hereafter abbreviated "SS."

74. For further information about that, see Martin, *LH*, 1–42.

75. An exception is, for example, when in Book 6 of the *Iliad* the poet shows us all the Trojan women going together to Athena's temple in order to ask for help from the goddess (*Il*. 6.287–305). Even though this is a gathering of free women, the women are ultimately obeying Hector's commands (*Il*. 6.268–279).

76. As in, for example, *Od*. 6.20–24 & *Il*. 3.175.

77. Pedrick, V. (1994), "Eurycleia and Eurynome as Penelope's Confidantes," in *Epic and Epoch. Essays on the Interpretation and History of a Genre*, eds. S. M. Oberhelman, V. Kelly, & R. J. Golsan. Lubbock, TX: Texas University Press, 97–116; hereafter abbreviated "EE."

78. The same opinion is shared by W. G. Thalman when he says that the exchange of gifts is a "primarily horizontal" mechanism of redistribution of goods among elites, (1998), *The Swineherd and the Bow: Representations of Class in the* Odyssey. Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 50; hereafter abbreviated *RCO*.

79. The fact of women having to wear a veil while in the presence of men is already a sign of the asymmetrical and patriarchal society we are speaking of. Naerebout distinguished six basic patterns to identify the asymmetry in male-female relationships, and wearing a veil is one of them. Naerebout, F. G. (1987), "Male-Female Relationships in the Homeric Epics" in *Sexual Asymmetry. Studies in Ancient Society*, ed. J. Block & P. Mason, 116. Even though Homer did not say anything about it, thanks to Euripides we know that women should not look directly at men. In Hecuba vv. 974–975, Hecuba says to the king Polimestor: "In any case, habit and custom excuse me/forbidding that a woman look directly at a man" (ἄλλως δ᾽ αἴτιόν τι καὶ νόμος, γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν μὴ βλέπειν ἐναντίον).

80. The same happens in Book 18, when she has to have an encounter with the suitors, she requests the company of her maid servants: "But tell Autonoe and Hippodameia/to come, so that they can stand at my side in the great hall./I will not go alone among men. I think that immodest" (ἀλλά μοι Αὐτονόην τε καὶ Ἱπποδάμειαν ἄνωχθι/ ἐλθέμεν, ὄφρα κέ μοι παρστήετον ἐν μεγάροισιν·/ οἴη δ' οὐ κεῖσ' εἶμι μετ' ἀνέρας· αἰδέομαι γάρ. *Od*. 18.182-184).

81. Vidal-Naquet, P. (1986), *The Black Hunter: Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World*, trans. A. Szegedy-Maszak. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

82. Henry, M. M. (2011), "The Traffic in Women: from Homer to Hipponax, from War to Commerce," in *Greek Prostitutes in the Ancient Mediterranean, 800 BCE–200 CE*, ed. A. Glazebrook & M. M. Henry. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 14–33.

83. In any case, we should not overlook Harris' study on male and female slavery in the poems. His analysis of the considerable amount of male slaves in Odysseus' household is very meaningful. See Harris, E. M. (2012), "Homer, Hesiod, and the "Origins" of Greek Slavery," in *REA* 114: 15; hereafter abbreviated "HHS."

84. See, *Il*. 11.104–107 & *Il*. 21.77–79.

85. The first case is Andromache's mother (*Il*. 6.425–427) and the second is the well-known case of Chryseis; her father, Crises, priest of the god Apollo, tried to rescue her in the beginning of Book 1 of the *Iliad*, bringing a large ransom in exchange for his daughter (*Il*. 1.11ff.). Agamemnon refused to do this, despite the fact that every Achaean agreed in assembly to give the young girl back to her father (*Il*. 1.21–22). Eventually, due to Apollo's intervention, Agamemnon had to return her to her father and, besides, he was no longer able to accept the ransom. (*Il*. 1.98–99 & 440ff).

86. For further information about slavery in Ancient Greece, in general, and the society depicted in Homeric poems, in particular, see: Finley, M. I., *TWO*, especially 49–51, 54–56; Garlan, Y. (1988), *Slavery in Ancient Greece*, trans. Janet Lloyd. Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press; Finley, M. I. (1998), *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*. Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener; Thalmann, W. G., *RCO*, especially part 1; Gaca, K. L. (2010), "The Andropodizing of War Captives in Greek Historical Memory," in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 140: 117–161, hereafter abbreviated "AWC"; Harris, M., "HHS" for a complete bibliography about this topic.

87. For example, the cases of Briseis and Chryseis, who were among Achilles and Agamemnon's plunder after both men sacked the women's communities.

88. K. L. Gaca interprets the simile in a new way. Concluding that what Homer is showing is a war scene; it depicts the anguish of a mother and a daughter running away from their male captors in (2008), "Reinterpreting the Homeric Simile of *Iliad* 16.7–11: The Girl and the Mother in Ancient Greek Warfare," *American Journal of Philology* 129(2): 146; hereafter abbreviated "RH."

89. See, for example, Nestor's words in *Il*. 2.354ff. when he says "let no man be urgent to take the way homeward/until after he has lain in bed with the wife of a Trojan" (*Il*. 2.354–355).

90. Traditionally, this term has meant "the mercantile transaction involved in trading or selling war captives as slaves or subjugates […or] the enslaving or reducing to slavery" certain parts of the communities in war times, "RH," 122.

91. Cf. *Od*. 8.3; *Od*. 9.504; *Od*. 9.530; *Od*. 14.447; *Od*. 16.442; *Od*. 18.356; *Od*. 22.283; *Od*. 24.119; *Il*. 2.278; *Il*. 10.363. Odysseus is not the only one to whom this epithet is applied, it is also applied to Oïleus (*Il*. 2.728), to Achilles (*Il*. 8.372; *Il*. 15.77; *Il*. 21.550; *Il*. 24.108) and to Otrynteus (*Il*. 20.384).

92. For example, *Od*. 9.39–61; *Od*. 14.228–234; *Od*. 14.262–265; *Od*. 23.356–358; *Od*. 24.111–113.

93. Which stands in contrast to the "relative autonomy" enjoyed by male slaves within Odysseus household.

94. As M. W. Edwards points out, the fact that Agamemnon emphasizes that he has not slept with Briseis serves to calm Achilles' jealousy, as the latter has mentioned several times his personal bond with the young lady (*Il*. 9.336–337, *Il*. 9.342–343). But on the other hand, it also had a role in ensuring that the property (Briseis) – that had been taken from him – is going to be returned without having been used or suffering any damage. See M. W. Edwards & G. S. Kirk (eds.) (1991), *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. V (Books 17–20). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 256–257.

95. This argument is confirmed by the words that Penelope says to Eurycleia in *Od*. 23.21–24, when the latter is going to wake Penelope up to notify her of Odysseus' arrival at home. Since Penelope does not believe her, she addresses the following words to the slave: "If any of those other women, who are here with me,/had come with a message like yours, and wakened me from my slumber,/I would have sent her back on her way to the hall in a hateful/fashion for doing it. It shall be your age that saves you."

96. For an interesting discussion of the dishonorable nature of death by hanging, see Loraux, N. (1995), *The Experiences of Tiresias: The Feminine and the Greek Man*, trans. by P. Wissing. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

97. It is worth remembering the agreement between Achilles and Priam in order to stop the fighting while the mourning for Hector lasts, "Nine days we would keep him in our palace and mourn him," says Priam to Achilles (*Il.* 24.664).

98. Finley analyzes how the distinction between a concubine and a wife was established. He concludes that it was a matter of the jurisdiction of the household. For further information about this issue, see "MSG," 190ff.

99. Achilles says that he really loved Briseis and uses the term for a legal wife (ἀλόχους *Il.* 9.340) to describe her.

100. Furthermore, Achilles has already a new bedmate in Book 9 after declaring his seemingly total commitment to Briseis (*Il.* 9.663ff).

101. By contrast, Achilles says that he would prefer that his father had died or even his own son instead of Patroclus (*Il.* 19.322–327). Hector also says that he would prefer his parents' death to the enslavement of Andromache (*Il.* 6.450–454). In both examples it is clear which person is more important for the heroes.

102. Characterized by male control over female sexuality, female exclusion from public institutions, women used as objects of exchange for the sake of male alliances, and so on.

103. Bello Reguera, G. (2006), *El valor de los otros. Más allá de la violencia intercultural.* Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 25: "la violencia excluyente no se presenta como violencia en estado puro, arbitraria y brutal, sino como violencia legítima y necesaria."

104. For further information about the alterity framework, see Bello Reguera, G. (2011), *Emigración y ética. Humanizar y deshumanizar.* Madrid: Plaza y Valdes, especially 62–64.

105. Specifically, in Euripides' *Hecuba*, when Polymestor is speaking with Agamemnon, the latter says: "On behalf of all those dead who learned their hatred of women long ago, for those who hate them now, for those unborn who shall live to hate them yet, I now declare my firm conviction:/neither earth nor ocean produces a creature as savage and monstrous as woman" (εἴ τις γυναῖκας τῶν πρὶν εἴρηκεν κακῶς/ ἢ νῦν λέγων ἔστιν τις ἢ μέλλει λέγειν,/ ἅπαντα ταῦτα συντεμὼν ἐγὼ φράσω:/γένος γὰρ οὔτε πόντος οὔτε γῆ τρέφει/ τοιόνδ᾽: ὁ δ᾽ αἰεὶ ξυντυχὼν ἐπίσταται, *Hecuba*, vv. 1178–1182). Just after, the coryphaeus criticize Polymestor's words, since it is not appropriate to generalize: "Do not presume Polymestor, whatever your provocation, to include all women in this sweeping curse without distinction" μηδὲν θρασύνου μηδὲ τοῖς σαυτοῦ κακοῖς τὸ θῆλυ συνθεὶς ὧδε πᾶν μέμψῃ γένος, *Hecuba,* vv. 1183–1184).

106. Objects and symbols of status in this "shame culture."

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RECESSION AND RECOVERY IN SCOTLAND: THE IMPACT ON WOMEN'S LABOR MARKET PARTICIPATION BEYOND THE HEADLINE STATISTICS

JIM CAMPBELL
J.Campbell@gcu.ac.uk
The Women in Scotland's Economy (WiSE) Research Centre,
Glasgow Caledonian University, Glasgow
SUSANNE ROSS
SRoss@qmu.ac.uk
Queen Margaret University, Edinburgh
EMILY THOMSON
Emily.Thomson@gcu.ac.uk
The Women in Scotland's Economy (WiSE) Research Centre,
Glasgow Caledonian University, Glasgow

ABSTRACT. This article examines the impact of the great recession and subsequent economic recovery on the position of women within the labor market in Scotland. In common with other developed economies, Scotland experienced the most serious financial crisis since 1929 and the longest and deepest recession since the early 1930s. Despite this, the economic data would suggest that women's position in the labor market has improved significantly over recent years as the economy began to recover as there are now a record number of women in employment. However, using secondary literature and official labor market figures, this article argues that the data only tells part of the story since a lot of these jobs could be described as precarious, involving atypical contracts of employment. That is the job does not involve a full-time contract of employment with a single employer for an indefinite period. The article concludes that the increase in women's participation in the formal labor market has not resulted in a significant improvement in gender equality nor has it led to a redistribution of unpaid work between women and men.

Keywords: recession; recovery; Scotland; women; labor market participation

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Introduction

Scotland entered into recession in the third quarter of 2008 and remained there for five quarters until the third quarter of 2009. The Scottish economy experienced a peak to trough decline in output of 5.6%, compared to 6.3% for the UK as a whole (Gillespie, 2013: 14). The recovery in Scotland proceeded at a relatively slow pace and it was not until the end of 2013 that the lost output experienced during the great recession was recovered. The impact of recession on women and men depends on their different starting positions in the paid labor market, occupational grouping and allocation of earnings (Rubery, 1988/2010; Rubery and Rafferty, 2012) as well as their relative positions with respect to the state in terms of welfare provision (Sainsbury, 1996). Analysis of the headline employment figures indicate that the "employment gap" between women and men narrowed significantly during Scotland's economic recovery, as women's employment increased at a faster rate than men's. On the face of it, economic recovery has been a "good news" story for Scotland's women. However, focusing solely on headline employment statistics gives a partial analysis that could underestimate the true impact of recession and recovery on gender equality in paid labor markets (Harkness, 2013). Similarly, a focus on paid work alone is limited in assessing gender equality, given the gendered division of labor in households where women undertake the majority of unpaid household work, particularly care. Making use of secondary data and official labor market statistics, this paper aims to develop a more in-depth analysis of the impact of the great recession and subsequent economic recovery on the labor market position of women in Scotland by considering the nature of employment growth and the impact of recession and recovery on unpaid work.

Employment and Unemployment in Scotland

Table 1 Employment in Scotland (16–64) 2008–2016 (Thousands)

Period	Total (%)	Men (%)	Women (%)
Dec 07–Feb 08	2550 (74.4)	1331 (79.1)	1219 (69.9)
Dec 09–Feb 10	2459 (70.5)	1269 (74.1)	1190 (66.9)
Dec 15–Feb 16	2608 (73.8)	1340 (77.0)	1268 (74.8)

Source: Office for National Statistics, 2016a

As Table 1 shows, the "great recession," defined as the period between December–February 2008 and December–February 2010, resulted in a significant fall in the overall level of employment in Scotland. Despite the recovery being somewhat long and erratic, the numbers in employment had returned to their pre-recession levels by 2015. The most significant change is that the gap between male and female employment rates narrowed signif-

icantly over the course of the recession and recovery, from 9.2% in 2008 to 2.2% at the beginning of 2016. This is the result of female employment rising at a much faster pace than male employment post-recession. Female employment is now higher than pre-recession levels and indeed since comparable records began in 1992 (Office for National Statistics, 2016a). Changes in the social security system, in particular the increase in the state pension age for women to bring it into line with men, has resulted in more women working longer or seeking additional employment to augment private pension provisions, may have accounted for some of the increase in female employment (Office for National Statistics, 2013; Webster, 2014; Scottish Government, 2015a, 2016).

During the 2008–09 recession, total employment in Scotland fell by 91,000, over two-thirds of the decrease was accounted for by the decline in male employment. Therefore, the impact in employment terms has been greater for men than women. This is not unique to Scotland and indeed the tendency for this recession to have a disproportionate impact on the employment of men led some commentators to describe it as a "mancession," a phrase coined in the USA to describe the trends in unemployment in the recession's early stages (Perry, 2009; Wall, 2009). The impact of any economic downturn tends to be borne mostly by men because there is a greater concentration of male workers in cyclically sensitive industries, such as construction and manufacturing. Over the whole period between 2008 and 2016 the number of men in employment increased by 0.7% whereas the number of women in employment increased by 4.0%. The unemployment figures reveal a similar pattern.

Table 2 Unemployment in Scotland (16+) 2008–2016 (Thousands)

Period	Total (%)	Men (%)	Women (%)
Dec 07–Feb 08	131 (4.9)	74 (5.2)	56 (4.4)
Dec 09–Feb 10	210 (7.9)	132 (9.4)	78 (6.2)
Dec 15–Feb 16	171 (6.1)	102 (7.1)	69 (5.1)

Source: Office for National Statistics, 2016a

As Table 2 shows, during the recession, unemployment in Scotland rose by 58,000 for men and 22,000 for women, therefore men accounted for three-quarters of the increase in total unemployment. Since the onset of the expansionary phase in 2010, male unemployment levels have recovered at a much faster rate, falling by 30,000, a 23% decline compared to a reduction of 9,000 or 12% for women. Over the whole period, from 2008 to 2016, male unemployment has risen by 28,000, an increase of 38%, while female unemployment rose by 13,000, an increase of 23%. Men therefore accounted for 70% of the increase in total unemployment between 2008 and 2016.

The evidence would seem to suggest that women have experienced a "better" recession and recovery, both in terms of employment and unemploy-

ment than men and this has been reflected in a narrowing of the gender gap in economic activity rates. That is, the percentage of the working age population who are either in work or are actively seeking work.

Table 3 Economic Activity Rate in Scotland (16–64) 2008–2016

Period	Total (%)	Men (%)	Women (%)
Dec 07–Feb 08	78.3%	83.6%	73.1%
Dec 09–Feb 10	76.6%	82.0%	71.4%
Dec 15–Feb 16	78.7%	83.0%	74.7%

Source: Office for National Statistics, 2016a

Both men and women experienced a decline in their economic activity rates during the great recession, however over the whole period between 2008 and 2016 the gap between women and men in terms of economic activity narrowed from 10.5% to 8.3%. However, it is important to look beyond the headline figures and explore in more detail the types of jobs which have resulted in an increase in women's economic activity rates and the important differences which still persist in terms of the nature of employment pursued by women and men in Scotland.

Table 4 Full-time and Part-time Employment in Scotland 2008–2016 (Thousands)

Period	Total FT (%)[1]	Total PT (%)[1]	Male FT (%)[2]	Male PT (%)[2]	Female FT (%)[3]	Female PT (%)[3]
2008	1903 (75.2)	628 (24.8)	1196 (89.9)	135 (10.1)	706 (58.8)	494 (41.2)
2010	1799 (72.7)	677 (27.3)	1120 (87.7)	157 (12.3)	678 (56.7)	520 (43.4)
2016	1870 (72.8)	699 (27.2)	1143 (86.9)	170 (13.1)	727 (58.1)	525 (41.9)

Source: Office for National Statistics, 2016a

[1] As % of the total number in employment
[2] As % of the total number of males in employment
[3] As % of the total number of females in employment

In 2016, 41.9% of women in work were employed part-time compared to only 13.1% of men in employment. Part-time employment is normally defined as working less than 30 hours per week (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2016). The proportion of women working part-time has remained fairly constant over the whole period, whilst there has been a rise in the proportion of men on part-time contracts, particularly since the great recession. Over the whole period, full-time employment has fallen by 1.7% while the number of part-time jobs has increased by 11.3%. The number of men in part-time employment between 2008 and 2016 increased by 26% compared to a rise of 6% for women. However part-time employment still remains predominantly undertaken by women who account for 75% of those employed part-time in 2016.

Whilst the majority of people working part-time do so through choice, a growing number do so because they could not find a full-time job. In 2008, 10.4% of people in part-time employment fell into this category rising to 14.7% in 2016 (Office for National Statistics, 2016a). These figures are not disaggregated by gender at a Scottish level but it would seem reasonable to assume that a significant proportion of both men and women on part-time contracts would have preferred a full-time contract.

Self-Employment and Underemployment

Table 5 Self-employment in Scotland (16+) 2008–2016 (Thousands)

Period	Total (%)[1]	Male (%)[2]	Female (%)[3]
2008	269 (10.6)	188 (14.1)	81 (6.7)
2010	271 (10.9)	187 (14.6)	84 (7.0)
2016	299 (11.6)	195 (14.8)	104 (8.3)

Source: Office for National Statistics, 2016a

[1] As a % of total number in employment
[2] As a % of the total number of males in employment
[3] As a % of the total number of females in employment

Whilst the majority of self-employed individuals are men, there has been a growing incidence of women moving into self-employment since the great recession. Table 5 demonstrates that self-employment has risen for both men and women in recent years. However the fastest increase has been amongst women with a 26% rise in the numbers self-employed over the period 2008–16, compared to an increase in men's self-employment of just 4%. Although the self-employed are still male dominated, women's share of the total rose from 30.1% in 2008 to 34.8% in 2016. Whilst this might be taken as evidence of a more dynamic and entrepreneurial economy, it should also be recognized that people may enter into self-employment through necessity rather than choice. Using the OECD's definition of part-time employment, 55.3% of self-employed women would be classified as part-time compared to 21.9% of men in 2016 (Office for National Statistics, 2016a).

The increase in self-employment over recent years has attracted a different type of "entrepreneur" in terms of gender, hours of work, and occupation. Sectors not traditionally associated with self-employment such as education, information and communications, financial services and social security have experienced the largest increases (Philpott, 2012).

The increase in self-employment and part-time employment amongst both men and women over recent years might help to explain why the great recession did not result in high rates of unemployment similar to those experienced in the economic recessions in the early 1980s and early 1990s, even though the fall in output was much higher in the great recession

compared to previous recessions (Hogarth et al., 2009). In addition, the great recession resulted in an increase in the incidence of underemployment, indicating that the growing use of precarious and insecure forms of employment may have mitigated the job losses associated with the fall in output, particularly for women.

Underemployment is defined as: "those people in employment who are willing to work more hours, either by working in an additional job, by working more hours in their current job, or by switching to a replacement job" (Office for National Statistics, 2014: 25).

In Scotland the underemployment rate rose from 7.0% in 2008 to 10.6% in 2013 and currently stands at 9.1% (Scottish Government, 2016). Over the period 2008 to 2016, underemployment rose by 57,900, predominantly driven by rising levels of underemployment among female part-time workers. In 2016, 55% of the underemployed were women and it was particularly prevalent amongst those on part-time contracts affecting 18% of women employed part-time (Scottish Government, 2016).

Underemployment also encompasses the underutilization of skills, for example, graduates working in low skilled employment. There is limited data available on skills related underemployment partly because it is difficult to measure. However, in 2014 the UK Commission for Employment and Skills found that 17% of staff in Scotland reported as over-qualified or over-skilled for the job they were doing. Some evidence supports the contention that women work below their current skills levels in an attempt to manage the balance between paid and unpaid work such as mothers returning to the formal labor market taking jobs below their qualifications and skill levels. This choice is made under conditions of constraint such as the inability to find suitable, affordable childcare and the lack of part-time opportunities in higher skilled and higher paid jobs. The evidence suggests that women experience higher rates of underemployment compared to men both in terms of wanting to work additional hours or working at a lower level of skills than they are qualified to do (Dias et al., 2016).

Associated with the growth in underemployment has been the increased incidence of zero-hours contracts (ZHC). A zero-hours contract is generally understood to be one where the employer does not have to offer a minimum number of hours and the employee is not obliged to accept any work offered. In 2016, 903,000 people in the UK were employed on ZHC; 2.9% of those in employment compared to 147,000 in 2006, only 0.5% of those in employment (Office for National Statistics, 2016b). People on ZHC are more likely to be women, young, part-time or in full-time education. 55% of those on ZHC in 2016 were women accounting for 3.4% of women in employment whereas 2.4% of men in employment were on such contracts. In Scotland

78,000 people or 3% of those in employment were on ZHC in 2016 (Office for National Statistics, 2016b).

Despite the increasing number of women entering the paid labor market their experience tends to be rather different to men's. They are more likely to be part-time, whether they are an employee or self-employed, underemployed and working with a precarious contract. They are also more likely to be paid less contributing to Scotland's significant gender pay gap.

The Gender Pay Gap

The increasing participation of women in the labor market in Scotland has contributed to a fall in the gender pay gap (using median hourly earnings for all employees including part-time but excluding overtime payments). In 1997 when the figures were first calculated it stood at 27.5% and by 2015 had fallen to its lowest recorded level of 16.8% (Office for National Statistics, 2016c). A crude calculation indicates that, at the current rate of decline, it would take until around 2050 for the gender pay gap to be eliminated altogether in Scotland. The persistence of the gender pay gap has been exacerbated by the prevalence of part-time contracts amongst women; if we compare the gender pay gap amongst full-time employees it is much lower at 9.5% in 2016 (Office for National Statistics, 2016c). One reason for the persistence of the gender pay gap is the continued gender divide in terms of the occupations men and women are likely to pursue (Couppie et al., 2014). Despite the fact that women's educational attainment is consistently higher than men's, in 2013, 57% of all women in employment were in medium to low skilled jobs compared to 37% of men (Scottish Government, 2015b: 10).

Occupational Segregation

Occupational segregation by gender is one of the most pervasive articulations of women's inequality in labor markets. In all modern labor markets, men and women's paid employment is clustered to varying degrees into occupations that are dominated by their gender (Blau et al., 2013) and Scotland is no exception. Occupational segregation by gender can be horizontal or vertical. Horizontal segregation occurs where stereotyped assumptions about male and female capabilities and preferences concentrate women into predominantly "female" occupations (and men into "male" occupations). Vertical segregation occurs where women are over-represented towards the bottom of organizational hierarchies and men tend to dominate senior managerial posts. The current occupational figures for Scotland indicate that the most segregated occupations are Secretarial and Related occupations (only 5% men) and

Skilled Construction and Building trades (only 1% women) (Office for National Statistics, 2015).

As Table 6 demonstrates women dominate employment in the public administration, education and health sectors while other services, banking finance and insurance, along with distribution, hotels and restaurants are roughly in balance; men dominate all of the other sectors. In terms of the gender split by industry there has been little change over the ten years between 2005 and 2015 despite the increase in the number of women in the labor market during that time.

Table 6 Employment by Sector and Gender 2005 and 2015 (% of total)

Sector	2005 women	2005 men	2015 women	2015 men
Agriculture & Forestry	23.2%	76.8%	19.2%	80.8%
Energy & Water	16.3%	83.7%	20.8%	79.2%
Manufacturing	26.4%	73.6%	26.0%	74.0%
Construction	12.7%	87.3%	14.2%	85.8%
Distribution, Hotels & Restaurants	54.0%	46.0%	53.4%	46.6%
Transport & Communications	23.9%	76.1%	21.7%	78.3%
Banking, Finance & Insurance	48.1%	51.9%	46.2%	53.8%
Public Administration Education & Health	71.5%	28.5%	70.7%	29.3%
Other Services	50.9%	49.1%	55.7%	44.3%

Source: Office for National Statistics, 2015

Table 7 Occupational Segregation 2005 and 2015 (% of total employment by gender)

Occupation	2005 Female	2005 Male	2015 Female	2015 Male
Managers, Directors & Senior Officials	5.9%	10.8%	6.9%	10.6%
Professional	17.3%	15.8%	20.8%	18.9%
Associate Professional & Technical	10.4%	13.8%	11.8%	14.1%
Administrative & Secretarial	21.7%	4.9%	17.8%	4.2%
Skilled Trades	2.3%	20.2%	2.3%	19.8%
Personal Services	15.2%	2.8%	16.7%	3.4%
Sales & Customer Services	13.6%	6.0%	11.5%	6.2%
Process, Plant & Machine Operators	1.9%	12.9%	1.5%	10.3%
Elementary	11.2%	12.4%	10.3%	12.0%

Source: Office for National Statistics, 2015

In terms of occupations the evidence suggests that gender segregation is still a major problem and although women have increased their relative share in professional and senior positions, 46% of women were still employed in the

relatively lower paid personal services, sales and administrative and secretarial occupations, slightly lower than the comparable figure in 2005 of 50.5%. Despite women increasing their comparative share in the professional occupations it is within these areas that the biggest pay gaps exist. For example, the gender pay for professional, scientific and technical occupations was 31% in 2015 (Office for National Statistics, 2015). The Law Society of Scotland (2015) recently reported that there was a 42% gap between female and male solicitors in Scotland. In addition, in the occupational categories where women form the majority, there is an 12% pay gap with women being paid less than men despite comprising 80% of administrative and secretarial employees (Close the Gap, 2016).

Horizontal segregation begins when individuals are in formal education, and there is evidence to suggest that it starts at an even earlier age (Gadassi and Gati, 2009) where parents, nursery workers and primary teachers pass on implicit and explicit stereotypes about the appropriateness of certain jobs for either genders. Children then grow up to make career choices based on these stereotypes and assumptions. In Scottish Universities, in 2014–15 women dominated those graduating with undergraduate degrees in subjects allied to health (70% female). Men dominated those graduating with first degrees in computer science (83%) and engineering and technology (83%) (Scottish Funding Council, 2016).

Vocational education also displays patterns of severe gender segregation in terms of occupation and level of qualification (Thomson, 2016). In Scotland, the Modern Apprenticeship (MA) is the main route for vocational training. The MA is a publicly funded training program giving individuals the opportunity to combine employment and training by following an industry designed training framework. MA frameworks include occupations in the "traditional" sectors where the notion of apprenticeship training is well established such as in construction and engineering, and in "non-traditional" sectors where the concept of apprenticeship training is relatively new, mainly in service sector and caring occupations. In June 2016, there were 36,371 MAs in training in Scotland; of those, 10,732 were women, a female participation rate of 30%. This highlights the nature of gender segregation on the MA program – both vertical, in that women are concentrated in the lower levels of attainment, and horizontal as women are concentrated in the non-traditional service sector and caring occupations. Engineering is the largest framework in terms of numbers "in-training" but of the 4669 apprentice engineers in Scotland, only 4% were female (Skills Development Scotland, 2016).

Therefore, whilst more women now participate in the formal labor market there is still a significant gender pay gap, underpinned by vertical and horizontal occupational segregation.

Unpaid Work and Caring: "Women's Work"?

It has been convincingly argued that women's uneven position in the paid labor market is intrinsically linked to their over-representation among those undertaking unpaid, reproductive work in the home (Antonopoulos, 2009; Ferrant et al., 2014). Unpaid work in the form of care or domestic (re)production is not formally recognized in official statistics but rather is classified as economic inactivity. For women the main reason given for economic inactivity in Scotland was looking after the family/home 28.3% in July 2015–June 2016 compared to 6.9% for men. The main reason for men's economic inactivity was long-term sickness, 33.1% (Office for National Statistics, 2016a).

Based on data from the Scottish Household Survey, during 2007–08, it was estimated that there were approximately 657,000 unpaid adult carers in Scotland, 62% of whom were women and over half were of working age (Stewart and Patterson, 2010). Scottish Government statistics for 2012/13 indicate there were 759,000 carers aged 16+, 59% of whom were women (Scottish Government, 2015b, 2015c). They also reported that working age women were much more likely than men to be carers (ibid.) which clearly impacts on their availability for paid work and results in breaks in employment and fewer opportunities to accrue the experience needed to progress in their careers.

The Harmonized European Time-Use Survey reports that unpaid work remains typically gendered where women are more than twice as likely than men to undertake unpaid productive work (Eurofound, 2012; Gershuny, 2011). In 2012, the average number of hours per week that employed women spent on the provision of unpaid childcare in the UK was 47 hours compared to 26 hours for employed men. Employed women also do more household work – 14 hours versus 9 hours for employed men (Eurofound, 2012). The OECD reported that in 2011 non-working fathers in the UK devoted less time to childcare (63 minutes per day) than working mothers (81 minutes per day) (Miranda, 2011). This evidence suggests that even as women have moved into the paid labor market in greater numbers, their role as caregivers and household provisioners has not necessarily diminished at the same rate, indicating a key labor market constraint for women in the form of a "second shift" (Hochschild and Machung, 2012).

Unpaid work can include a variety of activities, including domestic, care and voluntary work and contributes greatly to the wellbeing of individuals, households and communities. Feminist economists have long argued that its omission from official measures of economic activity and performance undervalues women's true contribution to the economy by characterizing unpaid work as unproductive (Hirway, 2015). The United Nations (2013)

estimated that if unpaid care work were assigned a monetary value it would constitute between 10% and 39% of GDP. Evidence suggests that care work, performed largely by women whether paid or unpaid, is particularly valuable to the Scottish economy, although the economic value of unpaid work is not routinely measured. Current estimates included in the Office for National Statistics household satellite account indicate that total "home production" activities as a proportion of GDP was 56.1% in 2014, up 3.9% from 2005 (Office for National Statistics, 2016d). Childcare represents the largest component of home production, accounting for 31% of the total. In addition the value of informal childcare has grown by an annual average of 6% between 2005 and 2014 (ibid.). Informal adult care has had an average annual growth rate of 4.2% from 2005–2014 based on an increase in the number of hours per cared-for person, rather than an increase in the number of adults requiring care (ibid.).

Conclusion

Despite the return of economic growth over recent years the recovery in Scotland has been largely fuelled by increasingly precarious and casual forms of employment, as well as insecure self-employment, which has impacted more on women than on men. As evidenced above, these forms of employment tend to be concentrated in lower skilled, female dominated and subsequently low paid sectors of the economy. Horizontal and vertical segregation which underpins Scotland's persistent gender pay gap has remained largely unchanged. Therefore, the question remains as to whether these precarious and casual forms of employment are becoming the norm in Scotland's post-recession labor market, reinforcing low paid and insecure forms of employment, predominantly undertaken by women. Evidence so far suggests that they are entrenching gender inequality within the formal paid labor market in Scotland and at the same time increasing the burden of unpaid work for women. In other words, whilst the participation of women in the formal labor market in Scotland is now at record levels, it has done very little to improve gender equality or to significantly impact on the distribution of unpaid work within the economy.

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THE SCORPION WHO STINGS THE DOG WHO BITES: THE EFFECT OF WOMEN'S DIFFERENT JOB POSITIONS ON GENDER DISCRIMINATION IN MICROFINANCE

STEFANO MENGOLI
stefano.mengoli@unibo.it
Department of Management,
University of Bologna
(corresponding author)
VINCENZA ODORICI
vincenza.odorici@unibo.it
Department of Management,
University of Bologna
SIGURDUR GUDJONSSON
sigurdurgudjonsson@yahoo.com
Faculty of Business and Management,
University of Akureyri

ABSTRACT. Allowing women to access and participate in the economics of life is no longer a "women's issue." Gender equality has become a strategic priority for firms to improve their economic and/or social performance. Thus, questioning whether gender discrimination is an issue even in firms directly engaged with the empowerment of women, also becomes an urgency. Commitment is not enough and gender concerns require a strategic approach. In this paper, we investigate gender discrimination in microfinance lending according to the roles females hold in MFIs. Using a multivariate approach on a panel of 205 Microfinance Institutions (MFIs) in 54 countries, we find that women in MFIs, differently from men, do not discriminate in loan size against women borrowers by gender. Moreover, women hierarchical positions matter in moderating this relationship. In fact, a Principal Component Analysis reveals that females in operating roles are more effective in reducing gender discrimination than women in leading positions. Whilst we focus on discrimination outside the MFIs, we find results consistent with the fact that gender equality in microfinance can be enhanced by gender equality advocate inside the organizations. Research on women's empowerment should not only stress the presence of women in the organizations but also their role in the firm and the gender composition of working units. Practitioners pursuing gender equality need to reassess the role of women in the MFIs. Appointing women to powerful positions could be a straightforward solution but ineffective.

Keywords: women; job position; gender discrimination; microfinance

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"I prefer male enemies to female ones;
I can survive a dog's bite better than a scorpion's sting."
(Matshona Dhliwayo)

Introduction

Equitable access for women to employment, entrepreneurship and credit cannot be considered simply a "women's issue" (Joshi et al., 2015). In light of the causes of the recent financial crisis, the question can be raised of whether a more balanced representation of women, in industrial and financial firms, would have avoided corporate scandals and poor performance (Adams and Funk, 2012). Recent institutional policy interventions, such as gender quotas in corporate leading positions, show clear proof that gender equality and discrimination are now strategic issues.

These reasons contributed to the success of microfinance institutions (MFIs) that are considered women paladins in the financial industry giving them access to credit. MFIs are a valid alternative to a conventional bank when providing financing to disadvantaged and poor people (Yunus et al., 2010; Quayes, 2012). Through smaller loans (outreach depth) granted to as many clients as possible (outreach breadth), MFIs promise to fight poverty, contribute to pro-poor growth (Mayoux, 2010) and to the empowerment of women who are the natural borrowers of these organizations (Strøm et al., 2014). This evidence is driven by at least four reasons. First, in poor countries, women are poorer than men (Agier and Szafarz, 2013) and consequently they are natural candidates for MFIs to the point that their percentage on total borrowers has been used as a proxy of outreach depth (Mori et al., 2015). Second, women are usually considered credit constrained (Fletschner, 2008; 2009), investing in small-scale projects that are unattractive to conventional banks (Armendáriz and Morduch, 2010). Third, capital access to women ensures more social (Aggarwal et al., 2015) and economic (Fletschner, 2008) benefits to their households than would occur if borrowers were men. Finally, women are better re-payers, enhancing the persistence of the usually fragile business model of the MFIs (Boehe and Cruz, 2013; D'Espallier et al., 2011).

While women are the main target of MFIs and their empowerment has become crucial in microfinance, a still unanswered question is whether they face gender discrimination in credit conditions. In fact, in an attempt to grant smaller loans to as many clients as possible, credit rationing could potentially damage women, moving MFIs away from their mission of improving the condition of women and promoting their rights. Although gender discrimination cannot be treated as a marginal issue in microfinance (Mayoux, 2010), there are few studies on the topic and evidence ispuzzling, to say the least. For example, Storey (2002) does not find any denial rate divergence between men and women, as well as Corsi and De Angelis (2017) who find no evidence of gender discrimination against women borrowers in loan size. Agier and Szafarz (2013) document that women are discriminated in the size of loan, while Sagamba et al. (2013) observe a slight preference for female applicants.

Our paper provides a perspective with the potential for accommodating the divergences found in the literature. We investigate the discrimination suffered by women borrowers, looking at the effect enhanced by women lenders in mitigating the phenomenon. The main idea is straightforward and fairly intuitive. We expect that the percentage of women employed in the MFIs shrinks the effect of smaller loans granted to women on the demand side for a sort of solidarity in sharing the "same traits." The failure to consider this aspect could be the reason for the mixed findings documented so far. To investigate this issue, we discriminate MFIs based on the roles of women inside the organization: top roles (CEO or board members) and operational roles (managers, officers, and staff). As we will show, a study which abstains from considering this distinction would be missing any robust explanatory power.

Using a dataset of 205 MFIs in 54 countries in the period 2010–2012, we find that the average loan size decreases as the percentage of women borrowers increases, eventually revealing gender discrimination. At the same time, the percentage of women employed in the MFI shrinks the gender preference and this result is strengthened where women were employed in operational positions. Results are robust to a country's wealth and the type of MFI and are stronger in countries where female participation in the labor force is less likely.

This study offers several contributions. First, we confirm that gender discrimination continues to be a relevant issue despite commitment by MFIs to empower women. Second, gender discrimination in MFIs cannot be considered separately from human resources practices inside the lender institution since women credit conditions are influenced by the presence of women acting within the MFIs, a fact that cannot be ignored by scholars. Third, the lender-borrower gender match is relevant in contexts with low gender equality. Finally, we corroborate previous findings that determining how to measure

outreach is a non-trivial choice. Size of loan and the percentage of women borrowers are proxies that cannot be used interchangeably due to the gender bias affecting the relationships.

The remainder of this article is organized as follow. We begin in the next section by developing the theoretical arguments leading up to our hypotheses. In the subsequent two sections, we detail our data set and present empirical results. In the final section, we discuss our findings and conclude.

Literature Review

Women borrowers and gender discrimination

Studies on gender discrimination in the financial industry focus on many phases of the lending process. Compared to men, women suffer a significantly higher rejection rate (Galli and Rossi, 2016; Muravyev et al., 2009), have more collateral requirements imposed (Orhan, 2001) and pay higher interest rates (Muravyev et al., 2009). Even after controlling for business risk, credit history and activity sector, Alesina et al. (2013) reach similar conclusions. Moreover, women are more likely to be granted smaller loans (Treichel and Scott, 2006; Agier and Szafarz, 2013) and their discrimination is positively related to the size of the request they make of financial organizations (Agier and Szafarz, 2013; Morduch, 1999).

Gender-based differences in credit access and conditions can be investigated through four possible explanations (Carter et al., 2007). First, women tend to develop businesses with lower growth opportunities, smaller size, higher risk and low profits, conditions which make it difficult to pay back the loan. Second, women are less likely to use external financing to foster their businesses (Arenius and Autio, 2006; Carter and Rosa, 1998; Coleman, 2000; Costantinidis et al., 2006; Maysami and Goby, 1999). By favoring personal savings or loans from family and friends, requests to access the financial system by women, are subject to self-selection. Third, gender-based differences in access to capital are underpinned by differences in behavior and aversion to risk. Women are more averse to risk (Eckel and Grossman, 2008; Sapienza et al., 2009; Croson and Gneezy, 2009) and competition (Croson and Gneezy, 2009; Hogarth et al., 2012), have less self-confidence (Barber and Odean, 2001; Niederle and Vesterlund, 2007), yet have a propensity to cooperate. Given these features, women are more willing to agree with the financial offers and tend to avoid conflicting situations (Eckel and Grossman, 2001). Fourth, gender differences in credit access and conditions depend on the behavior of financial institutions. Financial organizations apply different *rational* criteria and processes to female borrowers. According to signaling theory, female borrowers represent a signal *per se*. Positive past performance or a high number of employees epitomize good

signals of viability for entrepreneurs. However, this is not a generalizable conclusion, applying only to men (Eddleston et al., 2016). In fact, gender congruity theory explains how stereotypes and injunctive norms make a finance officer perceive requests by women as less favorable (Sappleton, 2014). For example, a lack of experience penalizes women more than men (Alsos and Ljunggren, 2016). While differences in interpretations and perceptions promise to enlighten gender discrimination in capital lending, we believe that the role of women inside financial institutions deserves attention. The next sections illustrate the few contributions on this topic and advance relative hypothesis.

Women lenders and gender discrimination

Just as a woman's behavior differs when she asks for credit, the same holds true when she grants access to credit (Beckmann and Menkhoff, 2008). Most contributions which investigate a woman's behavior in financial organizations do not consider how their conduct translates into different effects, depending on the gender of the counterpart in the financial transaction.

Agier and Szafarz (2013) believe that women lenders favor women borrowers according to a mechanism slightly similar to the one drawn by the cultural affinity theory (Hunter and Walker, 1996; Bostic, 2003). Exploring home mortgage lending, Hunter and Walker (1996) find evidence of a taste-based hypothesis where lenders favor applicants belonging to their group over other groups. Bostic (2003) suggests that this effect is particularly resilient on marginal applicants, meaning those applicants lying close to the accept/reject threshold. Even though cultural affinity was applied to race discrimination, some scholars are inclined to believe that similar mechanisms are also in place in gender discrimination (Agier and Szafarz, 2013). In other words, women lenders could favor women borrowers who could represent the marginal applicants in the microfinance industry.

According to other scholars, women have more participatory and democratic features that encourage inclusive decision making (Hays et al., 2011). Combining these traits with their lower risk aversion and higher cooperative propensity, women tend to be more generous than men as lenders. Along this line, Eckel and Grossman (2001) find that in a bargaining game, an offer by a woman is less likely to be rejected regardless of the sex of the partner. The scholars call this mechanism chivalry. At the same time, women paired with women are more likely to accept the agreement thanks to a solidarity mechanism. Women are more cooperative than men, both as proponents and appliers. Therefore, it follows that a higher loan size would be granted by women to women.

Eckel and Grossman (2001) also find several other remarkable traits. They find that the effect is stronger when there is direct interaction between

the two parts of the bargain. In fact, players face each other and identify the gender of the counterpart but not her/his identity. Moreover, they find that women disposition to cooperate decreases when decisions are made in strategic and risk environment. This suggestion is in line with an increasing number of studies speculating on the possibility that "expertise dominates gender" (Beckmann and Menkhoff, 2008). This thesis states that experience with risk makes women and men less distinguishable. Thus, we expect to find that the higher the strategic role of women inside the financial institutions, the lower the reduction in gender discrimination.

A specific look at women's roles in microfinance

Literature on MFIs widely recognizes women as natural borrowers, while studies of their roles on the supply side are more fragmented and focused on financial and social performance. Mersland and Strom (2009) explain higher financial performance of female CEO in the MFIs, using a better matching argument. Female CEOs have better knowledge of what products women want and set terms that appeal to women, which can then be fulfilled with a positive impact on MFIs financial performance. On the other hand, there are mixed results of the effects on outreach with female CEOs and women on the board (Strom et al., 2014; Hartaska, 2005; Hartarska et al., 2014; Mori et al., 2015). Thus, no studies have considered a woman's hierarchical position in gender discrimination. While women in leadership positions seem to be more democratic (Meinhard and Foster, 2003; Sampson and Moore, 2008), some scholars suggest they could be too distant from the female borrowers to influence social performance and or even, we suppose, gender equality.

Much more attention has been devoted to loan officers who are considered crucial players due to the soft information kind of environment. According to Scott (2006) soft information prevails in the microfinance industry. When evaluating small, recent and family-owned firms, in other words, the archetype customers of MFIs, who have limited operating history and incomplete financial statements, it becomes even more important to collect and process information in the local environment than for other financial contracts (Agier, 2012; Sagamba et al., 2013). Microloan officers are responsible for the first contact with the potential borrower and the quality of information acquired depends on their collecting and processing capabilities. Granting access, following up and monitoring activities depend upon their recommendations. Sagamba et al. (2013) document that loan officer preferences influence the MFIs social performance. Therefore, they strongly affect the lending relationship, as they would even be responsible for any negative effects, such as discrimination based on disability (Labie et al., 2010) or gender (Saparito et al., 2012).

Despite this relevance, the effect of the loan officer's gender on gender discrimination is a relatively unexplored field in MFIs (Beck et al., 2013). Bellucci et al. (2010), investigate the relation in a profitable bank (Italian bank branch). They document gender discrimination that tends to shrink as the lending relationship persists over time. Female borrowers receive stricter requests to provide collateral and suffer stricter credit limits. This discrimination decreases when the loan officer is a woman, a result that highlights gender solidarity can exist with entry conditions. They loosen access to credit for female entrepreneurs, but they behave the same as their male colleagues in discriminating against female borrowers concerning interest rates. For one of the major UK clearing banks, Carter et al. (2007) found that female officers only discuss loan size when the borrower is a woman, while Agier and Szafarz (2013) find gender discrimination in loan size but this evidence is not driven by the gender of the microloan officer. In sum, we argue that reaching clear conclusions on such a topic is rather difficult.

Given the unclear results in the literature, we believe that gender discrimination in microfinance is an important topic which deserves greater attention. This paper addresses two specific concerns: if the presence of women in the MFI can reduce gender discrimination and if this effect is different depending on the organizational role occupied by women, stronger in operational positions and weaker in leading positions. Thus, we formulate the following hypotheses:

H1. An increasing employment of women in MFIs reduces gender discrimination in lending, with a positive effect on loan size to female borrowers.

H2. The role occupied by women in MFIs moderates the relationship between employment of women in MFIs and gender discrimination in lending, such that a greater reduction in gender discrimination will be observed when women are employed increasingly in operating rather than leading roles.

Method

Consulting MixMarket (www.themix.org), we obtain the financial, operational, and social performance data of MFIs. Although MixMarket provides data for more than a decade (starting from 2002), data are scarce before 2010 and critical variables to test our hypotheses are not available. Thus, we limit the dataset to the last three years available: 2010, 2011, and 2012. Following the World Bank classification, we ranked MFIs based on their country headquarters as low income countries (*L*), lower-middle income countries (*LM*), and upper-middle income countries (*UM*).[1] We ended up with 580 MFIs for which we have information about the percentage of women who serve in the MFI at the different levels of the organization. Specifically, the

main exogenous variables are the percentage of women that sit on the Board of Directors (*WBoard*), the percentage of women who serve as managers (*WManagers*), the percentage of women who serve as officers (*WOfficers*), and the percentage of women employed as staff (*WStaff*). For the sake of comprehensiveness, using either the MFI homepages or *Linkedin*, we also hand-collected data on the CEO gender and construct the dummy variable *WCeo* that equals one for a female CEO and zero otherwise. Finally, to check the validity and reliability of our results, we also collected labor participation rate of females above 15 years old for each country-year in the World Bank web site (data.worldbank.org/indicator/).

The main dependent variable is the average loan balance per borrower divided by GNI per capita (*AveLoan*), a variable widely used in previous studies as a proxy for outreach (Shreiner, 2002). Specifically, the numerator is defined as the Loan Portfolio of the MFI divided by the number of active borrowers of the MFI. The denominator is the gross national income per capita converted to U.S. dollars. It follows that *AveLoan* is a measure of depth of outreach as poor people borrow smaller loans. We prefer to employ the loan size as a measure of discrimination instead of other variables in light of the findings of Agier and Szafarz (2013) and Morduch (1999) who point out that MFIs adjust for creditworthiness with loan size rather than with loan rate, which is usually kept low and fixed. We also report statistics about the simple numerator or the average loan per borrower (labeled *AveLoanXB*) to provide an easily understood idea of the magnitude of the loans in our sample. Additionally, for sake of completeness, we also use the independent variable *LossRate*, measured as the percentage of loans in a given year that are not paid back. This variable represents the percentage of losses reported by the MFI in that year and can be considered a proxy for the risk quality of the loans granted by the bank.

As control variables, we adopt measures usually employed in the microfinance literature. In particular, individual lending (*Individual*) is a dummy variable equal to one if the MFI also uses individual lending method usually considered less successful and alternative to the typical group lending in the microfinance industry. For each MFI, we collect financial statements or the independent ratings report information from the MFI webpage. The dummy *Fixedw* equals one if the MFI only pays a fixed salary that is not based on performance. This information was collected referring to the financial statement in the section "remuneration" or "related parties' transactions." *Experience* is a hand-collected variable proxy for the CEO skills, gathered on *Linkedin*. The dummy variable *NonAffiliated* equals one if nobody on the Board is affiliated with any of the stakeholders and zero otherwise. This represents a proxy for the Board members' independence. Another proxy of independence is *NoRegulated*, a dummy variable that equals one if the MFI is not supervised by the central banks or other kind of supervisory agency.

Additionally, we use *Rated*, a dummy equal to one if the MFI is subject to independent evaluation or rated by outside organizations. *Ln(Personnel)* is the logarithm of the number of MFI employees, a proxy for the size of MFI. To check the sensitivity of our results and make comparison with previous studies, we also collected the MFI legal type, distinguishing among *NGO*s, Microfinance *Banks*, Cooperatives/Credit *Unions*, and Non-Banking and Financial Institution (*NBFI*).

To verify the moderating role of women who work for the MFI on the overall effect of the loan size granted to borrowers who are women (*WBorrowers*), we add the interaction terms of the above described explanatory variables as additional regressors. Specifically, we introduce *WBorrowers x WCeo, WBorrowers x WBoard, WBorrowers x WManagers, WBorrowers x WOfficers, WBorrowers x WStaff.* A positive sign of these regressors would suggest that women inside the MFI have a positive effect on the size of the loans granted to female borrowers. This positive effect would be relative to the general effect measured by the *WBorrowers* regressor.

We estimate the parameters to account for correlation among MFIs in the same year (cross-sectional) and among different years of the same MFI (time-series), in the spirit of Petersen (2009). So, we cluster the residuals to reduce the correlation bias across firms and across time.

Results

Figure 1 shows, at a country level and for the last year of the sample (2012), the scatterplot of the main dependent variable (*AveLoan*) against i) the percentage of women labor force participation rate; ii) the percentage of demand by woman for microcredit; and iii) the percentage of women on the supply side of the MFI. At the country level, a simple linear fit presents a positive slope when considering the percentage of women labor force participation rate in the country whilst a negative slope when considering the percentage of women borrowers or the percentage of women working in the MFI. MFIs are found to grant higher loans in countries where women participate in the labor force the most (first scatterplot of Figure 1). In countries where the percentage of women who ask for microfinance is higher, loans are lower in size (second scatterplot of Figure 1), indicating that loan size could be considered a measure of depth of outreach as poor people borrow smaller loans. Finally, the negative relationship found in the case of women being employed in MFIs (third scatterplot of Figure 1) suggests that women are effective in pursuing the social goals of MFIs.

Figure 1 Scatterplot at country level of the Average loan (*AveLoan*) on the i) % of women Labor Force in the country (*WLabor*); ii) average of the percentage of Women borrowers (*WBorrowers*); iii) average of the percentage of Women employed in the MFI.

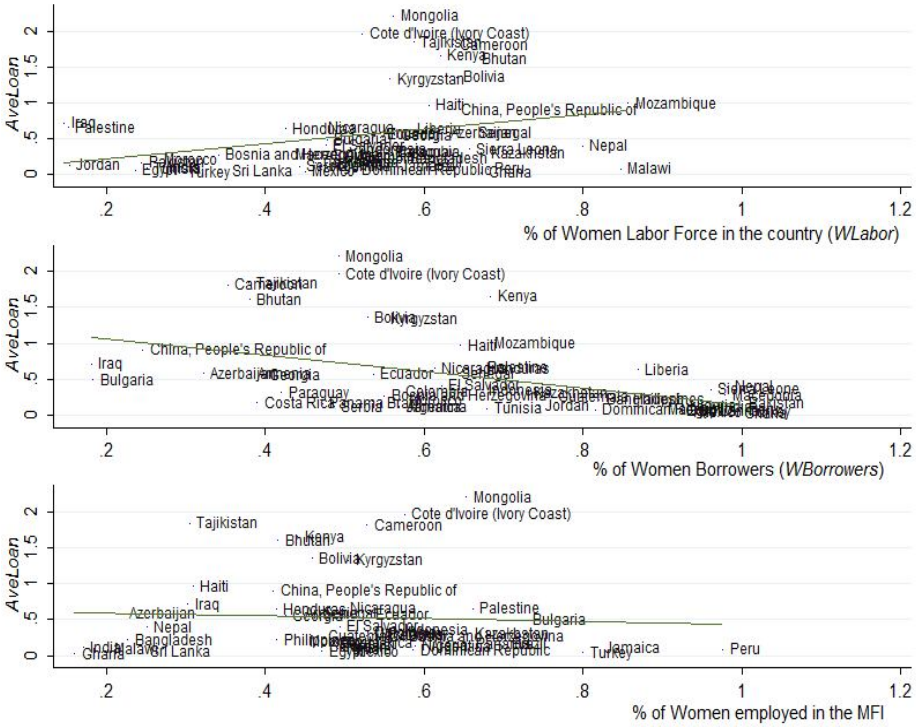


Table 1 reports descriptive statistics of the entire sample and of the sub-samples split by the country income (Panel A). The classification follows the World Bank ranking and distinguishes countries in low income countries, *L*; lower-middle income countries, *LM*; and upper-middle income countries, *UM*. Then, Panel B of Table 1 reports the summary statistics, following the MFI legal status (*Bank*, *Union*, *NBFI*, and *NGO*). Overall, the first column highlights that the average loan in our sample is 1,249 dollars (median of 714 dollars). As *AveLoan* is defined as the average loan granted over the GNI per capita, on average the microfinance loan for each individual is 53 percent of her/his annual income. The loss rate (*LossRate*) of these micro-finance loans is about 2 percent. On average, women represent 68 percent of the microfinance borrowers (median of 66), a figure which confirms they can be considered the natural customers of MFI action. Looking at the supply side of the credit, MFIs employ low percentages of women in their organizations. The percentage increases moving from the top positions (CEO or Board) to the operative ones (Managers, Officers, and Staff). On average, one

out of five MFIs has a female CEO and the Board of Directors is composed of 31 percent women. Women employed as manager, officer, or staff represent higher percentages: 34 percent, 36 percent, and 44 percent of the entire MFI workforce, respectively. Of the most control variables, *Rated*, shows that 61 percent of MFIs are rated by an independent evaluator or outside organization, and *Ln(Personnel)*shows that MFIs have about 117 employees ($\exp^{4.76} = 117$).

Summary statistics for the sub-samples split by the country where MFI is headquartered show that the average loan increases across the sample, moving from the Low income countries (614 dollars) to the Lower-Middle income countries (1,024 dollars) and, in turn, to the Upper-Middle income countries (1,875 dollars). A similar trend emerges when looking at the median values, which are always lower than the average values, suggesting the right tail of frequency distributions of loan size per borrower. Differences both on average (F-test) and in median (χ^2-test) are statistically significant at least at the one percent level, implying that the country environment has a relevant impact on loan size. On the other hand, once the variable is controlled and divided by the GNI per capita of the country, which represents our dependent variable (*AveLoan*), the pattern is reversed. The lowest income countries (*L*) have an average ratio of 0.9 whilst the highest ones (*UM*) have a modest average ratio of 0.4. This is due to the increased denominator (GNI per capita) more than the numerator (size of the loan). Once again, statistics are significantly different. Looking at the variable *LossRate*, the average is about 2 percent, which holds across the countries as the percentage of the loans written off. The percentage of female borrowers is higher in the lowest income countries (77 percent on average) than in the highest income (57 percent on average). Figures confirm that female borrowers are a phenomenon driven by poverty. Examining the statistics for women employed in the MFIs, the tendencies are opposite. Moving from the low income to the upper-middle income countries, the average percentage of women employed in the MFI increases. For instance, in the lowest income countries, 16 percent of MFIs have a female CEO, while the highest (*UM*) show 27 percent. Additionally, moving from the top positions to the operative ones, the average number of women employed increases. The only exception is the percentage of women who sit on the Board of Directors (*WBoard*) for which we do not report any statistical patterns driven by country income. For this variable, the percentage is about 30 percent.

The most relevant control variable is *Rated*. The lowest percentage of MFIs rated by independent evaluators is in low income countries (47 percent). However, those countries, on average, have the highest number of employees in the MFI ($\exp^{5.57} = 262$).

Table 1 Descriptive Statistics partitioned by World Bank income economies (*L* = low; *LM* = lower-middle; *UM* = upper-middle) in Panel A and by legal status in Panel B.

Panel A:	All (N=580)		*L* (N=73)		*LM* (N=308)		*UM* (N=199)					
	mean	p50	mean	p50	mean	p50	mean	p50	F		χ^2	
AveLoanXB	1,249	714	614	202	1,024	491	1,875	1,297	32.88	***	110.38	***
AveLoan	0.53	0.27	0.90	0.56	0.52	0.27	0.40	0.23	22.85	***	50.64	***
LossRate	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.22		2.49	
WBorrowers	0.68	0.66	0.77	0.96	0.72	0.74	0.57	0.54	28.10	***	49.56	***
WCeo	0.21	0.00	0.16	0.00	0.17	0.00	0.27	0.00	6.83	***	6.62	**
WBoard	0.31	0.29	0.34	0.33	0.30	0.25	0.32	0.31	1.60		5.48	*
WManagers	0.34	0.29	0.24	0.16	0.29	0.25	0.44	0.40	29.89	***	42.04	***
WOfficers	0.36	0.31	0.31	0.23	0.29	0.25	0.46	0.46	32.49	***	60.63	***
WStaff	0.44	0.45	0.31	0.30	0.39	0.41	0.56	0.54	100.62	***	182.60	***
Indiv	0.94	1.00	0.95	1.00	0.92	1.00	0.97	1.00	4.33	**	1.43	
Fixedw	0.73	1.00	0.79	1.00	0.69	1.00	0.76	1.00	3.44	**	4.03	
Experience	13.75	12.00	15.15	14.50	14.68	13.50	11.98	10.00	14.99	***	26.00	***
NonAffiliated	0.47	0.00	0.44	0.00	0.47	0.00	0.49	0.00	0.34		0.52	
NoRegulated	0.45	0.00	0.09	0.00	0.44	0.00	0.62	1.00	58.18	***	76.28	***
Rated	0.61	1.00	0.47	0.00	0.66	1.00	0.60	1.00	7.92	***	11.14	***
Ln(Personnel)	4.76	4.80	5.57	5.69	4.90	4.86	4.31	4.42	33.38	***	57.70	***
Panel B:	*Bank* (N=55)		*Union* (N=50)		*NBFI* (N=238)		*NGO* (N=237)					
	Mean	p50	mean	p50	mean	p50	mean	p50	F		χ^2	
AveLoanXB	2,422	2,299	2,451	2,451	1,295	799	719	414	37.96	***	107.06	***

AveLoan	1.26	0.96	0.63	0.60	0.48	0.25	0.30	0.16	42.31	***	93.74	***
LossRate	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	1.12		10.12	***
WBorrowers	0.53	0.45	0.56	0.51	0.66	0.58	0.76	0.78	19.55	***	54.01	***
WCeo	0.16	0.00	0.18	0.00	0.23	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.55		0.85	
WBoard	0.25	0.17	0.32	0.29	0.27	0.22	0.35	0.33	5.67	***	20.18	***
WManagers	0.31	0.32	0.43	0.33	0.33	0.27	0.31	0.25	2.34	*	7.99	**
WOfficers	0.33	0.33	0.46	0.46	0.32	0.28	0.37	0.32	3.64	**	12.18	***
WStaff	0.44	0.47	0.52	0.51	0.40	0.41	0.44	0.44	4.58	***	13.17	***
Indiv	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.94	1.00	0.89	1.00	4.85	***	2.75	
Fixedw	0.22	0.00	0.88	1.00	0.52	1.00	0.90	1.00	64.46	***	95.37	***
Experience	15.87	14.00	12.20	12.50	12.91	10.00	15.38	14.00	7.06	***	23.14	***
NonAffiliated	0.36	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.50	0.50	0.53	1.00	6.50	***	14.17	***
NoRegulated	0.00	0.00	0.42	0.00	0.21	0.00	0.75	1.00	89.10	***	134.89	***
Rated	0.95	1.00	0.82	1.00	0.74	1.00	0.61	1.00	10.97	***	19.17	***
Ln(Personnel)	6.17	6.19	4.44	4.41	4.96	5.02	4.44	4.26	24.27	***	71.21	***

In Table 1 of Panel B, we investigate the relevance of the fourth main legal status of MFIs in our sample. In this analysis, we exclude results for rural banks (N=19) and other types (N=9). MFIs present statistically significant different features according to their legal status. The *AveLoan* per borrower in *Banks* and Credit *Union*/Cooperatives (an average of about 2,400 dollars) is about double of that of *NBFI*s (about 1,300 dollars on average) and triple of that of *NGO*s (about 719 dollars on average). The same trends emerge examining these figures adjusted by the country GNI per capita (*AveLoan*). The percentage of women borrowers is higher in the last two organizations (around 70 percent) compare to the former (about 55 percent), eventually indicating the relevance of the mission to help women for those MFIs more concerned about social targets. On the other hand, looking at the percentage of women who work in the MFIs, distinguishing by legal status, a less clear pattern emerges. Overall, moving from the top to the operative positions, the percentage of women increases. However, the percent of MFIs with a female CEO is not statistically different among the different types of organizations. Credit *Union*/Cooperatives employ a higher percentage of women in lower positions, such as managers, officers, and staff. As expected, the lowest percentage of rated MFIs is *NGO*s (61 percent) whilst Banks are almost all rated (95 percent). Average employees for the four types of MFIs range from 85 for *NGO* ($\exp^{4.44}$) to 478 for banks ($\exp^{6.17}$).

Table 2 reports the correlation matrix using both Person's coefficients (below the main diagonal) and the Spearman rank correlation's coefficients (above the main diagonal). *AveLoan* (first column) is negatively correlated to *WBorrowers*, *WCEO*, and *WOfficers*, indicating the social aspect of micro-finance: lower loans and women are the main actors. All variables about women are statistically and positively correlated among each other, suggesting that MFIs which employ more women in one position do the same for the other positions.

Table 2 Correlation matrix. Pearson's coefficients are shown in the lower diagonal while Spearman's rank correlations appear above the diagonal.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
AveLoan	1	1	-0.01	-0.65***	-0.11***	-0.01	0.07*	-0.05	0.02	0.27***	0.02	-0.02	-0.14***	-0.17***	0.15***	0.31***
LossRate	2	-0.02	1	-0.11***	0.04	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.13***	0.07	-0.03	0.00	-0.01	0.13***	-0.08*	-0.04
Wborrowers	3	-0.49***	0.00	1	0.13***	0.06	-0.05	0.02	-0.14***	-0.27***	0.01	0.13***	-0.01	-0.03	-0.16***	-0.12***
WCeo	4	-0.08**	0.01	0.15***	1	0.4***	0.33***	0.19***	0.21***	0.01	0.05	-0.1**	-0.02	-0.03	-0.01	-0.06
WBoard	5	-0.06	-0.01	0.08**	0.43***	1	0.2***	0.14***	0.15***	0.00	0.04	-0.02	-0.04	0.14***	0.03	-0.13***
WManagers	6	-0.05	-0.04	-0.01	0.36***	0.25***	1	0.46***	0.55***	0.08**	-0.02	-0.1**	-0.03	0.08*	0.03	0.03
WOfficers	7	-0.09**	-0.02	0.08*	0.22***	0.18***	0.49***	1	0.77***	-0.05	0.09**	-0.07*	0.07*	0.1**	-0.01	0.00
WStaff	8	-0.01	0.00	-0.15***	0.24***	0.21***	0.59***	0.78***	1	0.01	0.12***	-0.14***	0.03	0.2***	0.00	-0.08*
Indiv	9	0.16***	0.01	-0.24***	0.01	0.01	0.07*	-0.11**	0.01	1	-0.03	-0.05	-0.09**	0.00	0.07*	0.07
Fixedw	10	-0.02	0.04	0.02	0.05	0.05	0.02	0.09**	0.14***	-0.03	1	-0.15***	0.01	0.39***	-0.23***	-0.3***
Experience	11	-0.01	0.03	0.13***	-0.09**	-0.03	-0.14***	-0.11***	-0.17***	-0.03	-0.13***	1	-0.04	-0.09**	-0.04	0.17***
NonAffiliated	12	-0.16***	-0.01	0.01	-0.02	-0.06	-0.02	0.06	0.03	-0.09**	0.01	-0.05	1	0.03	0.02	-0.16***
NoRegulated	13	-0.19***	0.06	-0.04	-0.03	0.14***	0.13***	0.11***	0.22***	0.00	0.39***	-0.1**	0.03	1	-0.18***	-0.37***
Rated	14	0.06	-0.05	-0.18***	-0.01	0.06	-0.01	0.00	0.00	0.07*	-0.23***	-0.08*	0.02	-0.18***	1	0.29***
Ln(Personnel)	15	0.33***	-0.06	-0.12***	-0.08*	-0.14***	-0.05	-0.02	-0.1**	0.05	-0.32***	0.19***	-0.16***	-0.39***	0.31***	1

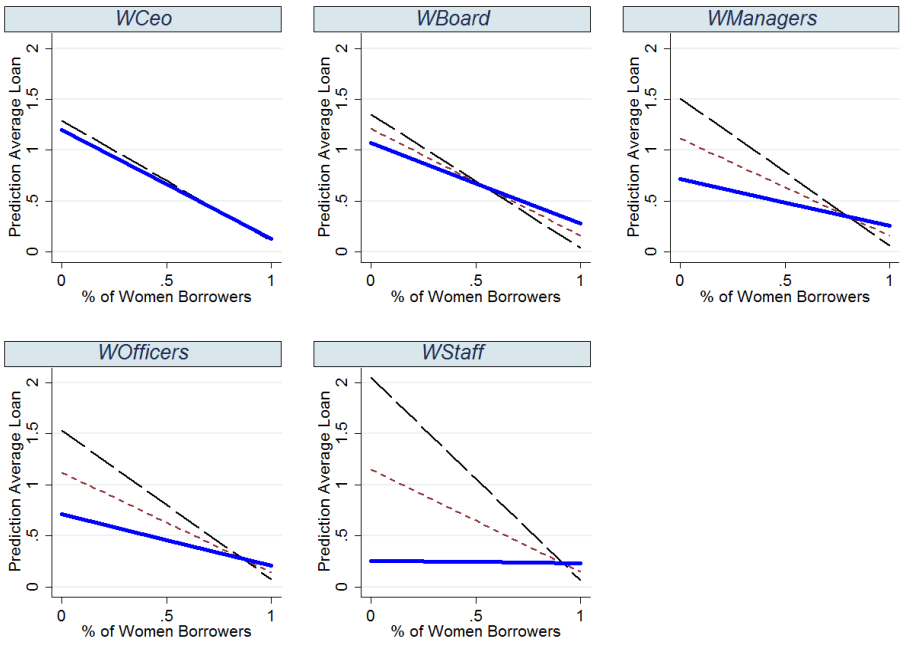
Table 3 reports estimates of the dependent variable *AveLoan* regressed against the percentage of women borrowers (*WBorrowers*) and the percentage of women employed in the MFIs. As previously discussed, we consider a cross-correlation among MFIs in each year and auto-correlation of the same MFI among years as in Petersen (2009). Model (1) represents the baseline model. Models from (2) to (6) verify the effect of the percentage of women employed in the MFIs on our measure of outreach (*AveLoan*). Each model considers the effect of women employed in the MFI, by their specific positions. Overall, we confirm that women who benefit of a microfinance loan receive a significantly smaller amount of money than men, even after controlling for other control variables which could potentially affect the relationship. In fact, the variable *WBorrowers* always presents negative coefficients (first row of all models). Having a woman as CEO (*WCeo* – Model 2) or having a higher percentage of women on the board (*WBoard* – Model 3) do not significantly affect the size of the loan granted. Also, the interaction effects between the presence of a female CEO (or the percentage of females on the board) and the percentage of women borrowers affects the size of the loan. None of those coefficients are statistically significant. On the other hand, different results emerge when considering the percentage of women in the MFIs employed in apparently trivial positions. In Models (4), (5), and (6), we report that *AveLoan* is lower in MFIs which employ higher percentages of women as managers (*WManagers*), officers (*WOfficers*), or staff (*WStaff*). The coefficients are 0.79, -0.82, and -1.80, respectively, comparatively suggesting the strongest influence of the latter variable (the percentage of women staff). However, these negative effects can be explained in light of the interaction effect of those variables with the percentage of women borrowers. In Models (4), (5), and (6), these coefficients are positive (0.99, 0.96, and 1.97, respectively) and highly statistically significant. MFIs with a higher percentage of women as both loan borrowers and suppliers grant higher loans. Once again the magnitude of this effect is higher when women are employed as staff. Overall, we find that MFIs which employ women in operative roles, grant smaller loans but the gender discrimination effect is moderated by the presence of women in the operative positions inside the MFI. The control variables have the expected signs. For instance, the dummy variables for *NBFI* and *NGO* present negative and statistically significant coefficients, suggesting that for those types of MFIs the loans granted are significantly lower.

Table 3 *AveLoan* (Average Loan) explained by the presence of women in the MFIs. Residual are clustered by MFIs and years (Petersen, 2009).

	Y=AveLoan					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
WBorrowers	-1.04***	-1.18***	-1.31***	-1.45***	-1.46***	-1.99***
	(-8.90)	(-9.73)	(-6.68)	(-7.64)	(-8.14)	(-6.23)
WCeo		-0.09				
		(-0.38)				
WBorrowers x WCeo		0.11				
		(0.36)				
WBoard			-0.28			
			(-0.63)			
WBorrowers x WBoard			0.52			
			(1.02)			
WManagers				-0.79**		
				(-2.33)		
WBorrowers x WManagers				0.99***		
				(2.60)		
WOfficers					-0.82***	
					(-2.89)	
WBorrowers x WOfficers					0.96***	
					(3.05)	
WStaff						-1.80***
						(-3.26)
WBorrowers x WStaff						1.97***
						(3.37)
NBFI	-0.20*	-0.22*	-0.22*	-0.21*	-0.23**	-0.24**
	(-1.74)	(-1.92)	(-1.87)	(-1.86)	(-1.99)	(-2.10)
NGO	-0.17*	-0.18*	-0.20**	-0.18*	-0.21**	-0.22**
	(-1.80)	(-1.91)	(-1.97)	(-1.88)	(-2.06)	(-2.20)
Ind	0.06	0.10**	0.10**	0.11**	0.12***	0.09*
	(1.27)	(2.14)	(2.15)	(2.35)	(2.68)	(1.79)
Fixedw	0.13*	0.14*	0.14*	0.12	0.14*	0.13*
	(1.80)	(1.90)	(1.84)	(1.53)	(1.92)	(1.84)
Experience	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(-0.35)	(-0.04)	(-0.15)	(0.00)	(-0.02)	(-0.17)
NonAffiliated	-0.13***	-0.12**	-0.11**	-0.12**	-0.12**	-0.12**
	(-2.73)	(-2.37)	(-2.20)	(-2.52)	(-2.41)	(-2.43)
NoRegulated	-0.17***	-0.20***	-0.20***	-0.18***	-0.19***	-0.16***
	(-3.14)	(-4.08)	(-4.03)	(-3.80)	(-4.02)	(-3.26)
Rated	-0.15**	-0.18***	-0.19***	-0.18***	-0.18***	-0.19***
	(-2.39)	(-3.26)	(-3.28)	(-3.25)	(-3.24)	(-3.28)
Ln(Personnel)	0.09***	0.09***	0.09***	0.09***	0.09***	0.09***
	(4.89)	(4.59)	(4.67)	(4.90)	(4.63)	(4.57)
Constant	-0.33	0.12	0.18	0.26	0.34	0.90
	(-0.64)	(0.25)	(0.33)	(0.52)	(0.61)	(1.27)
Cluster ID	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Cluster YEAR	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	580	580	580	580	564	569

As an economic intuition of the results, in Figure 2, we show the key outcome of our investigation. Based on the overall estimates of Table 3, we plot the predicted values of *AveLoan* as a function of the percentage of women borrowers. Each graph considers women employees in MFI a specific position: CEO, Board, Managers, Officers, and Staff. In each figure, we compare the estimated results for a MFI where all employees are women (solid line), all employees are men (dash line), and women employees are 50 percent (dotted line). For instance, from the first graph, it emerges that the effect of the percentage of women borrowers on average loan is not conditioned by the fact that the CEO is a woman. In fact, the dash line, which measures the case of a MFI where the CEO is male, does not diverge from the solid line, which measures the case where the CEO is female. They have similar slopes, which suggest similar behaviors, irrespective of gender. The graph is just a visualization of the results reported in Table 3 of Model (2). On the other hand, moving to the following cases, the slopes of the dotted compared to the dashed lines increasingly diverge. For instance, looking at the last figure, presenting the case of women employed as a staff where the dashed line represents a MFI where all staff are men whilst the solid line represents the case where all staff are women. The graph is just a visualization of the results reported in Table 3 of Model (6). An increase in the percentage of women borrowers generates a dramatic decrease of the average loan granted in a MFI where the staff employed are men only (dashed line). On the other hand, when the staff were only women, the presence of women borrowers does not alter the average loan granted. Gender discrimination occurs when a relevant percentage of men in the MFIs are suppliers of credit.

Figure 2 Predicted Average Loan based on women borrowers. Figures are based by the position of women lenders in the MFI. Solid lines identify MFIs where only women do that task. Dash lines identify MFIs where only men do that task. Dot lines identify MFIs where the percentage of women that do that task is 50 percent. Estimations are based on Models (2), (3), (4), (5), and (6), respectively.



To further investigate the effectiveness of women employed in MFIs, we conduct additional tests. Table 4 summarizes the results of clustered regressions (by MFIs and years) run to explain the Loss Rate of MFIs. The intent is to verify whether the higher average loans granted to women by women worsen the outcome of the MFIs. Overall, results indicate that the effect of moderation by women employed in the MFI on gender discrimination is not enhanced at the expense of an increased loss rate of the loans granted. For instance, results of Model (6) show that MFIs where female staff grant loans in favor of women borrowers (*WBorrowers x WStaff*), do not significantly suffer greater losses. Joined together with previous evidence, it is clear that women who grant higher loans to women do not sacrifice performance. We report a significantly higher loss rate parameter (*WBorrowers x WManagers* = 0.08) only for women employed as managers.

Table 4 *LossRate* explained by the presence of women in the MFIs. Residual are clustered by MFIs and years (Petersen, 2009).

	Y=LossRate					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
WBorrowers	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.03**	-0.00	-0.04*
	(0.02)	(0.13)	(0.36)	(-2.50)	(-0.40)	(-1.68)
WCeo		0.01				
		(0.74)				
WBorrowers x WCeo		-0.01				
		(-0.77)				
WBoard			0.00			
			(0.24)			
WBorrowers x WBoard			-0.01			
			(-0.50)			
WManagers				-0.06*		
				(-1.92)		
WBorrowers x WManagers				0.08**		
				(2.06)		
WOfficers					-0.01	
					(-0.43)	
WBorrowers x WOfficers					0.01	
					(0.97)	
WStaff						-0.06
						(-0.84)
WBorrowers x WStaff						0.09
						(1.11)
NBFI	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
	(1.07)	(1.00)	(1.04)	(1.22)	(1.32)	(1.24)
NGO	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01*	0.01**
	(1.61)	(1.61)	(1.63)	(1.55)	(1.95)	(1.97)
Individual	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00	-0.00
	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.07)	(-0.02)	(0.06)	(-0.32)
Fixedw	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01
	(1.11)	(1.11)	(1.14)	(0.85)	(1.10)	(0.96)
ExperienceOfCEO	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	-0.00
	(-0.56)	(-0.55)	(-0.41)	(-0.50)	(0.10)	(-0.26)
NonAffiliated	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(-0.72)	(-0.73)	(-0.81)	(-0.79)	(-0.83)	(-0.84)
NoRegulated	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.27)	(0.31)	(0.27)	(0.72)	(0.54)	(0.48)
Rated	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(-0.58)	(-0.65)	(-0.49)	(-0.56)	(-0.30)	(-0.34)
Ln(personnel)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.33)	(0.29)	(0.26)	(0.60)	(0.30)	(0.46)
Constant	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.03
	(0.29)	(0.26)	(0.24)	(1.09)	(0.22)	(0.79)
Cluster ID	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Cluster YEAR	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	493	493	493	493	479	484
R-squared	0.015	0.016	0.016	0.035	0.019	0.030
F-test	1.56	1.34	1.32	1.98	1.7	2.34

To summarize previous results and avoid possible bias induced by correlation among explanatory variables, we run a principal component analysis and generate orthogonally transformed variables which capture their main variance. Results are reported in Table 5. All five variables, which measure the presence of women at different positions in the MFI, reveal positive eigenvectors with respect to the first principal component (PC1). So, by construction, PC1 can be interpreted as a measure of the presence of women in the MFI. The variable is able to explain 50 percent of the variance explained by the five variables. Additionally, by construction, the second component is orthogonal to the first, meaning that it captures a different aspect with respect to the previous one. Looking at the eigenvectors (Table 5), the first two variables (*WCeo* and *WBoard*) present negative signs whilst the remaining three variables (*WManagers*, *WOfficers*, and *WStaff*) present positive signs. In light of this finding, we imply that the second principal component (PC2) measures the effect of the hierarchical roles of women in the MFI, or the strategic positions versus the operative ones. The contribution of this second component to the variance explained by the five variables is 22 percent, which leads to a cumulative 72 percent of the overall variance.

In turn, those two components are employed as regressors to disentangle the different effects of women on loan size. Because of their zero correlation, we can employ both components in the same regression, without evoking any multicollinearity issues. Table 5 suggests that PC1 and PC2 negatively affect loan size, suggesting that an increasing proportion of women on the supply side (PC1) decreases the average loan (parameter of PC1 is -0.12). This effect is enhanced by women in the lower hierarchical roles (parameter of PC2 is -0.14). However, when women lenders interact with women borrowers, the two regression parameters both become positive, 0.14 (*PC1 x WBorrowers*) and 0.16 (*PC2 x WBorrowers*). Once again, we corroborate the idea that the interaction effects by women increases the average loan and this increase is particularly due to women in the lower hierarchical positions. In Model (2) of Table 5, we also report with respect to the loss rate of the loans. While PC1 is not statistically significant, the coefficient of PC2 is significantly negative. So, employed women have no significant effects on the loss rate in cases where they were considered indistinctly (*PC1*). However, women enhance their positive influence on the MFI, in terms of lower loss rate, when they are employed in the operational positions, a result that can be appreciated in the coefficient of *PC2* (-0.01). At the same time, their interaction with female borrowers worsens their statistical significance (*PC2 x WBorrowers*).

Table 5 PCA and Clustered Regressions by MFI and years (Petersen, 2009) using the first two main components.

Panel A: PCA		
Component	1st	2nd
WCeo	0.32	-0.64
WBoard	0.33	-0.57
WManagers	0.49	0.02
WOfficers	0.51	0.39
WStaff	0.54	0.34
Proportion of variance explained	0.50	0.22
Cumulative variance explained	0.50	0.72

Panel B: Cluster regressions	(1) *AveLoan*	(2) *LossRate*
WBorrowers	-1.11***	-0.00
	(-9.82)	(-0.01)
PC1 (Women as Lenders)	-0.12***	-0.01
	(-3.08)	(-0.87)
PC2 (Women in the operational roles)	-0.14**	-0.01***
	(-2.16)	(-3.03)
WBorrowers x PC1	0.14***	0.01
	(3.55)	(1.00)
WBorrowers x PC2	0.16**	0.01***
	-1.11***	(16.18)
NBFI	-0.16**	0.01
	(-2.21)	(1.36)
NGO	-0.15*	0.01
	(-1.76)	(1.63)
Ind	0.11**	0.00
	(2.53)	(0.02)
Fixedw	0.18***	0.01
	(3.20)	(1.02)
Experience	0.00	0.00
	(0.52)	(0.29)
NonAffiliated	-0.09**	-0.01
	(-2.14)	(-0.94)
NoRegulated	-0.15***	0.00
	(-3.05)	(0.70)
Rated	-0.15***	-0.00
	(-2.63)	(-0.19)
Ln(Personnel)	0.09***	0.00
	(5.44)	(0.26)
Constant	0.90***	0.00
	(6.81)	(0.24)
Cluster ID	YES	YES
Cluster YEAR	YES	YES
Observations	479	479
R-squared		0.032
F-test		1.80

We conduct a final test to verify the effect of the country environment on the relationship under investigation. In the same spirit of our previous results, in Table 6, we report additional estimates, once female labor participation rate in the country where the MFI is headquartered is introduced (*WLabor*). As a control, we find *AveLoan* positively relates to female participation, as suggested by the positive sign of *WLabor* in all models. However, the most

interesting result emerges using the interaction variables *WBorrowers x WLabor x XX*, where *XX* represent the different variable proxies for women's participation in the MFI according to their roles. We report a significant negative sign where women were in operational positions. So, their moderating effect on gender discrimination is a phenomenon statistically relevant to countries where *WLabor* is lower.

Table 6 *AveLoan* (Average Loan) explained by the presence of women in the MFIs and the labor force participation rate of female in the country. Residual are clustered by MFIs and years (Petersen, 2009).

	Y=AveLoan				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
XX=	*WCeo*	*WBoard*	*WManager*	*WOfficer*	*WStaff*
WBorrowers	-1.19***	-1.09***	-1.33***	-1.33***	-1.70***
	(-9.40)	(-5.99)	(-7.88)	(-8.45)	(-7.34)
WLabor	0.44**	0.77***	0.55**	0.66***	0.73***
	(2.22)	(2.84)	(2.52)	(2.68)	(2.77)
XX	-0.12	0.34	-0.52**	-0.64***	-1.26***
	(-0.47)	(0.97)	(-2.24)	(-2.93)	(-3.78)
WBorrowers x XX	0.27	0.47	0.99***	1.10***	1.89***
	(0.88)	(1.19)	(3.01)	(3.73)	(4.44)
WBorrowers x WLabor x XX	-0.00	-0.02**	-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01**
	(-0.46)	(-2.34)	(-1.69)	(-1.84)	(-2.09)
Constant	0.62***	0.35	0.69***	0.67***	1.04***
	(2.67)	(1.24)	(2.80)	(2.60)	(3.38)
Control variables	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Cluster ID	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Cluster YEAR	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	493	493	493	479	484
R-squared	0.448	0.457	0.457	0.461	0.476
F-test	26.17	25.81	26.87	25.32	26.54

Discussion

In recent years, microfinance research showed that MFIs contrast poverty by facilitating women's access to credit. Thus, supplying credit to women has become a priority of MFIs to the point that the percentage of female borrowers is an alternative measure of their social performance: outreach depth (Mori et al., 2015). Treating the targeting of women as a proxy of poverty targeting has been a benign assumption. However, some scholars suggest that this attention to the gender of borrowers could hide a distortion which addresses women for improving their social performances through smaller loans (Agier and Szafarz, 2013). This charge makes gender discrimination an important issue that has been neglected too long (Mayaoux, 2010). This study is an attempt to fill the gap given the quite widely held idea that MFIs address female empowerment beyond poverty eradication. We explored the effect a woman's presence has on the loan size granted to women borrowers, differentiated by role and responsibility inside the MFIs.

Differently from men, we find that women inside the MFIs do not discriminate against borrowers by gender. Their hierarchical position matters and women in operational positions are more effective in reducing gender discrimination than those in the top roles. Although this conclusion could sound leading, one has to take into account that operational roles are a critical issue in microfinance. More so than rules and contracts, the ability to establish personal relationships allows information to be collected, trust to be built, and for the control of borrowers (Agier, 2012; Sagamba et al., 2013). As a critical feature, the presence of women among managers, loan officers, and staff members enhances the reduction of gender discrimination more than women being employed in top positions. Moreover, we show that the demographic characteristics in the lender-borrower relationship can affect gender discrimination, even though our data do not allow consideration of relational demography from a dyadic point of view (Tsui and O'Reilly, 1989).

These results could also have an alternative interpretation. First, women occupying leading positions, such as CEO and board members, may not act like typical women. The ability to break the glass ceiling can result in a feminine attitude which resembles men in some circumstances (Oakly, 2000; Appelbaum et al., 2003). Second, a mere self-selection effect could be in action. Women in leading positions are those who behave more similarly to men and differently from the rest of their population (Koenig et al., 2011; Adams and Funk, 2012). Third, the power to define organizational strategic orientation becomes useless when you need to manage a problem such as gender discrimination. For instance, introducing female quotas do not lead to a reduction in gender discrimination in organizations, as several studies argue (among others Heilman, 1997). Leaders who effectively promote equality are the ones who treat it as any other strategy, fixing goals and metrics and measuring targets achieved (Joshi et al., 2015). A strictly connected interpretation could be the matter of time. The CEO and board members do not stay in charge as long as managers, officers and staff members and, moreover, studies show that turnover for women in top roles is higher than that of men. So, women sitting in high positions find themselves on a glass cliff as the consequence of being subjected to higher scrutiny (Eagly et al., 1995), a less favorable perception following their appointment (Eagly and Karau, 2002) and the worse occurrences in which they are appointed (Ryan and Haslam, 2005). Finally, even critical mass could play a significant role. Few women appointed in top roles arduously produce change as suggested by some scholars (Terjersen et al., 2009; De Beaufort and Summers, 2014). We show that a women's presence in leading roles is limited as women occupy no more than a third of the positions. This could lead to a diminished effect on gender discrimination. Thus, paraphrasing Kanter (1977), we find a sort of "queen bee syndrome" where women refuse to help other women up the cliff of society and have access to financial resources at the same conditions of men.

Implications

While the term women's empowerment is frequently used by MFIs to promote their activities to governments and investors, the attention given to the gender equality issue within the industry has been negligible. Gender discrimination is a widespread plague quite far from being eradicated both in developed and developing countries. Financial sector and MFIs are not immune. Our results show that gender discrimination is a problem afflicting MFIs that could undermine their ability to fully reach their social goals. This study has important managerial implications for MFIs. First, MFIs commitment to women is not enough and they should consider active strategies aimed at assuring gender equal conditions to their borrowers. The effort to eradicate poverty and reach empower women could vanish in cases where women cannot access credit at equal conditions to men. The orientation of these organizations toward women cannot ignore discrimination. Although women's access to financial services is undoubtedly linked to their empowerment, it cannot be automatically assumed to occur (Duvendack and Palmer-Jones, 2017). In fact, loans that are not sufficiently large to develop their activities can simply burden women with difficult to repay debt (Mayaoux, 2010: 585). Second, MFIs must reflect more carefully on the role of women inside their organizations. Given that women inside MFIs reduce gender discrimination, MFIs should examine their policies affecting women not only as borrowers but also as employees. Our results show that men still occupy the majority of positions, irrespective to the organizational level, the country's wealth, and the MFI's type. Women are underrepresented inside MFIs, mainly in low and low-middle income countries. Thus, MFIs should start to hire more women reaching at least a sort of parity between the sexes among employees. While this suggestion could be considered a simplistic solution to the issue, we suspect that it could be the quickest and most effective. According to our results, men inside MFIs discriminate against women borrowers even if they work for organizations that explicitly target women and pursue empowerment goals. MFIs are a soft information environment where personal interactions established between employees and borrowers are more important than contracts and formal procedures. If employees show discriminatory behaviors toward borrowers, it is not easy to document (Labie et al., 2010; Saparito et al., 2012). Third, MFIs that aim at gender equality, cannot effortlessly appoint a few women in the leading roles of their organization. In fact, gender discrimination can be avoided appointing women at every level of the organization and particularly in those roles which interact directly with borrowers. Women in the supply side of MFIs could improve the gender equality of financial opportunities. However, as Joshi et al. (2015: 1472) suggest, this goal could "fall beyond the purview of a single organization" in those countries where women are legally banned or culturally prevented from working and studying.

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NOTE

1. We exclude a Polish MFI as it was the only institution in MixMarket in an upper income country.

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DOES MENTORING MAKE A DIFFERENCE FOR WOMEN ACADEMICS? EVIDENCE FROM THE LITERATURE AND A GUIDE FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

VIVIANA MESCHITTI
v.meschitti@bbk.ac.uk
Department of Management,
Birkbeck, University of London
(corresponding author)
HELEN LAWTON SMITH
Department of Management,
Birkbeck, University of London

ABSTRACT. This paper aims at reviewing literature on mentoring in academia, with a focus on mentoring to enhance women's careers. A significant gender imbalance in science persists, and mentoring has been recognized as an important instrument for fostering academic women's careers and addressing such imbalance. However, often the benefits of mentoring are taken for granted. This review aims to unpack the concept of mentoring, understand which trends characterize the mentoring literature, and analyze the evidence; moreover, it aims to discover potential gaps and propose a model to guide future research. A systematic approach is undertaken: four relevant search engines, covering more disciplines, are browsed to look for empirical studies on mentoring academic women from 1990 to March 2017. The review shows that there are some problems. First, there is no agreement on the definition of mentoring. Then, often studies are poorly grounded from a theoretical and conceptual perspective. In addition to the dominating research stream, focused on the benefits for the mentee, three other streams are consolidating: impact on the mentors, the role of group mentoring, and mentoring as an instrument to change institutions. At the end, we propose a model to guide future studies built on a longitudinal perspective.

Keywords: mentoring; women; academia; gender imbalance; literature review

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1. Introduction

The relevance of mentoring to support newcomers and minority groups in organizations has been underlined for decades (Allen et al., 2008; Kram, 1983). Mentoring broadly indicates a relationship where a more expert person – the mentor – provides advice to a less expert one – the mentee. Daloz (2012), referring to the character of Virgil in Dante's Divine Comedy, writes that the mentor's role would be that of "engendering trust, issuing a challenge, providing encouragement, and offering a vision for the journey" (Daloz, 2012: 30). There is an aura of mythology around mentoring: the word itself comes from "Mentor," the name of the old sage (personification of the goddess Athena) who took care of the young Telemachus while his father Odysseus was away in the Trojan War.

Coming back to the present day, Megginson et al. (2006: 4) define mentoring as, "off-line help by one person to another in making significant transitions in knowledge, work or thinking." Schramm (2004: 64) underlines the developmental aspect of this relationship and adds that the mentor should "challenge the mentee to go beyond the comfort zone." The definition and its extension may appear broad, but they underline the basic features of mentoring. This is that mentoring implies an exclusive relationship in which a more experienced person provides strategic advice to facilitate the professional and personal development of another, less experienced one. When applied to organizations, mentoring should help the mentee to better understand the organizational context and career opportunities, avoid isolation, and access relevant networks. Mullen (2009) noted that the breadth of the definition might be problematic: today the word mentoring is often used interchangeably not only with advising and supervising, but, among others, with coaching, leading, teaching, and socializing, thus making comparisons difficult for scholars and practitioners in studying this process.

In this paper, we provide a review of the literature on mentoring, where mentoring is considered as a process to enhance the career trajectory of women in academia and involves a relation beyond supervision, line management and probationary processes. We investigate and clarify the role of mentoring for women academics, and propose a model to guide future research.

Academic mentoring is an especially interesting area for building a scholarly contribution. The first literature on mentoring originated in the 1980s, but it was more focused on private organizations than academia. Boyle and Boice (1998) underlined that universities initially showed a "laissez-faire" approach, this meaning that, compared to the private sector, they have been less proactive in promoting mentoring. This has implications on scholarly literature as well. Still nowadays, literature on academic mentoring is highly fragmented. This led Zellers et al. (2008) to argue for the

need to build a consistent research agenda, better able to investigate the peculiarities of the academic profession.

The main factor making mentoring for women important in universities is that academia has been a male environment for centuries (Bagilhole and Goode, 2001): women are still underrepresented at the more senior levels and in some disciplines (usually the fields related to science, technology, mathematics and medicine, STEMM for short) (EC, 2016). This means that women are often excluded from important networks (van den Brink and Benschop, 2014), even if not directly discriminated (Savigny, 2014). Quinlan (1999) earlier pointed out (and still relevant today) how women in academia often engage in very different career paths compared to men, have less continuity in their CV, and experience more stress and greater isolation. Mentoring, therefore as an instrument to support professional development, should be especially useful to ensure a smoother career path for women.

The academic profession presents specificities that might challenge the development and uptake of mentoring. First, academics have a balance of responsibilities that is much broader and more complex compared to other professions. These responsibilities are related to research, teaching, and service. And, even if ideally they should be balanced, research is the element making the difference to an academic's CV, hence on career development. The current academic environment is very focused on performance, accountability, and metrics (Shore, 2008). Mullen (2009) argues this system does not help in cultivating a culture of mentoring, because it is very focused on individual performance and scientific productivity, while mentoring is especially about personal development. This means that there might be tensions among the different elements of the job and time becomes a critical resource (Sang et al., 2015). Second, hierarchies are much flatter than in businesses, and academics usually do not consider themselves as employees, but more as intellectuals or free-thinkers, whose independence is especially important. Finally, the younger generation of academics might not espouse the need for supporting mentoring programs for women: as stated in Vongalis-Macrow (2014), young women assume equality has been achieved. Consequently, they might refrain from committing to women-only initiatives.

A literature review focused on mentoring in academia and on its role in supporting women's careers can be beneficial to both scholars and practitioners. This is because it, (1) furthers understanding of the role of academic mentoring, which different types of mentoring have been tried, in which settings and with which effects; (2) investigates how mentoring can be used to support the development of women academics' career trajectories; (3) enables a model to be proposed that can guide future studies and help in developing a more consistent research agenda; (4) inspires individuals and institutions willing to design and pilot mentoring programs. In fact, despite

the literature on mentoring for women academics massively increased in the last few years, we could not find a comprehensive review aimed at supporting the development of both a research agenda and meaningful practice.

One of the more recent comprehensive reviews on mentoring in general is provided by Allen et al. (2008). They underline that most of the studies on mentoring come from the US, and mentoring research still appears in a primitive state, being characterized by few methodological approaches, few theory and measurement developments, and a lack of longitudinal studies. When focusing on mentoring academic women, the most recent literature review is the one by Hawkes (2012). However, Hawkes' (2012) review principally aims to understand the implications of mentoring for the mentee's career trajectory and to elaborate good practices, while this paper critically examines the literature from a holistic perspective, with the aim to propose a model to guide future research.

In the next section, we explain the aims and methods of the literature review. Before going in-depth into the findings of the literature search, we first provide an overview of the practice in relation to mentoring academic women and its background assumptions, since this helps to better understand the positioning and relevance of the studies on which we comment. Afterwards, we go in-depth into the literature and group it in categories, depending on the main topic being addressed. Then, we present a model to guide future research and conclude by commenting on the main contributions and possible future developments.

2. Aims of the Review and Methods

This review focuses on mentoring for women academics at any level from doctorate to professorship. We aim to highlight the current debate and state of the research on mentoring women academics, specifically clarifying:

1. What is meant by mentoring women academics;
2. What is the rationale behind the need for mentoring women and designing women specific programs;
3. Which types of mentoring exist to enhance women's academic careers;
4. What are the main topics emerging from research on mentoring academic women;
5. What are the effects of mentoring, for the mentors, the mentees, and the institutions involved;
6. By considering all the points above, we design a model that can support future research in the field.

To conduct a thorough review, we searched EBSCO Academic Search Complete together with PsychINFO; ProQuest Business Collection; ERIC;

SCOPUS. All together they cover the disciplinary areas of sociology, gender studies, education, psychology, management and business studies. EBSCO Academic Search Complete covers more disciplines in the social sciences (it includes databases such as Business Source Premier and Women's Studies International), and we included in this search PsycINFO as well (this covering disciplines in the psychological sciences). ProQuest also includes more databases (such as ABI/INFORM and International Bibliography of the Social Sciences), and it is especially good for research in the field of management. ERIC is the world's largest source of education information. SCOPUS is presently the largest abstract and citation database of peer-reviewed literature. An initial search was conducted in September 2015, and the final one in March 2017; the results presented here refer to the more recent search.

An advanced search was conducted with the following keywords: mentoring (in the title), universit* or academi* (in the abstract), and women (in all text). Other combinations, with slightly different terms, have been applied (for example, mentor in the title field), but the combination above gave the better list. We ran the search from publication year 1990 to 2017. When applied to EBSCO, the combination produced a list of 155 results (among them, 120 academic journal papers and 10 dissertations, plus more news feeds); ProQuest retrieved 158 publications (among them, 61 academic journal papers, 7 dissertations, plus news feeds and others); ERIC retrieved 64 results (among them, 34 academic journal papers); SCOPUS retrieved 79 results (23 among them are sections of four different edited books). First, we went through the abstracts (or executive summaries) of these studies, and we privileged the following:

1. Research published on peer-reviewed academic journals, conference proceedings, books by authoritative publishers, or dissertations (magazine and news feeds are excluded);
2. Empirical research investigating mentoring for women in higher education (from doctorate to professorial level);
3. Papers defining mentoring as a special form of relationship, that is not related to supervision or line management relationships;
4. Formal mentoring programs involving women academics;
5. Reviews of mentoring literature focused on mentoring for women academics, following the four criteria above.

The following have been excluded: news feeds; papers not referring to academic mentoring for women; papers referring to youth or workplace mentoring, mentoring of undergraduate students, supervisory relationships; papers not investigating gender differences.

From EBSCO, 25 studies have been retained, 17 from ProQuest, 20 from ERIC (that provided the more consistent list, according to our criteria), 8

from SCOPUS. More overlaps were found: five between EBSCO and ERIC, five between EBSCO and ProQuest, one between EBSCO and SCOPUS, three between SCOPUS and ERIC, two between ProQuest and SCOPUS, one between ProQuest and ERIC, and one between EBSCO, ERIC and SCOPUS. Overall from this search 51 contributions have been included. Also, some of this work cited relevant research that we could not find in our initial search, and we decided to consider it when it fulfilled the inclusion criteria above. In the appendix we present a table of the included studies with their methods. To be able to better comment on the results of our literature search, we first give an overview of the current state of the literature on mentoring academic women and explain why this type of mentoring deserves a relevant place in universities.

3. Mentoring for Women: Rationale, Types of Mentoring and Main Issues

Mentoring for women academics is widespread in most universities in the UK (Hawkes, 2012), Australia (Devos, 2008), Germany (Gottschall, 2010; Zuber, 2010), and Switzerland (Jäger, 2010). A policy agenda in both the European Commission and the National Science Foundation in US supports the creation of mentoring programs and networks (Nöbauer and Genetti, 2008; Rosser, 2010). Mentoring in principle provides a mechanism for supporting women's progression and retention along the academic career. Progression and retention are key issues: it is demonstrated that the entry of more women at undergraduate degrees is not helping to solve women's underrepresentation, because after years of getting more women graduates, the same problem remains (De Madariaga, 2013).

Evidence coming from EU-funded projects (ASDO, 2009; Füger et al., 2008) and other scholarly literature, tends to highlight the positive role of mentoring for women. Wunsch (1993) reports the benefits of one of the first programs dedicated to women; Johnston and McCormack (1997) report on the benefits of a program designed to enhance the research potential; Madison, Knight, and Watson (1993) report the positive experiences in Australian universities. More recently Banerjee-Batist and Reio (2016) stress the positive relationship between mentoring and organizational commitment. However, it seems still early to understand the long-term effects of mentoring on women's academic careers and on institutions. Besides, challenges persist, because in many universities mentoring is almost non-existent.

The rationale behind the need of mentoring to support women is explained by referring to relationships between minorities and majorities in organizations, role of networks and power dynamics. Majorities and people with higher status can count on more networking and development opportunities, while minorities risk being marginalized and excluded from the channels

helping to advance their careers. Women, being still underrepresented in the STEMM disciplines, and at the more senior ranks of academic careers, are therefore at risk of being marginalized. Minorities and marginalized groups tend to suffer from restricted power (Ragins, 1997). Moreover, there are biases bringing people to favor the ones with whom they can identify themselves: Johnson (2007) refers to this as "the cloning phenomenon," while van den Brink and Benschop (2014) speak about "homophily." These dynamics have important implications in relation to diversity in academia, given that the more senior positions are mostly populated by white men, who might privilege other white men (Dixon-Reeves, 2003; Garrett, 2006; Perna et al., 1995).

The points above are at the base of the argument supporting the need to promote formal mentoring programs for women: because of the power of existing networks, men are more likely to benefit from informal opportunities, while women and minorities, in absence of formal programs, might not have any opportunity at all. We are aware that women's underrepresentation is not solely caused by limited access to informal mentoring; however, as shown by van den Brink and Benschop (2014), networks are paramount in an academic career, and mentoring can significantly help in building a network (Van Emmerik, 2004). Given the different power positions implied by one's own gender identity, it is more likely that matching mentor and mentee from the same gender (and ethnicity) will help the relationship to develop because people from the same group feel more comfortable in relating to each other, especially in a relationship involving a newbie with an expert (Chesler and Chesler, 2002; Gibson, 2004). However, there may be fewer mentors available from minority groups (Johnson-Bailey and Cervero, 2004; Kwan et al., 2015; Tillman, 2001). Furthermore, white male mentors may be better networked and better able to provide mentees with the relevant connections and strategies. The study by Ugrin et al. (2008) shows that mentees involved in cross-gender and cross-ethnicity dyads were even more productive scientifically. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the rationale of mentoring is to challenge existing structures of power and paternalistic relationships, and not to replicate them blindly. In other words, providing mentees with the instruments to navigate power structures might be helpful, but building more diverse institutions is far more needed (de Vries and van den Brink, 2016). This parallels Schiebinger's (1999) argument that we should aim at changing institutions, not women.

3.1 Types of mentoring

In this review, studies focused on formal mentoring programs are privileged. In formal programs, mentee's needs are analyzed and, on the basis of those, the mentee is matched with a mentor; the development of the mentorship is guided and it is supported with training and networking opportunities. Still

nowadays, many mentoring programs for women are inspired by the model described by Wunsch (1993), i.e. one-to-one mentoring with training and workshops for mentors and mentees.

Clutterbuck and Ragins (2002) underline that formal mentoring programs can vary in relation to their aims, target groups, and specific functioning or design. Other than the traditional type of mentoring, constituted by the pair mentor-mentee, other forms are also possible. Among these: group mentoring, i.e. a mentor (or more) mentoring several mentees, as described in the "mentoring circles" by Darwin and Palmer (2009); peer mentoring, a type of group mentoring, but with colleagues mentoring one another (Driscoll et al., 2009); and mentoring consortia, i.e. more organizations building a joint mentoring program (Füger et al., 2008; Nöbauer and Genetti, 2008).

It has been found that there are some critical aspects in relation to establishing formal mentoring programs in academia, this being related to the specificities of the academic profession as described in the introduction. Lack of time and inertia might hinder participation in activities (Boice, 1992; Harnish & Wild, 1994). Another potential problem might be represented by a mismatch between mentor and mentee (Bell and Treleaven, 2011; Cullen and Luna, 1993; Ehrich et al., 2004). Furthermore, Zellers et al. (2008) stress that because academia is quite an individualistic environment, junior members may feel uncomfortable showing a need for mentoring and can even feel stigmatized for participating in a program. This inhibits also the establishment and development of mentoring programs in the long term.

3.2 The state of the literature: Main topics

When analyzing the literature selected in our search, we noticed that we could group it into four main topics depending on the main focus of the study:

1. The mentee's perspective and mentoring outcomes;
2. The mentors' perspective;
3. Group and multiple mentoring as a strategy for fostering support and networking;
4. Mentoring women as a resource for fostering institutional change.

Sometimes it is not easy to draw clear distinctions between one group and the other, and these groupings are not mutually exclusive. What is important is the main underlying message shared by the studies in each one of the four groups: in the first case, that mentoring is beneficial because it has positive effects for the mentee (this the most recurring topic); in the second, that the mentor role is particularly relevant for a good mentorship; in the third, that a move from the dyadic to the group relationship is beneficial; in the last, that mentoring should be used to change institutions. Table 1 in the appendix groups the studies retrieved in our search and considered for this review.

Below, we comment on the ones reporting particularly relevant or unexpected findings.

4. The Mentee's Perspective and Mentoring Outcomes

The literature focused on mentoring academic women is mainly concerned with the effects for the mentee (or outcomes). When defining mentoring outcomes, the distinction elaborated by Kram (1983) is still valid: mentoring outcomes are related to both career (such as sponsorship, exposure-and-visibility, coaching, protection, challenging assignments) and psychosocial functions (role modeling, acceptance-and-confirmation, counseling, friendship). Among the career-related outcomes more often demonstrated by the literature, there are increased retention and more success in promotion and research grants. In relation to psychosocial effects, mentoring helps to avoid feeling isolated and contributes to increased self-confidence and work engagement. The mentee often is at centre stage because she represents the actor who is considered to be in need of support. Overall, the positive effects of mentoring on mentees are much more relevant than the negative ones. However, these studies are often based on self-reported, subjective measures, and they are focused on the short term.

Gardiner et al. (2007) provide the most complete empirical study on mentoring for female academics: they focus on a formal program for junior female academics in an Australian university, involving 22 women (mostly at the Lecturer level), and try to understand the outcomes for the mentees. They distinguish between objective (promotion, grants and publication achievements) and subjective outcomes (participants' perceptions of their careers). The study is relevant first of all because the authors draw on a longitudinal design, this being remarkable in the literature (data are collected at three points in time, in 1998, 1999, and 2004); second, the authors also draw comparisons with a control group of 46 not-mentored women. The mentored group had more achievements in terms of promotion and research grants, even if there were not any significant differences in relation to career and job satisfaction. In general, the mentees showed great satisfaction for having the possibility to receive feedback and guidance, and having somebody to converse with.

Gibson's contributions (2004, 2006) are also relevant. She draws on an in-depth study of women mentees; conversely to the contribution by Gardiner et al. (2007), in this case mentees self-selected themselves stating that they had been involved in some mentoring activity, and we do not have specific information on the type of mentoring they participated in previously (they may be referring to informal mentoring networks). However, the study focuses well on both the benefits and the drawbacks of mentoring, and how

women feel more comfortable to be mentored by other women. Among the benefits are having someone who cares about one's own career, not feeling isolated, feeling reaffirmed in one's own worth. Among the most serious drawbacks are the fact that one participant experienced being confronted with a mentor who reported information back to other senior people in the mentee's department. Gibson (2006) also underlines how a cross-gender mentorship might be challenging: some of the participants in her study, who had men mentors, underlined how they were feeling uncomfortable to share their experiences in relation to family and work-life balance. The evidence seems to show that same-gender mentorships might be more beneficial when referring to psychosocial functions; however, this should be further investigated, and there is not much evidence looking into the relationship between same-gender mentorships and career functions.

Bell and Treleaven (2011) underline especially how the mentee's outcomes are related to a good match between mentor and mentee, a key factor in formal mentoring programs (in informal mentoring this happens on a spontaneous basis and usually on a pre-existing common interest between mentor and mentee). They draw on their own experience in designing and conducting mentoring programs, and report how they addressed a problem they had in their first pilot: mentees had been asked to select their own mentor on a database of academics who volunteered, but 40% of them did not select any. They report that, in subsequent iterations of the program, assisting the mentees has been particularly important. While the authors argue about the importance of this process for women especially, their conclusions do not further reflect on this.

Some contributions are focused on disciplines in which women are strongly underrepresented (the STEMM subjects). Kosoko-Lasaki et al. (2006) focus on three mentoring programs for junior women and minority faculty in two different academic health centers, and stress the achievements in terms of increased retention rate and personal satisfaction; mentoring involved cross-gender and cross-ethnicity pairs. Ugrin et al. (2008) focus on information system departments in US business schools and come to similar results when checking the effects of mentoring on academic productivity. However, this study has a strong focus on the publication pipeline, and mentors are represented by the dissertation chairs of the mentees; this means that this relationship is *per se* very different from mentoring relationships where the mentor does not officially have any obligation towards the mentee and the mentee is looking for a different kind of support. Probably this is also the reason why one of their results, i.e. the declared preference of female mentees toward a male mentor, contradicts previous research showing that mentees prefer same-gender (and same-ethnicity) mentors (Gibson, 2004, 2006).

Gender is not the only aspect to be considered in relation to mentoring: women might be in a weak position because of their ethnical background as well. Grant and Simmons (2008), Curry (2011), and Grant and Ghee (2015) analyze the experiences of African-American women academics and PhD students. They underline that mentoring is especially beneficial, but also, additional support strategies are needed because of the different forms of discriminations women of color might experience. Additionally, the mentoring relationship itself can present more barriers for women from ethnic minorities: as stressed by Buzzanell et al. (2015), who critically analyze the narratives of women of color in a faculty of engineering, such mentoring experiences might be characterized by ambiguity, vulnerability, and suspicion. The main problem is that mentoring systems tend to reproduce the narratives of the elite group; often differences and contradictions emerge strongly, and it is still the mentee's work trying to find a way of reconciling these tensions.

Some studies focused on black doctoral students give relevant insights on the underlying factors that might make mentoring more problematic for women from ethnic minorities. Both Garrett (2006) and Dixon-Reeves (2003) surveyed, respectively, near to completion and recently awarded PhD students of African origin. Most of the students who had a mentor reported a high degree of satisfaction and good career outcomes. However, Dixon-Reeves (2003) found that black men were more likely to act as a mentor, instead of black women, this potentially having implications for the advancement of women themselves, but also being a possible sign of the overload that black women might experience. In fact, women from ethnic minority groups, once they access senior or high-visibility roles, are expected to act as champions of more causes and might be overloaded by service and pastoral care activities. This last point is also considered by Lloyd-Jones (2014), who recommends to department chairs to closely monitor the workload of staff involved in mentoring.

It is worth underlining that the literature investigating the outcomes for the mentees stems from different epistemologies and applies different methods. Some contributions are based on big surveys, and use gender as a control variable. The issue is that most of these do not further investigate implications for designing mentoring programs and do not reflect on the issues related to cross- or same-gender matching. For example, Bilimoria et al. (2006) surveyed more than 248 professors from the same private US university, and show the relevance of mentoring for job satisfaction. They pinpoint to some gender differences: in the case of men, the relationship between job satisfaction and mentoring is mediated by both the academic resources available in their department and the internal support networks; for women, internal support networks are twice more important. Çetin et al. (2013) tested a model to analyze the relationship between mentoring,

organizational commitment and job satisfaction. While they could not find a relationship between mentoring and job satisfaction, they show that mentoring has an impact on commitment and, especially, they find that gender impacts on two of the four sub dimensions of commitment (continuance and normative). However, the authors do not go into the implications of their study for designing mentoring initiatives. It is nevertheless remarkable that Gardiner et al. (2007), even if starting from very different assumptions, come to the same conclusion in relation to job satisfaction. Whitten (2016), in her survey to women accounting professors in the US, finds that mentored women report highest levels of work engagement compared to non-mentored women; also, she demonstrates that there are not differences when considering the gender composition of the mentoring pair. Kirchmeyer (2005) studies 142 American academics in accounting, and shows that mentoring influences on career progression and salary, more than on performance; mentees often rely on several mentors (but on average mentors are fewer than 2), however, there is no investigation of possible gender differences. Also in this case, as in the previous three, the study participants self-selected themselves, and we do not have any contextual information about the type of mentoring they benefited from. To sum up, literature inspired by a positivist stance shows that there are relationships between mentoring and work commitment (an important psychosocial function), but results are mixed in relation to job satisfaction. Furthermore, the only study considering the gender composition of the mentoring pair, does not find significant difference between having a man or a woman mentor in the case of work engagement.

We found several accounts focused on the authors' own experience, and these offer a very interesting perspective. Similarly to Bell and Treleaven (2011), Driscoll et al. (2009) focus on their own experience of organizing and managing a women peer mentoring group, and underline the positive effects this had not only in terms of building a network and improving research skills, but also of understanding the organization and one's own role. Schramm (2004) reflects on her experience with three different mentors all along her career path, and on the benefits of being mentored by other women, with whom she could feel more comfortable to speak about the discriminations she experienced. Agosto et al. (2016) and Esnard et al. (2015) also reflect on their own mentoring experience as women from an ethnic minority group; we will further focus on it when considering group mentoring.

To sum up the main issues characterizing this prolific stream of the mentoring literature, we can say that mentoring has positive effects on women, especially concerning psychosocial functions; outcomes related to career functions are not always clear given that their study would need a more long-term oriented perspective. Mentoring might have some drawbacks (Gibson, 2004, 2006; Tolar, 2012), but these appear to be minor and manageable in

the framework of a formal program. Only an old contribution by Clawson (1985) underlines that having a mentor did not make any difference to mentees. Scholars are often interested in understanding if mentoring has an impact on scientific productivity and whether women prefer to have a same-gender mentor. Inconsistency of findings in relation to these topics can be due to differences in definitions of mentoring and in the design of the study. For example, in the study by Ugrin et al. (2008) mentoring and supervision overlap. The difference in epistemological positioning represents a richness of the mentoring literature focused on the mentee: this means that similar issues are investigated in very different ways, thus maximizing the possibility of comprehending the mentoring process.

This stream of the literature would benefit from studies with a clear scope in defining the type of mentoring relationship under investigation, a long-term oriented approach, a focus on both career and psychosocial effects, analysis of subjective experiences together with objective measures (for example, time for getting a promotion), and comparisons with non-mentored women, as in the case of Gardiner et al. (2007). Also, this research stream would benefit if there was the attempt to study the mentee's perspective together with the mentor's one, in order to aid understanding of the conditions and effects of the matching process and how the relationship impacts on both parties. Finally, we would need more evidence on how the composition of the mentoring pair (i.e. having a woman or a man mentor) impacts on mentoring outcomes.

5. The Mentor's Perspective

A part of the mentoring literature focuses on the mentor's perspective. Füger and Höppel (2011) who rely on their experiences in designing and coordinating mentoring programs, argue that this topic has emerged recently, but is still relatively overlooked. Pisimisi and Ioannides (2005), who focus on women in engineering, present a study, conducted at the European level, on the ideal characteristics of the mentor. From this survey it emerges that most of the respondents, even if they think that the disciplinary background is relevant (it can facilitate communication between mentor and mentee), this is not enough. Instead, more important are social skills (the mentor should be a charismatic leader and a role model), the professional role and status of the mentor, and previous experience and training in mentoring. Childress Townsend (2002) focuses on computer science and claims that mentors and role models can help increase the number of women in this field, where they are especially underrepresented. The author presents advantages and possible drawbacks of mentoring and guidelines for mentors and mentees. She points out that the best mentors should be good listeners and problem solvers,

approachable, available, and supportive, but without turning the mentorship into favoritism. The main drawbacks to mentoring are that it requires time and energy, and also that the mentor can become too closely associated with women's issues such that the disciplinary community seems to forget about all his/her other achievements.

It is worth noting that both Pisimisi and Ioannides (2005) and Childress Townsend (2002) are focused on specific disciplines but do not further investigate how disciplinary cultures impact on mentoring. Moreover, even if the role of the mentor is centre stage, such a role is investigated always referring to the mentee's needs and how to better satisfy mentees, while the authors could, for example, further investigate the challenges and outcomes of being a mentor. In relation to this last point, Lechuga (2011) and Füger and Höppel (2011) provide notable contributions. Lechuga focuses on mentors from underrepresented groups in STEM disciplines and on their experiences with their graduate students (here mentoring and supervision overlap). The author underlines especially how mentoring goes well beyond the master–apprenticeship relation, and involves becoming "allies" and "ambassadors" for the mentees. However, the author states that he could not draw conclusions regarding how the status of minority impacted on the relationship.

On a related point, Füger and Höppel (2011), based on their experience in coordinating a European network of mentoring programs, underline how mentors should be "partners for change," for the mentee and for the institution, and how training is important for that. They report on the work of Alean-Kirkpatrick (2011): drawing on her experience as a trainer, she explains mentors' expectations. It is particularly interesting to see that mentors expect also to receive something from the mentorship and to grow professionally and personally; additionally, they think that not being in a supervisory or line management position constitutes an advantage for the relationship; the issue of time constraints and time management emerges in this case as well.

Much could be done to advance the literature in this stream. It is surprising how the role of the mentor, who should be an equal partner in the mentoring relationship, is overlooked. We know almost nothing about mentors' expectations, needs, and experiences. More importantly, it seems that the mentoring relationship affects the mentee only, not the mentors. We do not know anything about how mentors change in response to their mentoring experiences.

6. Group and Multiple Mentoring as a Strategy for Fostering Support and Networking

Several scholars stress the need for shifting from the traditional one-to-one mentoring model to group mentoring whereby mentees are grouped and can rely on several mentors. This model should be better able to address the challenges of present academic careers, especially given time constraints and the lack of women role-models due to their underrepresentation at senior levels, this considerably reducing the pool of women potentially available for mentoring early-career academics (Darwin and Palmer, 2009; de Janasz and Sullivan, 2004; Sorcinelli and Yun, 2007). Van Emmerick (2004) shows that the size of "developmental network" has a positive impact on career satisfaction, especially in the case of women.

De Janasz and Sullivan (2004) argue that the opportunity for mentees to rely on several mentors could help in an academic world that is increasingly competitive, changing and diverse. They stress that, although the relevance of senior academics' support in promotion procedures has been clearly shown (Bensimon et al., 2000; Sorcinelli, 2002), in academia the "sink or swim" model still seems to exist and does not help in creating a culture of mentoring. However, they do not report on any specific mentoring experience. Also they do not focus on implications in relation to gender. In fact, empirical research on group mentoring is still in its infancy and most of it is very recent.

Sorcinelli and Yun (2007) build on de Janasz and Sullivan's (2004) arguments, and they present several resources to draw on for designing group mentoring programs. They mention peer mentoring: this is especially helpful in supporting mentees to broaden their network and feel comfortable in sharing their experiences (since they are confronted with peers and not with somebody more senior). More generally, any form of group mentoring is helpful where there are especially few women in senior positions, and finding a mentor for each mentee might be problematic. This is the case described by Kwan et al. (2015), who report their experiences from a mentoring program in medicine.

Darwin and Palmer (2009) report on a study of a "mentoring circles" program at the University of Adelaide. In this study, three groups of researchers and academics at different levels met several times over six months to discuss career related issues. This pilot underlines the benefits and limits of group mentoring: benefits are increased opportunities of learning from others, sharing information, and avoiding isolation; challenges are related to time and to unpredictable group dynamics. However, there is information about the gender composition of only one group and the authors do not focus on gender dynamics. Wasburn (2007) discusses a case of a program that,

similarly to the one above, mixes peer mentoring with support from more experienced colleagues, but with a specific focus on advancing women. She reports the lack of one-to-one contact with mentors and too few meetings as a drawback. We mentioned above Driscoll et al.'s (2009) study on a peer support group focused on writing. At the beginning the group was facilitated by a more expert person, but then it began to run on its own with benefits for all the participants. This contribution shows clearly how sharing information, knowledge and experience within a group support personal and professional growth. On the one hand this has been helped by setting clear objectives (academic writing and publications), on the other the authors note how participants started, as the mentorship progressed, to introduce new topics and the groups became an intimate space for discussion.

Allen and Finkelstein (2003) focus on professional employees within a US university, and try to investigate all the different types of developmental relationships they rely on other than mentoring; we are not presented with a clear definition of mentoring, but what emerges from this study is that both women and men employees are likely to develop several sources of support, these including co-workers, peers, supervisors, family members and friends. Differences between women and men are present in relation to the functions provided by these relationships: men emphasize that they could gain additional perspectives, while women emphasize support and coaching.

It is worth underlining that, despite the many benefits of group mentoring cited above, this also might present unique challenges. Esnard et al. (2015) build on their experience in a mentoring network for women from ethnical minority groups, presented in Agosto et al. (2016) as well. The authors use social capital theory to unveil the unpredictable dynamics that group mentoring can have. On the one hand, being part of a mentoring network meaningfully helped the participants to make sense of their experiences at work and provided them with a space where to ask for advice. On the other, some participants developed frustration for more reasons: perceived passivity of some members; perceived pressure to perform; lack of willingness to address in-depth the issues related to race and gender. Citing Johnson-Bailey and Cervero (2004), the authors state that cross-cultural group mentoring is a "networking dance," where there are "ongoing hidden forces threatening mentoring opportunities" (31). For this reason, they maintain, any study of mentoring should be inspired by a consistent and holistic theoretical framework, because this helps to have a close to the ground understanding of the process.

The literature on group mentoring is still in its infancy, but it has produced interesting lines of future research. On the one side, group mentoring is praised for providing a wider network of support and also, it represents a clever strategy to allow more mentees to have women mentors even in those

sectors where women are strongly underrepresented. On the other side, some group dynamics might cause frustration and hinder benefits for the mentees. It would be important to know more in which conditions this happens, and also, to further study in which situations a group of mentees can thrive.

7. Mentoring Women as a Resource for Fostering Institutional Change

Interestingly, several studies stress that mentoring can be not only a resource for fostering academic careers, but also an input for orienting academia towards policies supporting diversity and gender equality, even if these changes are visible only in the long term and are the most difficult to attain (de Vries et al., 2006; Füger and Höppel, 2011; Jäger, 2010; Thomas et al., 2015). Gibson's (2006) contribution builds on her 2004 study and focuses on organizational politics. She shows how understanding organizational structures is a fundamental part of mentoring, since these have an impact on the mentoring experience itself. She argues that universities that are careful to provide mentoring for women (or even to ground it in formal career development initiatives), are more likely to transform themselves into better workplaces.

de Vries et al. (2006) focus on the evaluation of a mentoring program for women in Australia, and especially on the mentors' perceptions about mentoring (the program recruits women-only mentees, but it recruits both women and men as mentors). They found that mentors became more aware of the challenges of junior faculty and of the relevance of gendering processes, this meaning that mentoring has the potential to push organizational change. Jäger (2010) builds on de Vries et al.'s (2006) contribution to investigate the effects of ten years of women-only mentoring programs in Swiss universities. It was found that while benefits for mentors and mentees are clearer, the effects in term of institutional change are still ambivalent and difficult to ascertain.

These two studies are echoed in Füger and Höppel's (2011) contribution where they argue that mentor's training is especially relevant and its content can be designed so as to sensitize mentors to gender equality and institutional change: the role of the mentor should be centre stage in the process of change. Thomas et al. (2015) report on an interesting study of a peer mentoring program, where issues identified in mentoring circles have been used as an input for reflection at the College level. The short contribution by Brennan (2000) does not explicitly mention institutional change, but it underlines as well the importance of mentoring to overcome gender discrimination in academic disciplines, and reports on some difficulties in recruiting women to engage in a pilot program; these reflections underline how organizational cultures are difficult to change. Similarly, Kalpazidou Schmidt and Faber

(2016) underline how mentoring, other than having positive effects on mentors and mentees, can positively impact on institutions by making them more aware of the importance of supporting career development, retaining talents, and promoting a more inclusive environment.

This stream of research is especially relevant for both scholars and practitioners interested in the long-term effects of mentoring and more generally in drivers of institutional change. To progress this stream, a longitudinal perspective is necessary, so as a focus on both mentors and mentees. We notice that the role of mentors as drivers of change is underlined, but it should not be forgotten that the mentee also has a role in this process.

8. Summary of the Literature

After having presented the relevant literature, we can make several observations in relation to the studies considered. First, the overlap between mentoring and supervision is apparent. Second, it has been challenging to focus our literature review on mentoring women academics. Other than studies focused on mentoring for women, we could find more examples of research investigating the experience of academics (women and men) involved in both formal and informal mentoring. In this second case, often we do not have many details about the functioning of the mentorship. Third, mentoring literature is based on very different epistemologies, especially when investigating outcomes for the mentee: from experimental and survey designs, inspired by a positivist approach, to phenomenological and auto-ethnographic studies, inspired by a constructivist or subjective stance. Each of those provides a different contribution. The big numbers addressed by surveys appear reassuring since the findings tend to stress the benefits of mentoring. However, studies embracing qualitative approaches further deepen the implications of mentoring for gender equality. Fourth, many interesting studies reporting on mentoring programs lack clear theoretical groundings. This might be seen as a part of a more general problem. As underlined by de Vries and van den Brink (2016), a theory-practice divide can be observed in the study of organizational interventions designed to advance gender equality. This does not help the development of organizations, or that of sound scholarly literature.

Going back to the aims stated in section 2, we are now able to provide consistent answers. Mentoring literature focusing on women's experiences and on the implications of mentoring for gender equality usually draws on data coming from formal mentoring programs designed for women, where mentor and mentee are matched, following the mentee's needs, and have the opportunity to participate in training and workshops; mentees are commonly junior women academics before tenure; this is by far the most usual type of mentoring. The rationale described by Wunsch (1993) provides a guide for

many mentoring programs. A considerable amount of empirical research on formal mentoring is often related to, or is part of, the evaluation of mentoring programs, and often it is authored by researchers who have also participated in the design or coordination of mentoring programs. Most of these studies are based on a qualitative design and on subjective measures, with the exception of Gardiner et al. (2007), who also consider objective outcomes in terms of career. Mentoring based on peer support and group interactions is emerging and results are interesting, especially in the light of Driscoll et al. (2009) and Darwin and Palmer's (2009) contributions. There is an important collection of studies focused on mentees' needs which draws on quantitative and experimental designs, but often these studies do not investigate in depth the implications in terms of gender. The rationale behind the need for mentoring women and designing women specific programs is often taken for granted or just briefly explained. Thus providing women with mentoring programs expressly designed for them is especially a matter of counterbalancing the existence of networks, informal habits, hidden rules, and biases that negatively impact on women's careers.

While several studies underline the positive effects for the mentee's career, and the mentee's personal satisfaction in participating in mentoring programs, there is little evidence that shows its effects for both the mentors and the mentees over the long-term. The studies by Gardiner et al. (2007) and Kosoko et al. (2006) represent an exception, and the results are encouraging. The contribution by Jäger (2010) is interesting in this regard because it focuses on the long-term effects of mentoring on institutions, and it underlines how institutional change is difficult to achieve. The more recent literature stressing the role of mentors and how mentors can contribute to achieve institutional change is particularly relevant. It seems there is still a lot to be investigated in terms of the mentors' perspective, how mentoring impacts on institutions and how to create a culture of mentoring. Also, it is worth noting that some studies mention drawbacks such as the lack of time for the mentor and the mentee, and relevant negative aspects for the mentee, usually related to the fact that a formal mentoring program can become a "spy system" (Buzzanell et al., 2015; Gibson, 2006); these aspects are often overlooked, while we would need to know more and understand how they can be counteracted.

In the next section, as a last step in this review, we will attempt to see how the problems here detected, i.e. lack of clarity in definitions, paucity of longitudinal approaches, a quasi-exclusive focus on the mentee, poor theoretical grounding, can be addressed. We believe that the poor theoretical grounding is an especially serious problem. We argue that theoretical grounding not only helps to conduct a more thorough analysis but importantly it makes researchers go a step beyond their findings and interrogate themselves about the broader implications of their study.

9. A Future Research Agenda

After this review, we focus especially on the following points to advance research on academic mentoring, with a focus on women's equality and gender issues.

First, it is necessary to have a stronger theoretical grounding to enhance the explanatory power of the related empirical research. The theoretical background will also help to make the definition of mentoring much more explicit. This is well exemplified in the contribution by Esnard et al. (2015), where social capital theory is profitably used to investigate the dynamics of group mentoring. This theory has significantly helped to examine that social capital works as a key driver in academic careers and how mentoring can intervene in this process. The choice of this theory allowed for advancing our understanding of both mentoring and the more general functioning of career patterns in universities. We can say that this theory helped the authors to go a step further from the description of the findings and helped the readers to further reflect on the implications of mentoring. There are other research areas that can provide a sound grounding. These include literature on socialization, learning and situated learning, that is often referred to especially when investigating group mentoring (Driscoll et al., 2009); phenomenology (Gibson, 2004, 2006); feminist theory (Schramm, 2000); power (Ragins, 1997). Also, it could be worth using the lenses of organization theory and organizational change approaches (Van de Ven, 2005), that would help to investigate the effects of mentoring at the macro level. It could be fruitful to explore interdisciplinary research, by bridging, for example, two different research areas (e.g. gender and organizational change).

Second, empirical research should be clear about the type of mentoring it is referring to, and, if it is focused on a formal program, it should outline its main features and target group, because this impacts on the effects of mentoring and on the implications both at the individual and institutional level. Presently, many studies tend to equate mentoring with other formal line management relationships, and we think this does not help to advance mentoring research as supervisory relationships have a very different nature in comparison to mentoring. This is because the negotiation power of the mentee in setting objectives and timing is very low or almost non-existent, and such objectives cannot be changed without direct implications on one's own career path.

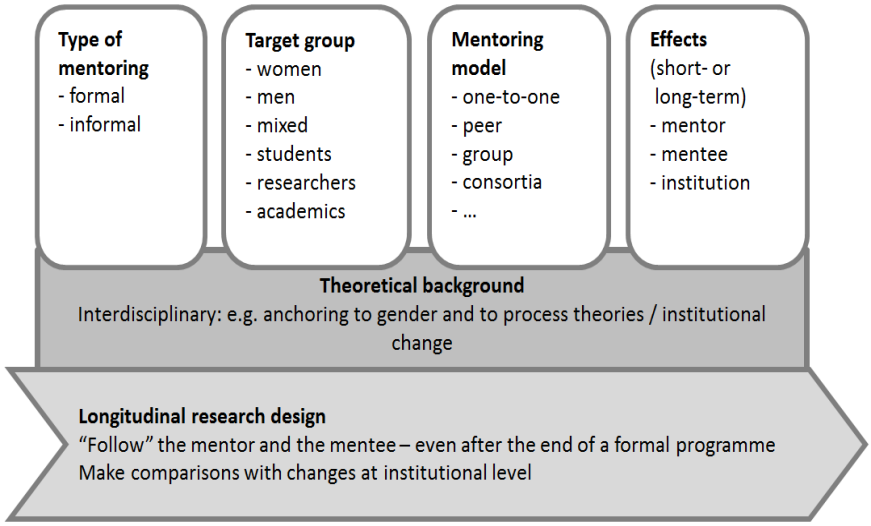
A third important point is related to the need to embrace a relational view and focus both on mentors and mentees, to understand how mentors are also affected by mentoring. The literature notes that, in academia, time and inertia in particular seem to be critical issues, and which leads us to believe

that focusing on the experiences of both mentors and mentees can help to improve mentoring practice.

Fourth, as claimed by Van Emmerick (2004), a longitudinal perspective is necessary to understand the effects of mentoring and, also, to understand the potential effects at the institutional level. Gardiner et al. (2007) provide the most notable example of studying the effect of mentoring over a sustained period of time. From a methodological point of view, several methods could be applied and both subjective (as reported by participants and stakeholders) and objective measures should be compared. We notice that empirical research based on qualitative approaches more strongly reflects the implications in relation to gender. However, quantitative research could also further improve in the understanding of differences between women and men in mentoring or being mentored, and mixed methods could provide an interesting path to be explored.

To sum up, we propose that research on academic mentoring should be guided by some sensitizing categories that help researchers to indicate the type of mentoring they are going to investigate, i.e. formal or informal, who is the target group, and which model. Instead of distinguishing between type of outcomes, as most literature does, we propose distinguishing between short-term and long-term effects and analyzing them in relation to the mentor, the mentee, and the institution. The longitudinal perspective is important and a theoretical background is necessary. This is shown in the next figure.

Figure 1 A model to guide future research on mentoring



Source: authors' elaboration

10. Conclusion

This literature review aimed to focus on academic mentoring for women, to understand the rationale for mentoring women, the main issues addressed, and the uncovered topics; as well as proposing a model for future research. We showed that literature on academic mentoring is much less developed than literature on mentoring in general, and quite fragmented especially when looking for contributions on mentoring women. The theoretical background is sometimes quite poor, mentoring is often confused with supervision, studies are usually interested in investigating the effects for the mentee and rely on self-reported measures; moreover, there are few longitudinal research studies.

This situation not only renders it difficult to make academic mentoring a consistent research area. It also presents a challenge in drawing implications from practice from a sound evidence base. This means that mentoring offers many research opportunities to scholars interested in exploring the issue further. If the rationale for women's academic mentoring is to advance gender equality in academia, we need to learn more about the long-term effects of mentoring at both the individual and institutional level. Mentoring seems to have positive effects on the mentee, but we need to understand if this is going to help institutions to change and to become more gender equality and diversity oriented.

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Table 1 Literature selected in this review

References	Summary of methods	Retrieved from
1. The mentee's perspective and mentoring outcomes		
Agosto, V., Karanxha, Z., Unterreiner, A., Cobb-Roberts, D., Esnard, T., Wu, K., et al. (2016). "Running Bamboo: A Mentoring Network of Women Intending to Thrive in Academia," *NASPA Journal about Women in Higher Education* 9(1): 74–89.	Autobiographical study of a group of academic women involved in peer mentoring. Esnard et al. (2015) provide a follow-up to this paper.	ERIC
Bilimoria, D., Perry, S. R., Liang, X., Eleanor Palo, S., Higgins, P., and Taylor, C. (2006). "How Do Female and Male Faculty Members Construct Job Satisfaction? The Roles of Perceived Institutional Leadership and Mentoring and their Mediating Processes," *Journal of Technology Transfer* 31(3): 355–365.	Survey on 248 professors (male and female) from a US private university.	ProQuest
Bell, A., and Treleaven, L. (2011). "Looking for Professor Right: Mentee Selection of Mentors in a Formal Mentoring Program," *Higher Education* 61(5): 545–561.	Study of a mentoring programme, University of Sydney, which the authors organized.	EBSCO / ProQuest
Blau, F. D., Currie, J. M., Croson, R. T. A., and Ginther, D. K. (2010). "Can Mentoring Help Female Assistant Professors? Interim Results from a Randomized Trial," *The American Economic Review* 100(2): 348–352.	Study (randomized control trial) of three cohorts of participants to a mentoring programme for women economists (US).	ERIC / ProQuest
Buzzanell, P. M., Long, Z., Anderson, L. B., Kokini, K., and Batra, J. C. (2015). "Mentoring in Academe: A Feminist Poststructural Lens on Stories of Women Engineering Faculty of Color," *Management Communication Quarterly* 29(3): 440–457.	Critical analysis of the mentoring experiences of women of colour in a faculty of engineering.	EBSCO
Çetin, A. T., Kizil, C., and Zengin, H. I. (2013). "Impact of Mentoring on Organizational Commitment and Job Satisfaction of Accounting-Finance Academicians Employed in Turkey," *Emerging Markets Journal* 3(2): 1–28.	Survey on 90 academics in accounting and finance from Turkish public and private universities.	ProQuest
Cullen, D. L., and Luna, G. (1993). "Women Mentoring in Academe: Addressing the Gender Gap in Higher Education," *Gender and Education* 5(2): 125–137.	In-depth interviews to 24 senior women about their mentoring experiences (as mentees or mentors).	ERIC
Curry, N. D. (2011). *Mentoring and Professional Identity Development for African American Female Doctoral Students: An Exploratory Study.* PhD diss., Michigan State University.	Exploratory study of the mentoring experiences of 16 female doctoral students from an African-American background.	ERIC

Devos, A. (2008). "Where Enterprise and Equity Meet: The Rise of Mentoring for Women in Australian Universities," *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 29(2): 195–205.	Review of mentoring programmes in Australia and focus on the mentoring experiences (mentee) of two academic women.	EBSCO / ProQuest
Devos, A. (2007). "Mentoring and the New Curriculum of Academic Work," *Journal of Organisational Transformation & Social Change* 4(3): 225–236.	Position paper, importance of mentoring of women faculty for promoting self-review and self-regulation in an increasingly performance driven climate.	EBSCO
Devos, A. (2004). "The Project of Self, the Project of Others: Mentoring, Women and the Fashioning of the Academic Subject," *Studies in Continuing Education* 26(1): 67–80.	In-depth study of the mentoring experiences of 17 Australian women academics. Focus on one experience to understand how women construct identity through mentoring.	EBSCO / ERIC
Dixon-Reeves, R. (2003). "Mentoring as a Precursor to Incorporation: An Assess- ment of the Mentoring Experience of Recently Minted Ph.D.s," *Journal of Black Studies* 34(1): 12–27.	Survey on recently awarded PhD in a US institution.	
Doyle-Scharff, M., and Conley, V. M. (2015). "Women Faculty in STEM and the Value of Mentoring in Advancing the Field," in Howley, A. and Trube, M. B. (eds), *Mentoring for the Professions: Orienting toward the Future*. Charlotte, NC: IAP Information Age Publishing, 243–258.	Review, mentoring for women in STEM.	EBSCO
Johnson-Bailey, J., and Cervero, R. M. (2004). "Mentoring in Black and White: The Intricacies of Cross-cultural Mentoring," *Mentoring & Tutor-ing: Partnership in Learning* 12(1): 7–21.	Auto-ethnographic account of the authors' mentoring experiences.	ERIC
Johnston, S., and McCormack, C. (1997). "Developing Research Potential through a Structured Mentoring Program: Issues Arising," *Higher Education* 33(3): 251–264.	Study of a mentoring programme tailored to enhance research skills in junior academics, University of Canberra.	
Gardiner, M., Tiggemann, M., Kearns, H., and Marshall, K. (2007). "Show Me the Money! An Empirical Analysis of Mentoring Outcomes for Women in Academia," *Higher Education Research & Development* 26(4): 425–442.	Longitudinal study on a mentoring programme for women academics in an Australian university.	ERIC / EBSCO
Garrett, R. U. (2006). "Effects of Mentoring on the Quality of the Doctoral Experience at Historically Black Colleges and Universities: Results of Groundwork Investigation," *Race, Gender & Class* 13(3/4): 311–327.	Survey on 47 doctoral students near to completion, US.	

Gibson, S. K. (2004). "Being Mentored: The Experience of Women Faculty," *Journal of Career Development* 30(3): 173–188.	Phenomenological study on women faculty from the University of Minnesota about their experiences of mentoring.	ERIC
Gibson, S. K. (2006). "Mentoring of Women Faculty: The Role of Organizational Politics and Culture," *Innovative Higher Education* 31(1): 63–79.	Phenomenological study on women faculty from the University of Minnesota about their experiences of mentoring.	ERIC
Godwin, K. (2013). "The University of Sheffield: Mentoring Women Academics," *Equal Opportunities Review* 236: 24–25.	Presentation of the initiative for mentoring women at the University of Sheffield.	EBSCO
Grant, C. M., and Simmons, J. C. (2008). "Narratives on Experiences of African-American Women in the Academy: Conceptualizing Effective Mentoring Relationships of Doctoral Student and Faculty," *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 21(5): 501–517.	Narrative analysis of the mentoring experiences of African-American female doctoral student aspiring for the professoriate.	EBSCO
Grant, C. M., and Ghee, S. (2015). "Mentoring 101: Advancing African-American Women Faculty and Doctoral Student Success in Predominantly White Institutions," *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 28(7): 759–785.	Narrative analysis of the mentoring experiences of African American women faculty and PhD students.	EBSCO
Grant, L., Ward, K. B., and Forshner, C. (1993). "Mentoring, Gender, and Careers of Academic Scientists," paper presented at the annual meeting of the AERA, Atlanta, GA.	Survey (N 587) and in-depth interviews (N 55) with mentees form different disciplines.	ERIC
Kirchmeyer, C. (2005). "The Effects of Mentoring on Academic Careers over Time: Testing Performance and Political Perspectives," *Human Relations* 58(5): 637–660.	Survey on 143 US academics, male and female, in accounting.	ProQuest
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Lloyd-Jones, B. (2014). "African-American Women in the Professoriate: Addressing Social Exclusion and Scholarly Marginalization through Mentoring," *Mentoring & Tutoring: Partnership in Learning* 22(4): 269–283.	Conceptual paper and literature review.	ERIC / SCOPUS
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A CRITICAL APPROACH TO EU URBAN POLICY FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF GENDER

SONIA DE GREGORIO HURTADO
s.degregorio.hurtado@gmail.com
Department of Urban and Spatial Planning,
Technical University of Madrid

ABSTRACT. Cities are on the focus of policy action in the European Union (EU) from the '80s. The relevance of the urban issue within the UE has evolved through a complex process that has led to the definition of the urban dimension of the EU policy. The development of this process has given place to the construction of a concept of "sustainable/integrated urban development" encoded in the policy tools launched through the years by the European Commission (EC) and other relevant stakeholders. In 1999 entered into force the Treaty of Amsterdam, which brought a new insight regarding gender issues at EU level, as it introduced for the first time the concept of gender mainstreaming. This work addresses the question: Has the urban dimension of the EU policy integrated the gender perspective vision embraced by the Treaty of Amsterdam? The study undertakes the analysis of the discourse adopted by written policy tools launched in the EU context from 1997 (year in which the Treaty was signed) to the present in order to understand if the gender perspective has been mainstreamed in the urban policy of the EU. The analysis developed shows that the gender dimension has been excluded from the definition of the policy problem (contradicting the Treaty of Amsterdam and subsequent legislation). The outputs of the research allow shedding light on this issue with the aim of bringing it to debate. This is considered particularly important in the current situation, in which the Members States are starting to implement the initiatives for sustainable urban development co-funded by the Structural Funds[1] in this period of the Cohesion Policy (2014–2020).

Keywords: urban policy of the EU; gender; gender mainstreaming;
sustainable urban development; policy discourse

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1. Introduction

Cities have been on the focus of EU policy since the end of the '80s. Due to the awareness of the relevance of urban issues in achieving the objectives of the treaties, a complex process of policy-building has taken place within EU institutions since the late '80s. This has led to the definition of what we could call today the "European Union's urban policy" or the "urban dimension of EU policy."

In order to understand the process of policy construction that has taken place over the last three decades, it is relevant to mention that the European Union does not have powers in the field of urban issues. The legislative capacity in this regard lies in the hands of the Member States. Consequently, over the years, urban issues within EU policy have been drafted using a number of non-compulsory policy tools of different types, produced and launched by different stakeholders (the European Commission, the European Parliament, the Committee of the Regions, the Informal Meeting of Ministers of Urban Development, and organizations such as Eurocities, etc.).

These tools consist mainly of i) written documents (policy documents such as EC communications, case studies of best practices, guidelines, etc.); ii) instruments for urban regeneration launched by the European Commission (the Urban Pilot Projects – UPP, and the URBAN Community Initiative), co-funded by the Structural Funds; and iii) URBACT, a program aimed to develop knowledge, practical experience, and capacity in networks of cities that work around a specific policy challenge, considered relevant to sustainable urban development in the context of the Europe 2020 strategy (European Commission, 2010).

There are also other instruments, initiatives and programs that have exerted an influence on the definition and development of the urban dimension in EU policy, however those mentioned here are the most specific and visible ones, which have produced the most demonstrable results, and which have been launched within this specific policy domain over the last three decades (De Gregorio, 2017).

This process of policy-building has led to the construction of a concept of "sustainable/integrated urban development" that has been integrated within the policy tools mentioned through the development of a specific policy discourse. This work is aimed at understanding how the gender perspective has been introduced into the EU's policy discourse on urban matters over the last 15 years.

In order to achieve this objective, it is important to take into account that in 1999 the Treaty of Amsterdam (signed in 1997) came into force. It brought new insight into gender issues at Community level, as for the first time it introduced the concept of gender mainstreaming within the Treaty.

This new approach to equal opportunities included multiple new provisions strengthening EU competence in this policy area. The Treaty moved equal opportunities on from a focus on equal pay to become a central objective of EU political commitment. As a result equal treatment between women and men now represents a fundamental right enshrined in EU law (Booth and Bennett, 2002: 2). For Pollack and Hafner-Burton (2000), the most far-reaching provision in the new Treaty was the revision of Articles 2 and 3 that made equal opportunities for women and men a central objective of the Union.

As a result of the adoption of this perspective, from that moment on, the gender perspective became integrated within many policy areas where the EU was politically active. Today, 15 years after the adoption of the gender mainstreaming approach in the Treaty, the current level of implementation of this perspective within the different policy areas is highly heterogeneous: some policy fields have integrated or have started to mainstream gender (e.g. gender is now mainstreamed within EU research policy), while others have not yet started this process.

As will be explained, the results of this research indicate that the gender dimension has not yet been introduced into EU urban policy. A policy field that sets down the guidelines for sustainable urban development in EU territory, and that lays the basis of the criteria on how EU cities contribute to support the daily life of their citizens through all the initiatives that are co-funded by the Structural Fund under the EU Cohesion Policy.

The main contribution of this study consists of identifying this lack of implementation. It is extremely relevant to shed light on this to: i) raise awareness of this gap; ii) start a process aimed at exploring the reasons that explain the situation; iii) contribute to acquiring knowledge aimed at facing limitations and obstacles in order to bring about a transformation. All this is considered particularly significant in the context of the urban dimension of the Cohesion Policy in the period 2014–2020, under which initiatives and programmes for urban development are being launched in the different Member States, particularly with the support of "the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), in which Member States are now obliged to earmark at least 5% of their national ERDF allocation (…) to support integrated sustainable urban development strategies" (European Commission, 2015: 3).

The awareness of this lack of implementation could give rise to policy action orientated to introducing the gender dimension into all the urban initiatives co-funded by the Structural Funds, which will have a beneficial impact on EU cities in the short and medium term.[2] This is particularly vital, as many of these tools are aimed at regenerating urban areas, and the integration of the gender dimension within urban regeneration can contribute to strengthening social interaction and reducing social exclusion (García-

Ramón, Ortiz and Prats, 2004), which is an explicit objective of EU urban policy (see for example (European Commission, 2011)).

This study is based on the following structure: Part 2 introduces the approach adopted by the research and establishes the conceptual framework for the analysis, Part 3 explains the methodology, Part 4 develops the discussion, and Part 5 gathers the conclusions and their implications, including recommendations for policy action in the short and medium term, aimed at integrating the gender perspective in EU urban policy within the current budget of the Cohesion Policy.

2. Conceptual and Methodological Frameworks for a Critical Approach to EU Urban Policy from the Viewpoint of Gender

In 1998, one year after signing the Treaty of Amsterdam, the European Commission published a policy document (communication) that exerted a relevant impact on the development of the EU's urban dimension (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2006). It was entitled *Sustainable Urban Development in the European Union: A Framework for Action* (European Commission, 1998). The document had as its main objective "to stimulate better coordination of existing Community actions" that affected urban areas (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2006: 382). To achieve this objective it took into account the legal changes that were taking place within the Union at that moment, in order to develop an urban policy framework consistent with the overall policy scenario and EU political objectives. Consequently, it mentioned the Treaty of Amsterdam as one of the main legal changes taking place in the EU context, explaining the consequences that this new framework would have for urban matters in the EU. In fact, the implications for cities as regards much of the content of the Treaty were addressed by the document (social cohesion, sustainable urban development, etc.). It is relevant to highlight that it did not mention the need to implement the gender mainstreaming approach within the context of urban policies or urban planning.

It is worth underlining that a first and superficial look at the document might give the reader the impression that gender was considered implicitly in the text's policy discourse. This is because the document follows a general discourse that underlines equality as a policy objective of the EU, but this is a concept of equality biased from the perspective of gender, which takes equality to mean sameness, concealing the fact that the social construction of gender entails women and men having different needs and expectations regarding public and private spaces (housing) in cities.

By doing this, the document fails to consider gender as a driver of discrimination in the field of urban policies. It is important to underline that, while it does not consider discrimination on a gender basis, it does mention

discrimination due to sex, race or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation, as forms of existing inequality in EU urban areas which have to be tackled through anti-discrimination measures in order to achieve social cohesion and equality (European Commission, 1998). The use and selection of words does not have neutral effects: as a result gender is left out of the policy discourse and the definition of the policy problem, ignoring the impact that the social construction of gender has on EU citizens who live in urban areas (almost 72%, according to the European Commission (European Commission, 2014)).

Evidence gathered by the literature on gender and urban issues shows that gender differences have not always been considered by urban planning. Historically the work of planners and policy makers has adopted a universal tone, focusing on a male reference point as the implicit norm (Fainstein and Servon, 2005). This implicit understanding of urban planning has given rise to cities that do not support the needs and expectations of different groups of citizens in the same way, particularly the needs and requirements of those who have most of the responsibility for the burden of child-bearing and care giving: caring for children and other adults (older relatives and relatives with disabilities), as well as housework (care work) (Sánchez de Madariaga, 2004). The care work which sustains society has been socially assigned to women, and even if things are changing slowly it is women who perform this. For example, in the EU women spend an average of 26 hours per week on care and household activities, compared with 9 hours for men (European Commission, 2014). At the same time, in 2013, only 63% of European women held jobs in paid employment (ibid.). The Europe 2020 strategy considers an objective to increase this percentage by 2020 (European Commission, 2010) by promoting gender equality.

The dual role of women in society (as responsible for care work, and as workers in wage-earning jobs) determines the needs and expectations they have regarding urban environments and housing, since public and private environments shape the way we live our lives, how easy we can move from home–to school–to work; how our social relationships are aided by urban design; what our perception of safety in urban environments is; whether or not we can embark on a professional career, etc. Ignoring how town planning can contribute to providing a satisfactory response to women's needs reproduces gender inequalities in society, and particularly in cities, as "the built environment plays a role in shaping gendered identities, practices and power relations" (Burgess, 2008: 113).

The integration of the gender perspective in urban policies "redefines existing issues in important ways, and makes women visible not only as subjects of planning but also as active participants in planning and policy-making processes" (Fainstein and Servon, 2005: 4), which can contribute

significantly to reshape the urban dimension of EU policy, an issue that has a real potential to improve the quality of life of all citizens and to achieve the EU objectives of equality and social cohesion. This is because, as the literature argues, the integration of gender into urban policies would result in a more sustainable, equal and accessible built environment for all citizens (Greed, 2005a).

From the viewpoint of this approach, we can thus state that the analysis of the EC Communication *Sustainable Urban Development in the European Union: A Framework for Action*, shows that by excluding the gender issue from the definition of the policy problem it is biased from a gender perspective. By doing this, the document not only contradicts the gender vision set by the Treaty of Amsterdam, it also demonstrates a lack of attention to the substantial body of research already undertaken. The observation of this fact, in the first exploratory work developed by this study, focused the research on understanding whether the subsequent policy tools (which have been relevant in the construction of EU urban policy) had applied a similar approach, excluding gender from the policy problem they define, or had included it in their policy discourse on urban matters. This would enable us to ascertain whether the biased discourse in the 1998 document had developed over time.

In order to obtain a general overview of this issue, the research ran an empirical study that consisted of reviewing a selection of the written policy tools that have played a relevant role in the definition and development of EU urban policy through the years using the discourse analysis methodology. This methodology was selected because it allows studying the construction of the policy discourse. This is because it sheds light on how the discourse can enhance or avoid the inclusion of certain keywords, concepts and ideas. In fact, the analysis of policy discourse shows us that it plays an ideological role through justification, ambiguity, hidden and unsaid postulations (Pasqui, 2014). It builds and enhances some concepts and contributes to the definition of the policy problem, while deliberately leaving out some others (concealing or excluding them). The discourse attempts to introduce and implant ideas about the current situation and how it should be improved, working to persuade society (by shaping the mind-sets of practitioners, associations, citizens, etc.) that its definition of the policy problem is correct. The Linguistic Turn in Western Philosophy evidenced this representational force of language: The performative and constructive function of language gives it a strong political meaning, playing a key role in the construction of politics, as "the actors can choose the language in light of their communicative intent so that they can better make use of the power of language to construct certain reality" (Sun, 2007).

Adopting a similar vision about the "power of language" from a gender perspective the Project Gendered Innovations,[3] supported by the European Commission, underlines the importance of the use of language to avoid gender bias in different fields, adopting the view expressed by Keller (1992): "sharing a language means sharing a conceptual universe" within which assumptions, judgements, and interpretations of data can be said to "make sense." It provides examples of how word choice used in research and policy documents have the power of shape the questions asked, the results obtained, and the interpretations made.[4]

On the basis of what has been explained and described in this part, this work adopts as conceptual framework the literature that underlines the relevance of adopting a gender perspective in urban policies, and particularly: Fainstein and Servon (2005), Jarvis and Kantor (2009), Sánchez de Madariaga (2004), Sánchez de Madariaga and Roberts (2013), Reeves et al. (2012), Greed (1994, 2005a, and 2005b). This conceptual framework establishes the base on which the methodological approach selected (discourse analysis) can be undertook. The method applied has been designed so that it is able to help understand if the discourse developed by the documents launched in the context of the urban policy of the EU has integrated the gender perspective. The method adopted is explained in the following part:

3. Method

As mentioned, the method selected has been the discourse analysis. In order to apply it to achieve the objective of the study, there have been selected a number of the afore-mentioned policy tools (written policy documents) to analyze the policy discourse encoded in them. Each of the policy documents has been considered a unit of analysis (Sayago, 2014). The policy tools analyzed have been selected on the basis of the following criteria:

- They are considered and recognized by different stakeholders as having exerted relevant influence over the definition of EU urban policy over time.
- They are documents drafted over the period 1999–2013, so during the programming periods of the EU Cohesion Policy 1994–1999, 2000–2006, 2007–2013, so that the evolution of the policy discourse can be analyzed.
- They are documents of different types: EC-produced political documents, best practices launched for benchmarking, guidelines/position papers by the Member States, documents drafted by EU experts and published by the EC.
- All of these are written documents in which EU policy discourse has been encoded within the language used. They enable policy discourse to be analyzed through the written language.

The following are the policy instruments analyzed over the different periods of the EU's Cohesion Policy:

- **Period 1994–1999** (the study has only considered documents published after the Treaty of Amsterdam was signed):
  - *Sustainable Urban Development in the European Union: A Framework for Action* (European Commission, 1998).
- **Period 2000–2006:**
  - *Partnership with the Cities. The Urban Community Initiative* (European Commission, 2003).
- **Period 2007–2013:**
  - *Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities* (Informal meeting of Ministers of Urban Development, 2007).
  - *Cities of Tomorrow. Challenges, visions, ways forward* (European Commission, 2011).
  - *Urban development in the EU: 50 projects supported by the European Regional Development Fund during the 2007–13 period* (European Commission, 2013).

In order to achieve its objective the study has constructed a research protocol aimed at testing the policy discourse encoded within all the policy tools studied. The protocol has identified a set of analytical categories, formulated as questions, constructed on the basis of the review of the literature on the relevance of integrating the gender perspective in urban policies. It has enabled us to analyze the different units of analysis in an homogeneous way, so that comparison of approaches along the different programming periods was possible. The set of analytical categories/questions has been constructed on the basis of the following criteria:

- They have been selected through a review of the literature on the relevance of integrating the gender perspective in urban policies and planning, and a number of manuals for implementation, edited by different institutions.[5] This has enabled us to identify categories oriented to understand what gender-related concepts, ideas and keywords could be: i) making present the gender perspective; ii) introducing concepts and ideas biased from a gender perspective; iii) substituting gender, building up on perspectives that might seem to be equivalent but which are reductive or conceal the implications of gender differences in urban areas.
- They are aimed to adopt the approach to gender in research made explicit by Fainstein and Servon (2005: 6) in the introduction to the book *Gender and Planning. A Reader*: "gender is not the only lens that allows us to look at planning and policy issues from another perspective." Other analytical categories such as race, class, age, etc. must be interrelated with gender in

order to gain an overall and comprehensive understanding of societies which planning has an impact on.

- They have been constructed taking into account the "primary problems" pointed out by Eischler (1991), regarding biased research and public policy from the perspective of gender.[6]

The protocol included the following analytical categories, formulated as questions:

- Does the document explicitly introduce the concept of gender mainstreaming?
- Does the document mention "gender"? If yes, what is the meaning of/approach to "gender"? how many times is this word mentioned?
- Does the document introduce the gender dimension of town planning and urban policies, even if indirectly/implicitly? If yes, how is it introduced?
- Does the document mention "equal opportunities"? How?
- Does the document mention "social cohesion"? How?
- Does the document mention "social diversity"? How?
- Does the document mention "women" and "sex"? How?
- Does the document mention other concepts relevant to the analysis? What are they?
- Does the document include relevant statistics with data disaggregated by sex that takes gender implications into account in urban areas?
- Does the document highlight the necessity of taking into account that women and men might benefit differently from an urban policy proposal?
- Does the document mention the need to identify and provide an answer to the different needs of women and men regarding urban public places, public facilities, mobility and housing?
- Does the document include recommendations aimed to ensure gender equality through all the stages of the policy-process (decision-making, definition of objectives, policy design/planning, policy implementation, and evaluation)?

After the analysis of each written document, the research observed and compared the results with the aim of understanding the policy discourse on gender that has been encoded within the documents from the different periods of the Cohesion Policy. The aim was to identify potential development or transformation of the discourse over time. Afterwards the study discussed the results from an overall and comparative approach.

4. Answering the Question: Has Gender Been Mainstreamed in the Documents Launched from EU Urban Policy?

As mentioned above (Part 2) the document *Sustainable Urban Development in the European Union: A Framework for Action* (European Commission, 1998) ignored gender as a social category of analysis to be included in urban policies and planning through the implementation of gender mainstreaming, as established by the Treaty of Amsterdam. Leaving gender out of the definition of the policy problem resulted in a policy tool that provided guidelines for sustainable urban development in which the implication of gender differences were not taken into account. From the perspective taken by this work it can be said that it gave rise to a biased concept of sustainable urban development, based on a reductive/wrong idea of EU society.

Considering the "primary problems" pointed out by Eischler (1991), regarding biased research and public policy from the perspective of gender, it can be said that the document is characterized by a problem of "gender insensitivity" that consists of ignoring gender as a fundamental social variable. As she points out, gender insensitivity may or may not be a result of an androcentric bias and in most cases it is difficult or impossible to tell because typically gender insensitivity is based on a conception that considers gender as too unimportant to be mentioned. According to her, it is relevant to identify gender insensitivity, as this is "an important precondition for identifying and correcting other forms of sexism in research" (Eichler, 1988: 82) and public policy. The observation of the subsequent UE policy tools analyzed demonstrates that the approach identified in this communication by the EC has not changed through time, and can be found even in the more recent tools. In the following paragraphs we describe the most important results of the discourse analysis undertook:

The only document analyzed that explicitly mentions the term "gender mainstreaming" is *Partnership with the Cities. The Urban Community Initiative* (European Commission, 2003). It introduces gender mainstreaming in the following terms:

> The two key elements of the general principle of equal opportunities laid down in the Community Treaties are the ban on discrimination on grounds of nationality and equal pay for men and women. Equal opportunities are intended to apply to all Community policies, especially through the 'gender mainstreaming' approach. Gender mainstreaming should ensure that measures and operations financed by the Structural Funds take into account their effects on the respective situations of women and men (ibid.: 47).

In the quotation, the concept of "gender mainstreaming" is linked to a narrow concept of "equal opportunities" that focuses on overcoming discrimination

on the basis of nationality and equal pay for men and women. This fact reduces the cross-sectional nature of gender mainstreaming set down in the Treaty of Amsterdam (equality and equal opportunities for women and men regarding any issue), and its transformational capacity of urban areas (particularly if associated to the Structural Funds which allocate financial resources to specific initiatives and measures to improve EU cities).

Interestingly none of the subsequent documents analyzed explicitly or implicitly mention the implementation of gender mainstreaming to urban policies.

Similarly, the dual social role of women (as responsible for most of the care work and as workers in wage-earning jobs) is not mentioned in the policy tools reviewed, even if it is recurrently pointed out by the literature (e.g. Reeves et al., 2012; Fainstein and Servon, 2005; Sánchez de Madariaga and Roberts, 2013; European Commission, 2014) and the documents drafted on EU social policy, as a major driver of inequality in our society.

Many of the tools analyzed point to equal opportunities for men and women as a necessary step to increase the number of women in the EU's work force. For example, the document *Cities of Tomorrow* mentions that an Agenda for new skills and jobs has been launched in the EU with the aim of achieving a 75% employment rate for women and men for the 20–64-year-old age group by 2020 (European Commission, 2011). This approach to equal opportunities between women and men is the same as in the Europe 2020 Strategy (in fact gender equity is only mentioned in the strategy Europe 2020 regarding this issue): the documents point out equal opportunities for men and women as necessary for a more competitive work force, but fail in proposing guidelines and measures to achieve it through urban policies. By doing this they fail to understand that urban policies can perpetuate inequality between women and men.

From the different documents analyzed we have found words that conceal or replace the gender perspective with a narrow idea of equal opportunities or equity between men and women as regards urban planning and policy:

- The word "parents" is used in a sense that assumes that parents and mothers are groups that have the same needs with regard to urban areas, public facilities, public transport, etc. ("Making non-car mobility more attractive requires accessible public transport – accessible within the city and within its labour market basin, but also accessible to the elderly, the disabled and parents with small children" (European Commission, 2011: 46)).
- The word "family" is used similarly. Observing that a very common case of gender insensitivity is to consider the family as the smallest unit of analysis (familism), Eichler considers familism to be a source of (gender) bias (Eichler, 1988). Familism is often found in the document Cities of Tomorrow: "Out-migration from the city centre to the peri-urban areas may also result from a

demand for a greener, more attractive and family-friendly environment" (ibid.: 26); "To reduce urban sprawl, Cities of tomorrow improves the compactness and attractiveness of city centres in terms of quality of life, price-affordable housing, and family friendliness" (ibid.: 55).

- The document *Cities of Tomorrow* conceals gender differences in the use of urban areas using terms such as "people" and "child-friendly city": "In other cases, people living outside cities must bring their children to schools in the city or go there for health, social or cultural services. It is, therefore meaningless to plan mobility in a city without taking into account the mobility patterns of those living in the greater urban functional area" (ibid.: 56).
- The word "citizens" is used in many cases as the examples mentioned above: "Cities and urban areas, where the majority of EU citizens live, play a key role in promoting fairer societies which ensure equal opportunities. The various flagship initiatives of the Europe 2020 Strategy will help to increase opportunities and access to jobs and services for all EU citizens throughout their lifecycle" (European Commission, 2013: 22). In this case the lifecycle differences between men and women, and particularly the impact of maternity and child-care on the latter, is not taken into account.

The absence or biased gender dimension seems to contradict with the general discourse of all the documents analyzed; a discourse heavily based on the general concepts of social inclusion and social equality. Contradiction lies also in the fact that the most recent policy tools analyzed agree in considering the demographic challenge as one of the threats to achieving sustainable urban development in the EU, pointing out that this problem has to be addressed in terms of a wide range of policy fields that include action from the domain of urban policies. For example the document *Cities of Tomorrow* recognizes that: "as fertility remains considerably below replacement rates, in most EU Member States the relatively small EU population growth still observed is mainly due to migration flows" (European Commission, 2011: 15), however, it fails to mention the relevance of the gender issue regarding the demographic challenge, something that ignores the evidence on the importance of gender equality policies in addressing this issue, even if it was recognized by the European Commission in 2006 (European Commission, 2006)).

It should be noted that none of the tools analyzed use disaggregated statistics by gendering the data and indicators they used to set the overall picture of the EU city. This data is needed as the basis to establish the social scenario to which the guidelines, general ideas and concept of sustainable urban development will be applied. As a consequence it can be said that the guidelines for achieving more sustainable cities in the EU are biased from the gender perspective.

From the documents analyzed no mention has been found of the fact that women and men benefit differently from policy proposals. Policy discourse takes equality to mean sameness. This is a major issue to be taken into account, since the promotion of gender equality is enshrined in EU legislation, which regulates the funds, as an overarching principle. Particularly for the budget period of the Cohesion Policy 2007–2013, the EU presented as an obligation the introduction of the principle of equal opportunities between women and men and non-discrimination in action funded by the Structural Funds. Specifically the EU rules on the Structural Funds and the Cohesion Fund stated:

> Member States and regions should pursue the objective of equality between men and women at all stages of the preparation and implementation of programmes and projects. This may be done through specific actions to promote equality or combat discrimination, as well as by taking careful account of how other projects and the management of the funds may affect women and men (European Commission, 2005: 14).

From the analysis it emerges that none of the documents explicitly include recommendations that will help to ensure gender equality through urban planning and related policies at all levels and throughout the complete policy development (decision-making, definition of objectives, policy design, policy implementation, assessment). In some cases they include guidelines to achieve equal opportunities that will help achieve gender equality but as an indirect effect. Regarding this point, we should mention Zibell's (2013) analysis of the *Leipzig Chart* from the gender perspective. For her, this policy tool does not contribute to transforming the values and ideas that determine the decision-making, design and implementation processes that reproduce gender stereotypes in the EU: "the setting in which the changes are envisaged continues to have patriarchal implications" (Zibell, 2013: 80), adopting the traditional androcentric perspective, which not only reproduces urban areas that maintain gender differences but also an approach that fails to encompass the perspective of gender mainstreaming (integrating gender throughout the whole policy process at all levels) within policy processes.

5. Conclusions and Policy Implications

The analysis undertaken reveals that the urban dimension of EU policy has failed to integrate the gender dimension in its policy discourse, while other topics (e.g., climate change or the demographic challenge) have been integrated within the concept of sustainable urban development, built up over the different periods of the Cohesion Policy. In fact, the study undertaken

has led to this first and most important conclusion: the gender dimension has not been integrated within the policy tools analyzed. Since they are representative of EU discourse on urban issues during the last periods of the Cohesion Policy (1994–1999, 2000–2007, 2007–2014), it is possible to state that gender mainstreaming has not been integrated within the urban dimension of the EU policy, which contradicts the mandate of the Treaty of Amsterdam and the objective of social equity within the Union (particularly the concept of equal opportunities between men and women).

The review of the results highlighted in the abovementioned analysis also show that the lack of gender dimension in these policy tools seems to be "justified" by the development of a rhetorical discourse based on the inclusion and repetition of concepts such us: social cohesion, social equality, equal opportunities, family-friendly city, etc., however the view embraced by the policy discourse does not really integrate gender, as it fails to understand and implement the cross-sectional nature of this concept.

The review of the results show that even if the policy tools analyzed mention that the objective is to create cities for everyone, these are characterized by a "male by default" perspective, that conceals the gender implications of urban policies. By doing this, the documents contribute to perpetuating gender discrimination (e.g., concealing the different needs and expectations of men and women as regards their urban environments, and how fair urban areas can empower women).

The policy tools reviewed fail to build a vision of cities that aims to address the needs of all, regardless of their gender. Interestingly, other factors of difference such us age, physical health or ethnic group, are taken into account and mentioned frequently.

The policy tools analyzed make general statements that are not based on data broken down by sex. As a result, this is based on a biased presentation of EU society that gives rise to gender-biased guidelines for sustainable urban development.

Consequently, the concept of sustainable urban development, embodied in the policy discourse adopted by these tools, should be reviewed from this point of view. This is important in order to comply with EU gender equality policy, as mentioned above, and particularly to integrate a more comprehensive approach to urban issues, where gender is considered a relevant social category of analysis in understanding how urban policies could enhance the daily life of citizens, and how they benefit differently women and men.

In the context of the new budget period for the EU Cohesion Policy (2014–2020), Member States are deciding (in agreement with the EC and the regions) how EU guidelines on urban matters will be integrated into their national and regional projects. If gender is not integrated within the EU policy discourse (i.e. embedded within the policy discourse in documents produced

in the field of urban policy), which guide Member States in their urban strategies, this aspect will not be mainstreamed in the programs and projects to be co-funded by the Structural Funds for sustainable urban development in the coming years.

As the literature reveals (Tofarides, 2000; Gelli and Tedesco, 2001; De Gregorio, 2012), EU-produced policy instruments exert a relevant influence upon the definition of urban policy in the Member States, particularly in those that have been less active regarding this public policy domain (Carpenter, 2013). Consequently, the new programming period of the Cohesion Policy could represent an opportunity to incorporate the gender mainstreaming view within urban policies, at country, regional and, especially, local level. This would contribute to complying with the Treaty mandate on this issue and to funding (through the Structural Funds) sustainable urban development and urban regeneration strategies that contribute to achieving fairer cities for all.

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NOTES

1. European Regional Development Fund – ERDF, and European Social Fund – ESF.

2. This study is framed in the context of a wider study that is being run by the author, in which different policy tools launched in the context of EU urban policy, are being analyzed from the perspective of gender.

3. http://genderedinnovations.stanford.edu/index.html

4. Ibidem.

5. As mentioned in part 2, the study has focused particularly on the following contributions: Fainstein and Servon (2005), Sánchez de Madariaga (2004), Sánchez de Madariaga and Roberts (2013), Reeves et al. (2012), Greed (1994, 2005a, and 2005b), Jarvis and Kantor (2009), and the following manuals for implementation: Senatsverwaltung für Stadtenticklung (n.d.), Damyanovic et al. (2014), and RTPI (2003).

6. Eichler establishes four primary problems and three secondary problems as regards sexist research. She applies her own study to research. In this analysis the problems identified by Eischler are applied to policy documents.

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DEVELOPING ACTIONABLE RESEARCH PRIORITIES FOR LGBTI INCLUSION

M. V. LEE BADGETT
lbadgett@econs.umass.edu
Department of Economics,
The College of Social and Behavioral Sciences,
The University of Massachusetts Amherst;
Williams Institute,
The University of California, Los Angeles
(corresponding author)
PHILIP CREHAN
phil.crehan@gmail.com
Social Development Researcher,
Independent consultant

ABSTRACT. Heightened global concern about the human rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) people has called attention to the lack of adequate research on their lives and situations. With so little known in many parts of the world, filling knowledge and data gaps would be difficult without setting priorities. This paper uses the furthering of LGBTI inclusion as the criterion for identifying and recommending key research priorities. Our method for identifying potential priorities draws on a variety of sources, including a review of reports on research needs, consultations with researchers and LGBTI activists from many countries, and the findings of the UNDP LGBTI Inclusion Index consultation process. We find several key research priorities that stakeholders agree would advance inclusion, including research on health, education, economics, and political participation, as well as the development of a more robust research infrastructure.

Keywords: lesbian; gay; bisexual; transgender; intersex; data; research infrastructure

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1. Introduction

In 2015, all United Nations member states adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which are rooted in human rights principles with the aim of fighting poverty and inequality and promoting inclusive development, "leaving no one behind." Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) people have worked within their countries and globally to raise awareness about their experiences of persistent discrimination and exclusion.[1] However, LGBTI people have had very little data or research about their lives to draw on to inform policies, legislation, programs, and investments to advance LGBTI inclusion and respect for their rights. Today, the need for such knowledge greatly outstrips the current supply. This paper proposes a set of research priorities – the knowledge and data – that governments and donors could invest in to transform global action on LGBTI issues.

As the SDGs heighten the focus on measurable outcomes, data and knowledge about LGBTI people and the way that development policies and programs affect them, must catch up.[2] It is time to expand beyond the historical attention to HIV, which has underpinned advocacy efforts and allowed many health-based financing mechanisms to focus research on populations particularly at risk for HIV, notably gay men, men who have sex with men (MSM),[3] and (only recently) transgender women. An exclusive focus on HIV leaves out many other LGBTI people and the many other human rights and development challenges they face. Increasingly, bilateral and multilateral aid agencies, international foundations, and human rights organizations are prioritizing the well-being of LGBTI persons. More data and research would provide a better assessment of the lived experience of LGBTI people around the world, supporting advocacy and providing evidence on a range of fronts. Human rights organizations would have new ways to monitor the inclusion of LGBTI people and the fulfillment of government obligations and commitments in relation to international human rights standards. Governments, civil society actors, development agencies, and other partners need more data to understand the link between LGBTI exclusion and sustainable development and to create evidence-based laws, policies, programming, and budgeting. Moreover, LGBTI activists are seeking more data and research for advocacy to educate the world about their lives and the urgent need for change.[4]

Research has already been a powerful tool in LGBTI human rights and social change in some countries. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and researchers on LGBTI issues have worked with and successfully encouraged governments to collect data on same-sex couples and LGBTI people in many countries in North America, Europe, and Latin America. This information has helped to counter stereotypes and morality-based arguments by showing the very real harm of exclusion for LGBTI people and for society as a whole,

as well as the benefits of inclusion and respect for the rights of all. Recent research has allowed civil society actors to craft new arguments and policy makers to make more informed decisions about decriminalization, nondiscrimination laws and policies, health care, educational access, and legal and family recognition, along with many other issues. This new information has also led to other important developments, such as these examples:

• Research showing that LGBTI parents raise healthy children has supported successful litigation on child custody issues (Inter-American Court of Human Rights) and marriage equality (Colombia, United States).[5]
• A study demonstrating the economic cost of the exclusion of LGBTI people in India helped activists make new arguments to persuade policy makers of the value of inclusion.[6]
• Studies of the prevalence of HIV in Kenya have demonstrated the importance of focusing health care and prevention efforts on gay and bisexual men and transgender women.
• Data on prejudice toward LGBT people in the Caribbean documented the need for greater protection of human rights.

These examples provide a glimpse of the change that might be possible on a global scale with a greater investment in data and research to inform laws, policies, programs and budgeting. Yet in spite of its demonstrated need, only a tiny share – 5% – of the limited global funding for LGBTI issues currently goes to support research,[7] a level that is simply not adequate to meet the growing knowledge needs, and make use of the new opportunities, including in relation to the SDGs.

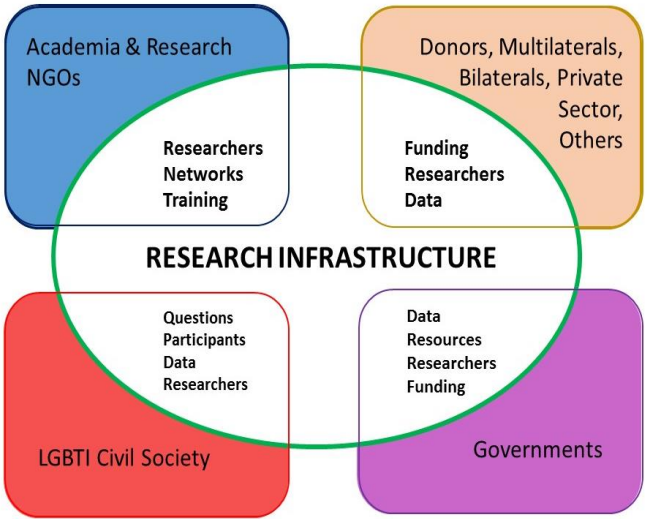
Given the immense gaps in data and knowledge, and given the urgent need for research to inform efforts toward full LGBTI inclusion, setting research priorities is likely to be a necessary strategy. To that end, this article uses the promotion of LGBTI inclusion as the standard for identifying priorities in data and research.

The research priorities that emerge, discussed in Section 2, take several forms. Many new research investments could take advantage of "low-hanging fruit" and produce immediate benefits. National and global data are currently available that are both unused and underused. Providing support to researchers and policy makers to analyze the LGBTI implications of that data in new research projects might, in some countries at least, meet some of the knowledge needs described below in Section 2.

Other research goals will take longer to achieve and will require new data and many more researchers to accomplish, issues taken up in Section 3. Accordingly, that section addresses the need to develop a global research infrastructure and outlines ways to accomplish these goals with an adequate level of financial resources. In the context of LGBTI issues, the research

infrastructure would be made up of national and global stakeholders and would include networks of researchers, LGBTI-related NGOs, government departments and ministries, parliaments, human rights and development institutions (national, bilateral, and multilateral), other funders including the private sector, and universities that produce and share knowledge about LGBTI people and issues (see Figure 1).[8] The significant scaling up of research will require investments in many parts of the proposed infrastructure. For example, getting all governments committed to and capable of collecting data on LGBTI people will require advocacy, sustained capacity building, and research strategies to create, test, and adapt methods for the most appropriate and reliable ways of asking questions on surveys about sexual orientation, gender identity and expression, and sex characteristics (SOGIESC) in a range of contexts. Training researchers to analyze the data and create a new knowledge base and working with LGBTI civil society groups and actors and national policy makers to identify local and national research priorities will both take significant time and resources. Nevertheless, together, over time, these efforts will create a sustainable global capacity to provide the data and knowledge needed to accelerate, monitor, and evaluate the rights and inclusion of LGBTI people in the development context.

Figure 1 The LGBTI Research Infrastructure



Section 4 concludes with a summary and long-term vision of what a successful global research community on LGBTI issues would look like. A discussion of methods informing this paper, including greater detail about the consultations, is in the appendix.

Overall, the strategic investments outlined in this paper would ensure attention to LGBTI people in the SDGs and create an evidence base for policies and programs that would more rapidly advance the goals of LGBTI inclusion and human rights globally. To this end, all of the priorities and recommendations discussed in the next two sections share these common principles:

- the importance of LGBTI community leadership and participation
- the responsibility of governments to develop knowledge and data about LGBTI people and their inclusion and rights, including to inform laws, policies, programs, and budgetary priorities to advance these objectives
- the use of ethical, safe and respectful methodologies that are most appropriate for and effective in different contexts
- the importance of research partnerships between governments, civil society, academia, and multilateral institutions
- the crucial contributions of a vibrant academic community
- the understanding that research should be relevant and useful in improving the lives of LGBTI people.

Building a research infrastructure will be a global public good, increasing research capacity and knowledge for all governments, interested agencies, civil society, and other stakeholders at the global, regional, and national levels. And as a shared public good, the approach outlined in this article provides opportunities for partnership and points to the need for collaboration across organizations in order to meet the knowledge needs for LGBTI human rights and development issues.

2. Research Priorities

It is clear that large data and knowledge gaps about LGBTI people persist. These gaps are reflected in an examination of current literature reviews and reports primarily written by CSOs, research institutions, human rights organizations, and government and development agencies, and are informed by formal and informal consultations. This section prioritizes the topics relevant to LGBTI inclusion that have been identified as most important by CSOs and others and presents clear *research priorities* for donors, program countries, development partners and the private sector to consider in the effort to promote a research revolution and create a sustainable LGBTI research infrastructure. We reference examples of reports or other sources for the priorities identified.

Four cross-cutting themes emerge consistently in literature and research and should be considered in connection with each research priority:

• *Participant safety and ethical concerns.* There is a potential risk that research may inadvertently subject LGBTI participants to violence or discrimination. To mitigate risks and promote safety, researchers should follow professional ethical guidelines and additionally should respect the wishes, rights, and dignity of the community; ensure confidentiality at all times; promote participant safety and security; prevent re-traumatization; and ensure that teams in the field are fully trained in best practices of data collection, including informed consent, and sensitized to the specific vulnerabilities of LGBTI people.[9] Also, research findings should be presented with an understanding of how they might be interpreted in negative ways.[10]

• *Intersectionality.* Different identity and social categories – including sexual orientation, gender identity, intersex status, gender, age, employment, religion, ethnicity, race, socioeconomic status, and so forth – often intersect in a way to shape one's experiences and societal expectations. For many LGBTI people, this intersection creates specific vulnerabilities to discrimination and violence.[11]

• *Disaggregating data.* Noting the diversity of "letters" within the LGBTI acronym, disaggregation into specific groups may fill in missing research and data gaps and highlight the experiences of specific groups of LGBTI people that have traditionally been ignored. Specifically, lesbian and bisexual women, transgender men and women, persons with non-binary identities, and intersex individuals are underrepresented in the bulk of existing research studies and data collection.[12]

• *Alternative experiences and identities.* The concepts in the LGBTI acronym may not always pertain to the diversity of experiences and identities that sexual and gender nonconforming individuals live with or adopt, for example third gender *hijras or kothis* in South Asia.[13] Alternative or local identities outside of the LGBTI acronym have substantial implications for data collection and measurements. In generating meaningful analysis and knowledge to guide policy, categories of identity can be developed through a participatory approach, with options to self-identify during data collection.[14]

Social inclusion priority dimensions

Promoting the social inclusion of marginalized groups occurs through a series of actions and programs toward a targeted end. In this sense, social inclusion is both a *process* as well as an *outcome*.[15] As such, inclusion offers salient entry points for analytical work on measuring the extent of LGBTI exclusion as well as establishing the indicators of a fully inclusive society.

Through a series of expert and community consultations that included representatives of civil society, academia, the private sector, and multilaterals, UNDP developed a process definition of LGBTI inclusion that is pertinent to the diversity of experiences that these communities face. Inclusion is defined as "…access to opportunities and achievements of outcomes for LGBTI people…,"[16] a process definition that should guide the collection of data in relation to the opportunities and outcomes in key sectors. The consultation process culminated in an agreement that an LGBTI Inclusion Index would provide a valuable measure of inclusion that could be compared globally for use in the context of the SDGs and other data needs.[17]

During the consultation process, the following five sectors were identified as priority dimensions for the proposed Index, categories that could also play a useful role in a broader research agenda on LGBTI inclusion. These dimensions will require that measures be developed that are comparable across countries to go into the Index. (See the recommendations and Figure 2 in Section 3).[18]

Health. Globally, data on the health equity and outcomes of LGBTI persons are sparse. However, some health institutions are building an evidence base and have already found an alarming global pattern: LGBTI persons experience poorer health outcomes than the general population and have specific vulnerabilities that are fueled by exclusion, social stigma, and discriminatory laws, policies, and practices.[19] The stigma and pathologization of people with non-normative SOGIESC have even fueled targeted violence against LGBTI people, including forced sterilizations, forced abortions, and/or forced anal examinations.[20] However, this evidence base needs to be bolstered with a specific focus on health issues beyond HIV, reproductive health, access to services, bias among health care providers, and other LGBTI health outcomes. In particular, research on the mental health of LGBTI people is largely absent in many countries, although data in some countries show that LGBTI people experience depression and anxiety at a higher rate in comparison to the general population, which can often lead to suicide.[21] Data on the extent of mental health disparities should therefore also be scaled up.[22]

Economic well-being. Due to a lack of data and research on the relationships between SOGIESC and poverty,[23] there now exists only a limited empirical link between discrimination, violence, and a lower socioeconomic status among LGBTI individuals.[24] What little research exists shows that LGBTI people are highly vulnerable to poverty,[25] most likely because they are cut off from the opportunities or resources needed to build one's human and social capital, capabilities, and/or productive assets. Although a preliminary link has emerged to show a cycle of poverty for some LGBTI people, more data and analysis are needed.[26] Economic well-being is also likely related to employ-

ment discrimination and its effect on earnings and employment, as well as laws and policies to reduce discrimination. A growing number of studies find income disparities for gay and bisexual men compared with heterosexual men.[27]

Personal security and violence. In many countries, LGBTI persons cannot safely report an act of violence or access justice following an attack, and thus the extent of SOGIESC-motivated violence is largely unknown. Although existing statistics show alarming rates of violence against LGBTI people[28] – and in particular against transgender women[29] – these figures are believed to be significantly underrepresenting the problem, including because of the reluctance of LGBTI people to report violence to authorities.

Education. Access to education for LGBTI persons is critical in its own right and also has direct impacts on other dimensions, including but not limited to economic empowerment. Not only do LGBTI people need to have access to education, education systems also need to meet their needs. This includes having policies on equality and diversity in education as well as measures to combat stigma, discrimination, and bullying. Globally, SOGIESC-motivated violence and bullying in schools can be very common and can be committed by peers as well as school staff, including teachers. This bullying often leads LGBTI students to drop out or experience significant mental health problems, which are harmful outcomes for the individual as well as the larger community and society. However, concrete research on the prevalence and extent of SOGIESC-motivated bullying, as well as its corresponding impact on individuals and societies, is sparse in many contexts, particularly in college and university settings.[30] When teachers, counselors, and other staff promote a culture of inclusion (perhaps by positive representation of LGBTI students in school curricula[31]), students are able to develop the essential skills necessary for a fulfilled life and thus add to productive societies.[32] Research can also show the effect of such inclusion programs on the prevalence of violence against LGBTI students and offer insights on how to combat it at a school-wide and governmental level.

Political and civic participation. Although participation by LGBTI people in political bodies, state-building exercises, and intra-state conflict resolution has been observed, a systematic examination of the opportunities for LGBTI people to engage in civic, political, and justice-oriented processes is largely lacking. An analysis of this kind of participation would include the existence of laws, policies and practices that relate directly to discrimination and other legislation that shapes the degree to which LGBTI people are fully included in civic and political life, such as laws regarding legal recognition of identity and criminalization, prohibiting unnecessary medical interventions on intersex people, particularly intersex children and adolescents, allowing the registration

of NGOs, and funding restraints.[33] In addition, analyses of elected officials, political parties, and LGBTI organizations and LGBTI publications would further illuminate the degree of inclusion.[34] This research could also directly identify the needs for capacity building within the LGBTI civil society community and effective strategies for political mobilization and change.

Other high-priority needs as identified by LGBTI civil society and institutions

Outside of social inclusion and the five sectors outlined above, many other important research priorities were articulated by CSOs, researchers, human rights institutions, government agencies, and development institutions.

Population estimates of LGBTI persons. Public discussions and research about LGBTI issues often start with estimates of the size of the LGBTI population. One estimate of the proportion of the U.S. population who identifies as LGBT (not including intersex individuals) is 3.8%, with higher estimates when asking about same-sex behaviors and attractions.[35] A more recent estimate in the U.S. shows that approximately 0.6% of all adults (1.4 million people) identify as transgender.[36] Although methodological challenges exist in deriving these estimates,[37] population estimates are useful for analyzing programs and demonstrating a need for more inclusive policies. A growing body of academic research has taken on the methodological challenges of designing survey questions and sampling methods.[38]

Measures of stigma in the general population and among public officials. Public opinion and attitudes about LGBTI people and issues matter and are sometimes mentioned separately as a research priority. These attitudes can act as barometers of potential violence or discrimination.[39] In this sense, research that measures attitudes toward LGBTI people may capture an important dimension of their ability (or inability) to access markets, services, or spaces. For example, measurements of antipathy among service providers can offer meaningful insights on why LGBTI people may experience barriers in accessing essential services.[40] Public opinion data may also better inform LGBTI campaigns and identify weak points within a group's strategy.[41] Attempts to measure attitudes in the general population should add more in-depth questions on gender identity and intersex status – two largely ignored components.

Relationship between rights, inclusion, and economic growth. Research can also uncover how micro-level forms of exclusion may aggregate to impact the human and economic development of the larger society.[42] Specifically, research can show a relationship between human rights, inclusion, and economic growth. For example, in an analysis of 39 countries, an additional

right for LGBT (not specifically including intersex) persons in a country is associated with US $300 more in GDP per capita and a higher value in the Human Development Index.[43] This research could be expanded upon to include a broader set of countries and economic outcomes to serve two purposes: first, in reaching out to more low- and high-income countries, an analysis might provide a better understanding of the relationship between rights and economic development; second, more analysis might uncover more specifically how rights have an impact on the economy, for example, through foreign direct investment or tourism.[44] A related body of research on the links between gender equality and economic development provides useful models,[45] as may the research on the link between the exclusion of Roma persons and economic development outcomes in Southeastern Europe.[46]

Impact of laws, policies, and programs. Although laws alone will not end stigma, they often mitigate the terms by which LGBTI people may or may not engage in society. Outside of the HIV arena, few studies exist to show the link between laws and an LGBTI person's experience of discrimination and violence – or even inclusion. Although anecdotal and qualitative data suggest direct impacts (particularly from the harshest and most punitive laws), quantitative and representative studies on specific impacts are rare.[47] Research can also study the impact of positive laws designed to respect human rights and promote the participation and inclusion of LGBTI people in many sectors. In particular, research may uncover whether some laws, policies and programs actually promote inclusion or development of human capital and/or higher economic productivity, for example.

A related research gap concerns the impact of other policies and programs on LGBTI people. Programs specific to LGBTI people being developed by human rights or development agencies should be coupled with monitoring and evaluation (M&E) from an early stage. More general programs and policies in social, economic, justice, and other sectors should seek to monitor and evaluate the impacts on LGBTI people, including the lack of access or any other negative impact. This kind of research would provide an evidence base to inform future programming, filling the current immense M&E data gaps. Assessments can uncover the barriers LGBTI persons may face in accessing development programming, perhaps because heteronormative language or traditional notions of gender have been written into the programs. Poverty and Social Impact Analyses (PSIAs) or Policy Audits can assess anti-poverty interventions and public efforts to reduce exclusion, analyzing whether or not LGBTI people are benefiting from such programs.[48] These analyses should also provide useful findings about the extent to which LGBTI inclusion/access helps bolster outcomes and development goals.[49]

Link to prevailing gender norms. Growing quantitative evidence shows that the more patriarchal and male-dominated a society, the more intolerant it will be toward LGBTI people.[50] When hegemonic masculinity[51] thrives, LGBTI people face specific vulnerabilities driven by strict gender norms as well as stigma against nonconforming sexual or gender identities. However, the bulk of analytical work conducted by development and aid institutions continues to posit a traditional binary notion of gender, in addition to the assumption of heterosexuality,[52] thus excluding the experiences of many LGBTI people. Stepping outside of a gender binary and broadening the examination of power imbalances on the basis of gender as well as gender identity, sexual orientation, and intersex status can expand the reach of research on the root causes and sustained drivers of prevailing gender norms, violence, and discrimination.

The impact and prevalence of the use of conversion therapies. Conversion therapies (or so-called "reparative" therapies) are a particularly virulent practice, rooted in stigma and having deleterious impacts on an LGBTI person's health and well-being. They have no basis in modern science and are condemned by the World Health Organization (WHO).[53] This topic could also include any sexually motivated act of violence with the added intention to – falsely – "cure" or "correct" LBT women.[54] Although conversion therapies continue to exist in a number of countries, there is little research in middle- and lower-income countries to indicate their prevalence or overall impact on mental and physical health.

Impact of migration or forced movement. Sometimes LGBTI people have little choice but to leave their homes, moving from rural to more accepting urban areas or from an intolerant to a more tolerant country,[55] or even as a result of a humanitarian crisis that displaces large segments of a population. Research can better uncover the reasons why LGBTI people leave a particular country, that is, the "push" factors that may be fueled by violence and stigma. In understanding the impact on the country of origin, research can also better estimate the number of LGBTI people who are forced to leave and identify how that loss of human capital and productivity depletes larger societal goals (in other words, the possible effects of a "brain drain"). Alternatively, research may also uncover "pull" factors from more tolerant countries and how the movement of LGBTI people may bring in human capital and boost the productivity of a host country.

LGBTI refugees are also significantly under-researched, although preliminary evidence shows that without the systems of resilience they cultivated in their home countries, they become more vulnerable to violence.[56] Thus, organizations and governments (in developed and developing nations alike) involved in the resettlement process are left without crucial knowledge of the situation

for some of the most vulnerable individuals and how to mitigate the serious risks to their physical integrity and well-being.

Emerging methodological opportunities to expand knowledge

In addition to knowledge gaps, there are also underused methods of conducting research that could expand the breadth and depth of data on LGBTI inclusion and exclusion. Filling this "methods gap" is critical to ensuring that the most appropriate and efficient ways to study LGBTI issues are utilized. There are several approaches that could also be used to address the research priorities outlined above. New research methods should also be considered within larger normative guidelines to respect the wishes, rights, and dignity of the LGBTI community.[57]

National-level surveys and representative individual/household surveys. Most authoritative data for national policy making and programming come from government-sponsored surveys of representative samples of a country's population, such as censuses and demographic surveys, crime victimization surveys, and poverty and welfare surveys. These surveys are considered representative because they are large, random (or "probability-based") samples of the population.

Many of the research gaps outlined here will require such data to draw conclusions about the LGBTI population as a whole. This includes, for example, whether poverty and crime victimization rates are higher for LGBTI people than for non-LGBTI people. But the data required to ask and answer those questions do not exist in most countries, as noted earlier in the discussion of population estimates. As discussed in the next section, donors and development agencies can support the capacity of developing and middle-income countries to ask SOGIESC questions on large-scale surveys, add questions particular to the LGBTI experience, and disaggregate published outcomes by SOGIESC, thereby helping to close knowledge gaps. The collection of these kinds of data sets will require research on the definition of SOGIESC and the design of effective survey questions that will stand up to scientific scrutiny. For example, two U.S.-based initiatives took on this task for sexual orientation and gender identity questions in the past decade, as did survey researchers in the United Kingdom's Office of National Statistics.[58]

Macroeconomic modeling. Studies assessing the relationship between country-level macroeconomic measures, such as GDP or foreign direct investment, and LGBTI inclusion could provide powerful insights for policy discussions and bring new allies to the table. For example, the World Bank's study of the exclusion of LGBT people in India illustrated that the cost of the discrimination against these persons in employment and health services may be between US$1.9 and US$30.8 billion.[59]

Mixed-methods research. Although quantitative research can uncover the scope of a problem, be used in rights-based advocacy at the UN level, and inform development programs, qualitative research can often fill in missing dimensions, specifically articulating the needs of subgroups and explaining quantitative data more clearly. A mixed-methods approach to data collection may better inform programs and policy on the national (and perhaps state or municipality) level, for example, by including questions and observations about implementation and enforcement.[60] Further, mixed-methods research may also provide a better basis for creating the benchmarks needed to track progress[61] across time.

Using other innovative methods. Some new or rarely used methods address some of the methodological challenges of surveying representative probability samples (such as cost) and also provide meaningful information. For example, one study found that children who have non-normative sexual orientations were more vulnerable to physical as well as sexual abuse in the home compared to a control group of their heterosexual siblings.[62] Other studies can unpack discrimination in formal sector employment. For example, in an experimental (or audit) study on resumes, researchers submitted several pair of almost identical resumes to 1,700 open positions, with the sole difference that one contained a marker that the applicant was LGBTI. The research demonstrated that the resume showing the LGBTI marker had a 40% lower chance of receiving an interview.[63]

Big data and data science. Big data and data analysis seek to find meaningful patterns in massive data sets that are based on online behavior rather than surveys. Big data may offer insight into population estimates, geographic dispersion, and experience of stigma. Moreover, supporting the analysis of big data may provide new routes to circumvent barriers in traditional survey research methods.[64] For example, faster computers have given researchers the ability to quickly mine very large data sets and find meaningful correlations that might otherwise be invisible. As such, the potential of big data for LGBTI issues may be extraordinary, although few partnerships seem to currently exist between data scientists and LGBTI advocates.

Big data is also a space in which the private sector is heavily engaged and thus has an important role to play in related partnerships. Social media platforms and mobile apps, for example, already have millions of users with significant user-generated input. Partnerships that promote sharing and analyzing those data can yield a rich analysis that might otherwise be underestimated, like better estimates of HIV-positive individuals or educational outcomes, as just two examples. This analysis can be used in targeted campaigns to fulfill the SDGs, like Goal 3 (healthy lives) or Goal 4 (inclusive education).

Box 1 Summary of High-Priority LGBTI Research Needs

Measures of inclusion

• Health, including: heath disparities involving inequalities in health access and health outcomes; pathologization of homosexuality and transgender people; pathologization and lack of respect for bodily integrity of intersex people
• Economic well-being, including: income disparities and poverty levels of LGBTI people; the existence of employment and nondiscrimination laws and their implementation
• Personal security and violence, including: rates of violence against LGBTI people including homicides; police competency and training
• Education, including: access of LGBTI people to education and whether education systems meet their needs
• Political and civic participation, including: right to determine and get official recognition of identity; decriminalization of LGBTI people; number of "out" LGBTI parliamentarians and decision makers; ability of LGBTI people and organizations to exercise freedom of association, assembly, and expression

Additional high-priority needs

• Estimates of LGBTI population size
• Measures of public opinion and stigma
• Relationship between rights, inclusion, and growth
• Impact of laws, policies, and programs on LGBTI people
• Links to prevailing gender norms
• Impact and prevalence of conversion therapies
• Migration and forced movement
• Research to assess new methods and survey questions.

3. Strategic Investments to Implement Research Priorities

The high-priority research needs outlined in section 2 would support the work of national governments to advance inclusion and respect for the rights of LGBTI people in the SDGs, and such projects would also have value for other national and global stakeholders. To generate that high-priority data and knowledge, three complementary strategies are needed, along with adequate financial investments: the first builds the research infrastructure to meet the knowledge needs, the second focuses on the LGBTI Inclusion Index, and the third targets research on additional specific priorities identified by LGBTI civil society.

Recommendation 1: Invest in capacities and partnerships between governments, LGBTI civil society groups, academics, multilateral institutions, the private sector, and other stakeholders to create an infrastructure for LGBTI data collection and research.

To meet the significant challenge of addressing the momentous data and research needs for the SDGs and LGBTI Inclusion Index, a global research infrastructure will need to be created. This research infrastructure will be

made up of the resources and activities necessary to produce knowledge about LGBTI people and would include representatives from government, civil society, human rights and development institutions, other funders of research including the private sector, and academia (see Figure 1 above). The infrastructure would necessarily be decentralized, given the wide range of local contexts in which LGBTI people live and with which researchers must contend. As was learned from the research infrastructure built up during HIV/AIDS epidemic, an LGBTI research infrastructure will need to be adaptable and flexible so that over time, new research technologies, new research areas and new funding opportunities can be incorporated, early research questions can be elaborated on, current and future needs can be addressed, and relevant and useful findings can be produced and disseminated.[65]

Building a research infrastructure on LGBTI people and issues means investing in five general components:

(a) Invest in strategic networks in countries and regions to develop instruments and methodologies for survey and administrative data collection and to lead educational efforts with governments.

High-quality data on LGBTI people will be essential for meeting the needs of the SDGs and the LGBTI Inclusion Index, as well as for other research. Particular countries or regions might be ripe for relatively quick wins in adding SOGIESC questions to national surveys. Well-funded national or regional networks of researchers could work on the development of sampling methods and survey questions that can be used to study LGBTI people in those countries or regions. Acting as an expert panel, those researchers can then educate and persuade government statistical agencies to add those questions to current surveys or to undertake LGBTI-specific surveys. For example, networks of researchers and activists in the United States deployed an effective theory of change built on the observation that government statistical agencies are influenced both by the scientific community and the political climate; as a result, new research plus educational efforts were successful in getting U.S. surveys to add sexual orientation and gender identity questions.[66] A second example of expanding data comes from gender equality advocates' efforts to add a module on domestic violence against women to the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS), funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), to estimate the prevalence of domestic violence within and across countries.[67] That module was first added in 1998 and is now included in 91 surveys.

(b) Invest directly in government capacity on LGBTI inclusion and human rights by supporting government research and data collection on LGBTI issues.

Donors could enhance a country's ability to promote the inclusion and human rights of LGBTI people by investing in government research and data collection capacity. For example, a donor could invest in building the capacities of national statistical offices, specific ministries/sectors, and/or national institutions to undertake data collection and analysis of relevant LGBTI issues; and donors could also commission existing government agencies or government-funded research institutes to produce knowledge on LGBTI people.[68] Research connected to a government agency might also raise the status of its efforts in the eyes of the news media, general public, and academic audiences. Also, investments in government statistical agencies, or grants to academic or other institutions to undertake pilot surveys or methodological research on SOGIESC questions, might move those questions into large-scale government surveys much more quickly.

(c) Invest in communication and collaboration between researchers and the LGBTI community to ensure knowledge that is relevant and useful.

Experience demonstrates that activists and researchers want to be connected so that research is relevant, but effective communication and collaboration take time, energy, and resources. LGBTI civil society groups and actors should be engaged in the research process, including in the selection of research priorities, data collection, data analysis, and the communication of research findings. This need to pull activists and researchers together generates another important investment opportunity that can be met in a number of ways, and support could go to several types of collaboration: *formal consultations* that provide activists with a voice to communicate research priorities to researchers;[69] *relationship building and the creation of spaces for collaboration* that bring researchers and activists together in formal or informal ways; *participatory research strategies* that involve LGBTI activists at many stages of the research process; and *capacity building* of LGBTI organizations to learn data collection and analysis skills. These strategies for communication and collaboration could either be funded independently or folded into specific research projects.

(d) Invest in the expansion of a robust academic infrastructure to produce new researchers.

More researchers are needed who are able and willing to work on LGBTI topics in government, academic, and NGO settings. The current number of researchers studying these issues across universities, governments, and NGOs is too small to carry out this research agenda in only 10 countries, much less on a global scale covering 193 countries. Increasing funding and access to

data would make more research possible. However, scaling up will also require funding to train many more new and existing researchers in best research practices. Through universities and government agencies, funders could support a number of different activities to benefit researchers: online or in-person courses on research methods and existing research; fellowships for masters, doctoral, and post-doctoral students; mentoring programs to match new researchers with more experienced ones; translations of existing studies; publication of open-access journals; and meetings for the sharing of research.

Investments in technology and course content that allow academics to teach research methods to new researchers and to LGBTI groups outside of academia may yield long-term and sustainable growth in research capacity. This may be especially pertinent to NGOs who have expressed an interest in research and data collection but currently lack the capacity and experience to undertake it. Currently, the capacity to collect and to use data varies significantly across countries.[70]

(e) Engage the private sector and support partnerships between companies, researchers, and LGBTI NGOs

The private sector has the capacity to support and enrich the research needed for LGBTI inclusion and rights. In addition to partnerships based on big data analysis, some companies can partner with researchers and LGBTI organizations to better understand the treatment of their employees, as well as how to provide appropriate services to its customers. For example, some companies are beginning to utilize the Human Rights Campaign's Corporate Equality Index to determine if LGBT (not including intersex) staff receive equal benefits or face barriers in being hired. These data allow tracking of practices promoting equality that may also boost overall labor productivity and larger societal goals. Additionally, some private health providers have begun to offer support for gender-confirming surgeries and hormone treatments. Research with LGBTI groups can determine if private healthcare plans appropriately support their unique concerns – noting the predominance of private healthcare plans in some contexts.[71] Additionally, and perhaps due to the rise in corporate social responsibility, some companies are donating to NGOs and social causes. This funding can be leveraged to support the research needs of LGBTI people in developing and middle-income countries.

Recommendation 2: Invest in the establishment and operationalization of the UNDP-led LGBTI Inclusion Index (contributing to the national capacity building outlined in Recommendation 1 of government, civil society, and academia) to undertake the targeted research required for each of the identified priority dimensions of the LGBTI Inclusion Index: health, economic well-being, personal security and violence, education, and political and civic participation.

The dimensions of the LGBTI Inclusion Index are a particularly important focus since the Index will be a global benchmark for progress in inclusion that, according to LGBTI activists, will have enormous value. The Index will require the collection of data from all countries where such information is available, as well as investments in new LGBTI-specific data collection, including data that can be disaggregated across the different LGBTI subgroups, with a view to increasing the number of participating countries. This will also have major positive spillover effects, since the valuable data and knowledge produced by the index can also be used in many other projects.

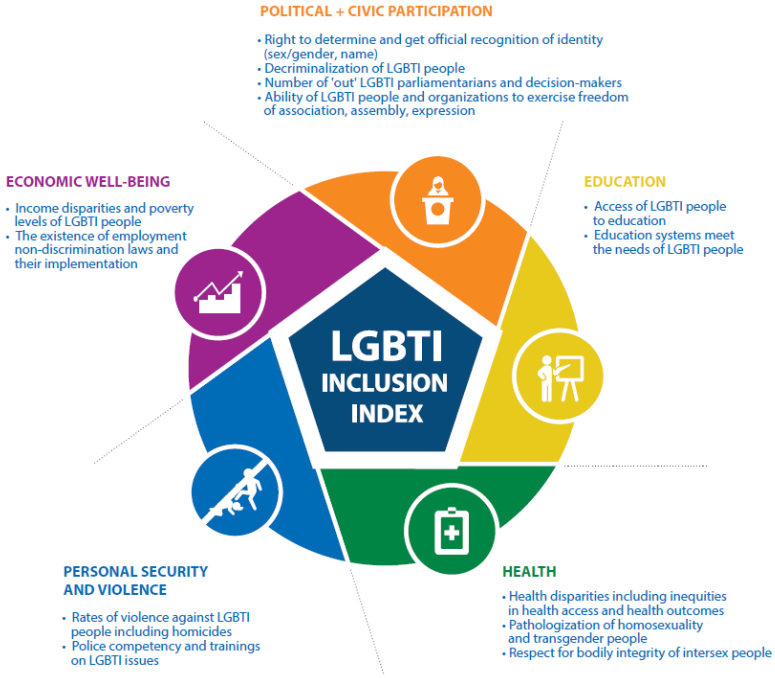
Although the UNDP-led LGBTI Inclusion Index is a large research and capacity building undertaking, the five dimensions lend themselves well to collaborative efforts between different funders who might prefer to focus on one or two dimensions in the short, medium, and/or long term (see Figure 2). Accordingly, one potential template for a process might include these stages:

• *Short-term investments (first 12 months):* Funding to design, establish, and maintain a platform or repository to house the data on LGBTI inclusion to be collected over time, and support for a team of researchers to (i) assess existing data on the five priority dimensions, (ii) identify proxy indicators and agree on the approaches to gathering existing data that would be drawn on for the data collection envisaged by the LGBTI Inclusion Index, and (iii) develop LGBTI-specific indicators against which new data would be collected as well as appropriate methodologies for collecting this data in various country contexts.

• *Medium-term investments (12–48 months):* Resourcing partnerships at the global level (civil society, academia, government, multilaterals) for mining and analyzing the data using proxy indicators in all countries where relevant data exist and issuing analytical reports; establishing and resourcing national partnerships (government, civil society, academia) to undertake the research for data collection of LGBTI-specific indicators in 20–25 countries, ensuring the inclusion of low-, medium-, and high-income countries across all regions. Capacity building for national data collection, funding to maintain the data repository, and advocacy activities to engage additional governments to participate in the data collection.

• *Long-term investments (48–60 months and beyond):* Providing resources for expanding new research efforts and adding additional countries where data collection is undertaken, ensuring a balance of participating countries from all regions and country typologies, maintaining the data repository, continuing to build national capacities for LGBTI data collection, regularly issuing analytical reports, supporting advocacy for data collection on LGBTI inclusion, and providing technical assistance to countries to utilize the data and analysis to inform national policies and programs.

Figure 2 Measuring the Inclusion of LGBTI People



Recommendation 3. Investing in existing, new, or future research priorities identified by LGBTI civil society groups, whether related to local, national, regional, or global issues.

In addition to the LGBTI Inclusion Index-related measures, section 2 presented many other important research priorities that have been mentioned by at least some activists in particular contexts, as listed in Box 1: migration, conversion therapies, measures of stigma and public opinion, links to gender norms, and the impact of laws, policies, and programs. Additional funding opportunities for such research can be tailored to the needs expressed by local, national, or regional civil society organizations. Also, increasing the availability of general research funding would facilitate innovation and

research into under-explored aspects of the LGBTI experience by social and health scientists who seek to more fully understand the lived experiences of LGBTI people.

Invest in projects that LGBTI civil society groups have already identified as priorities: Many LGBTI NGOs have expressed interest in being more involved in the choice of research projects, but lack the necessary funding to finance such projects. An investment in the endeavors they identify may yield knowledge which they can tailor to their own efforts to influence policy.[72] Additionally, some projects are already under development by LGBTI NGOs, whether on their own or in concert with other researchers.

Invest in researchers and activists to create a research agenda and pilot projects on intersex people: One particularly large gap that calls for a research initiative, including pilot research projects, concerns intersex people's lives and concerns. The UNDP-led LGBTI Inclusion Index validation meeting clarified that the current research and data strategies related to sexual orientation and gender identity questions will not be adequate for an understanding of the challenges faced by people with variations in sex characteristics. Already, intersex groups have called for unbiased and peer-reviewed research on the impact of non-binary sex characteristics on health outcomes – including mental health.[73] Additionally, nonmedical research on the social, economic, and health issues for intersex people is at a relatively early stage, with some recent projects showing promise.[74] A concerted effort to identify intersex-specific research priorities and to begin pilot studies would provide useful knowledge as well as guidelines for the LGBTI Inclusion Index and other research projects.

Look for projects to support that target other under-researched groups: Research gaps are broad and deep for all subgroups of the LGBTI population. However, as noted in section 2, some groups are especially under-researched, for example, transgender men and women as well as low-income LGBTI people.

Box 2 Recommendations for Strategic Investments

Recommendation 1. Fund the development of capacity and partnerships between governments, LGBTI civil society groups, academics, multilateral institutions, and other stakeholders to create an infrastructure for LGBTI research and data collection.
Recommendation 2. Fund the establishment and operationalization of the UNDP LGBTI Inclusion Index (contributing to the national capacity building outlined in Recommendation 1 for government, civil society, and academia) to undertake the *targeted research* required for each of the identified priority dimensions of the LGBTI Inclusion Index: economic well-being, political and civic participation, personal security and violence, health, and education.
Recommendation 3. Fund existing, new, or future research priorities identified by LGBTI civil society groups, whether related to local, national, regional, or global issues.

4. Conclusion: What Success Will Look Like

This article has used data from an extensive consultation process to identify research priorities and strategies for achieving those research priorities. We predict that if sufficient strategic investments are made in LGBTI research and data collection, the knowledge about LGBTI people will increase dramatically and empower countries and LGBTI people to move toward the achievement of many of the SDGs and the promise to promote inclusion and respect for human rights for all – with no one left behind. There will be a broad and active infrastructure at the national and global level that is sustained by funding for priority research, including government participation in producing new data and studies. That research will inform and generate new programs, policies, and investments for LGBTI inclusion and human rights protections.

The knowledge generated will be relevant, timely, and useful for decision making by LGBTI people, civil society groups, policy makers, development agencies, private philanthropy organizations, and businesses. The interactions between governments, multilateral and bilateral institutions, researchers, and CSOs will create a sustainable flow of research:

Researchers in academia, government agencies, multilateral and bilateral development institutions, and LGBTI NGOs will be conducting quantitative and qualitative research on LGBTI people in every sizable country. They will have courses and materials to teach students and other researchers how to do more of that research. Researchers will have financial support, data, publication outlets, and access to existing research. Networks of researchers will provide expertise to the public, push each other to expand knowledge, and develop new methodologies to better answer difficult questions.

Policy makers, national statistical agencies, funders, human rights and development agencies, businesses, NGOs, media outlets, health professionals and agencies, and other end users of research will know about new problems and have new research-based strategies and evidence to address them. Research users will generate and suggest new questions and ideas for research, and some will be active participants in the new research projects.

Donors will provide financial and data resources to develop and continue this process. They will be actively shaping the progression of knowledge to contribute to the inclusion of LBGTI people and respect for their human rights.

LGBTI people will have access to research findings that speak truth about their lives in accessible forms that they can use to advocate for social, legal, and political change. They will have research and data to support their work toward full inclusion and respect for their rights in the context of the global sustainable development commitment to eradicate poverty and inequality.

Appendix: Methodology

The consultations, analysis, and recommendations presented in this paper come from a variety of sources. The authors have met with researchers and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in a variety of countries and contexts to discuss LGBTI-related research, including through numerous meetings on these issues with stakeholders from around the globe. LGBTI and research stakeholders include those from the United States, Europe, South America, China, Kenya, and the Republic of Korea, and institutional stakeholders include a variety of institutions, such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Office of the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights (OHCHR), the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Feedback was also received from OutRight Action International and the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex Association (ILGA), two organizations that work in multiple regions around the world. Altogether, these discussions included challenges faced by researchers, the needs of civil society, and the resources required to build capacity. In addition, UNDP conducted an extensive consultation process with a variety of stakeholders to develop the LGBTI Inclusion Index. The UNDP consultation process included a panel of human rights and research experts, an online survey of members of ILGA, and an in-person convening by OutRight Action International of LGBTI activists from many countries. One of the authors participated in the expert panel and the activist convening.

Input was also sought about the question of communicating the research priorities of LGBTI activists and civil society groups to scholars by requesting information on several listservs that included researchers, civil society organization leaders, activists, and funders. Less formally there were in-person discussions about this topic with activists and academics from a variety of fields and geographic locations, including some from the Global South. Finally, a draft of this report was circulated to stakeholders in LGBTI organizations, key institutions, the funding community, and researchers for feedback.

Finally, the authors and institutional partners presented and discussed this paper at the 2016 conference, *Global LGBTI Human Rights Conference: Non-Violence, Non-Discrimination, and Social Inclusion*, in Montevideo, Uruguay.[75] Specifically, the authors and partners invited conference participants to a side-event for 2.5 hours to present the main arguments and gather feedback on research priorities, strategic investments, or any additional concerns. During the side-event, over 40 conference participants joined and represented a diversity of organizations and institutions, including organiza-

tions from different regions, think tanks, governments and bilateral aid agencies. This final version incorporates significant feedback by conference participants.

Also, as per UNDP and World Bank quality assurance process, this paper was separately peer reviewed by both institutions to ensure quality and accuracy, and this article incorporates edits and comments from those peer reviewers.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The terms used by individuals and groups to describe their sexual orientation, gender identity and expression, and sex characteristics (SOGIESC) vary across and within countries. In using LGBTI to identify the groups facing exclusion, it is acknowledged that these groups do not fully represent the range of identities found in the world. Nonetheless, this umbrella acronym is used because it captures vulnerability to similar kinds of exclusion that might be experienced by LGBTI people and by those with other identities related to SOGIESC. To avoid confusion, this acronym is used even in situations where some parts of that group might not have been represented, such as discussions of past research.

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3. MSM refers to men who have sex with men.

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FEMINIST INSTITUTIONALISM REVISITED: THE GENDERED FEATURES OF THE NORMS, RULES, AND ROUTINES OPERATING WITHIN INSTITUTIONS

DOINA POPESCU LJUNGHOLM
dopopescu@yahoo.com
University of Pitești

ABSTRACT. The purpose of this article is to gain a deeper understanding of the gendered performance of formal and informal institutions, the link between gender, institutions and candidate selection, and the gendered features of institutional dynamics. I am specifically interested in how previous research investigated the gendered character of access to political office, political parties as gendered institutions, and the gendering of the formal and informal regulations that comprise institutions. The theory that I shall seek to elaborate here puts considerable emphasis on the function of present institutions of candidate selection, the latter's arrangements and gendered effects of various political parties, and the role of gender in configuring institutional content and consequences.

Keywords: feminist institutionalism; formal; informal; gender; candidate selection

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1. Introduction

The material gathered in this study provides a rich and diverse context for understanding the disproportionate balance of power that permit men to establish the requirements of women's admission to the political system, the gendered and institutional underlying forces of the candidate selection mechanism, and the function of gender norms in evaluations of potential candidates. This research makes conceptual and methodological contributions to the in-

stitutional ascendancy of certain kinds of masculinity, the gendered character of political parties, and the critical significance of arrangements of gendered institutions.

2. The Link between Gender, Institutions and Candidate Selection

Institutions are thoroughly permeated with gender. The performance of gendered regulations, norms, and routines impacts institutional design options and mechanisms, and it influences institutional results. Gender bias develops from a series of social norms (Anderson and Kantarelis, 2016; Flegar, 2016) instituted on established notions regarding femininity and masculinity. Such norms are typically associated with a certain sex: the former are ascribed to women, the latter to men. Both masculinity and femininity appear in plural forms, dealing with various aspects involving the specific institutional framework, and converging with other aspects, e.g. race, class, and sexuality. There are diverse types of femininity and masculinity operating, with some kinds of the latter functioning hegemonically. As social construals, gender norms do not dictate that women perform in a feminine manner or men conversely. (Chappell and Waylen, 2013)

Institutions have definitely gendered cultures and are encompassed in dynamic and constant mechanisms of creating and recreating gender. Decentralized candidate selection mechanisms may have adverse consequences for women. Candidate selection is an intricate and temporally particular mechanism that occurs in numerous phases (Lindberg, 2016; Machan, 2016; Popescu Ljungholm, 2016), and formal rules on where choices regarding candidates are taken may not coincide to informal routines and effective choices taken at various levels. Formal regulations, e.g. electoral systems and electoral gender quotas, may essentially influence and change party selection routines in gendered manners. Electoral systems supply political parties with determinants that have an influence on who parties identify to be an appropriate candidate. Parties are demanded to put gender aside and conceive their selection mechanisms in such a manner that they can recognize appropriate female candidates. (Bjarnegård and Kenny, 2016)

Formal characteristics of political systems incorporate the laws and institutions that officially organize political activity, possibly being an alliance of systemic entities. Proportional representation systems endorse women to the degree that their structural aspects coalesce with interests to essentially opt for more women, i.e. routines and norms that back and require the acceptance of female candidates. While chances to harmonize proposals are unfeasible (Bauder, 2016; Lăzăroiu, 2015; Greve, 2015), parties that decide to nominate more women may set up innovative routines to carry out this objective, resembling all-women short inventories to ensure that the candidate selected

in a certain district is female. Formal and informal routines of select few, in the situation of political recruitment, comprise the operations and standards that parties use to decide on their candidates, possibly being practical institutions that influence views as to who is an eligible or required candidate, a series of convictions that may be gendered to fluctuating degrees. (Krook, 2010)

3. The Gendered Features of Institutional Dynamics

Cooperation is a critical component of the policy-making mechanism and democratic representation. Female legislators are calculated public servants and team up in an endeavor to be more successful representatives: they confront structural obstacles that confine their capacity to wield impact on the policy-making mechanism (when women become part of a male-dominated institution, they confront formal and informal structural obstacles that hinder them from exerting guidance in the legislative mechanism). Notwithstanding having significant degrees of descriptive representation as a body and supremacy as persons (Ionescu, 2016; Nybom, 2015; Popescu, 2015a, b), women's downgrading prevail throughout a ample display of legislative powers, restricting women's political capacity and stimulating cooperation among them. Notwithstanding the advantages of teamwork, models of partnership differ among female legislators as not all women have the same chances to labor collaboratively (various legislative frameworks either further or confine women's joint effort). (Barnes, 2016)

Manifold and intersecting uneven power connections and male ascendancy are prevalent in numerous institutional realms notwithstanding actions such as quotas and equalities legislation (altering institutions is an essential component of decreasing gender inequality). A decisive aspect of attaining gender unbiased institutional alteration is to enhance grasp of the achievements of institutions (Han, 2016; Nica, 2016; Peters, 2016a, b) and the latter themselves in both their formal and informal forms. Institutional investigations are enhanced if gender underlying forces are integrated. Gender norms and informal institutions frequently persist neglected as they have become established as component of the existing state of affairs. Improving formal rules may put a stop to officially accepted gender bias but may not prevail over all institutionalized types of male partiality as informal rules may subvert formal rule alteration. (Waylen, 2014)

Opponents of current gender logics of suitableness have frequently been regarded as atypical and reprimanded via acts of disapproval, contempt, or persecution. Any grasp of the concealed activity of institutions should commence with the formal and informal regulations, norms, and routines (Becerra Alonso et al., 2016; Borbone, 2016) that constitute institutions. Gender norms

can be dissociated from formal institutions, while prior rules concerning gender may persist in an informal fashion and go on performing to carry out the same requirements, connections, and power arrangements. Legislatures, executives, administration, and legal and constitutional realms comprise their own series of formal rules that are sustained or subverted by informal rules, norms, and routines, encompassing those unambiguously associated with gender in addition to those that are inherently gendered. (Chappell and Waylen, 2013)

4. The Gendering of the Formal and Informal Regulations that Comprise Institutions

Gender functions at the stage of the subjective/interpersonal (via which individuals categorize themselves and establish their connections with others) and is a characteristic of institutions and social arrangements, and a component of the symbolic sphere of lived experience, within which separate participants are sweated out. Gender connections are *institutional* and *institutionalized*, entrenched in certain political entities and hampering and influencing social interplay. Women are most usually related to feminine attributes, being prejudiced in the power operation over which notions make a difference (Cheng, 2016a, b; Choi and Yu, 2015; Nelson, 2015) and who accrue institutional resources. Gender connections and gendered institutions organize the setting in which participants constitute and employ their gendered identities and concerns. The commitment of a gender lens to the analysis of institutions makes observable gendered power connections and the mechanisms that may strenghten or undermine particular configurations. (Mackay et al., 2010)

As gender is a social construal, merely concentrating on the condition of women in politics may only depict gendered models of access. Envisioning political and social institutions as gendered is decisive to grasping the routines, concepts, objectives, and results of politics. Understanding the manners in which institutions indicate, strengthen, and organize uneven gendered power connections in broader society provides observations of the underlying forces of steadiness and alteration (Nica and Potcovaru, 2015; Willow and Keefer, 2015; Zietlow, 2015), and the ways for discontinuing them to further or subvert feminist objectives. To claim that an institution is gendered implies that construals of masculinity and femininity are linked in the routine culture of political institutions. While construals of masculinity and femininity are both accounted for in political institutions, the masculine paradigm bolsters institutional arrangements, routines, discourses, and norms. Gender connections are plural and link traditionally separate interests, using up in various

manners throughout different kinds of institutions, and on dissimilar organized levels. (Krook and Mackay, 2011)

Formal and informal rules network in gendered manners as component of institutional alteration. Power connections are instrumental in institutional alteration, as participants harmonize shared requirements to the changed fabric of rules (Petcu, 2016; Popescu and Ciurlău, 2016) in order that they either strengthen formal rule alterations or hinder or misrepresent the envisioned effect of formal reform, being determined by the power connections operating. As gender participants often have diminished power and gender alteration tends to tackle disagreement, being able to curtail the degree that informal institutions undermine, misrepresent or hinder formal rule alteration is a significant component of gender change schemes. (Waylen, 2014)

Formal and informal standards make clear the values apprising the methods and objectives of political activity, possibly being normative institutions that influence convictions concerning fairness and representation in the circumstances of candidate selection: they are gendered to the degree that they endorse and legitimize constant dissimilarities among women and men, notwithstanding their apparent rhetoric of impartiality and inclusion. The amount of women elected is determined by how systemic, applied, and normative institutions coalesce (Ionescu, 2016; Nybom, 2015; Popescu, 2015a, b) in manners that make possible or hamper the choice of female candidates. Quota provisions, regardless of their apparently similar objectives, may involve dissimilar mechanisms of reform, both at the level of separate institutions and in relation to wider institutional structures. The underlying forces of candidate selection influence who acquires access to political office, and therefore how the mechanism of political representation commences to develop. (Krook, 2010)

5. Conclusions

This paper seeks to fill a gap in the current literature by examining the gendered and institutional features of the chance agreements within political parties, the stability of male political preeminence and female underrepresentation, and the gendered aspects of political institutions and their operation. The findings of this study have implications for the relevant function of political parties in influencing models of women's representation, the gendered nature of institutions, and gendered mechanisms of political change. The implications of the developments outlined in the preceding sections of this paper suggest a growing need for a research agenda on the gendered design of institutional regulations and norms, the manners in which the power connections that maintain political mechanisms are created and recreated via gender, and the institutional settings that shape up women's cooperation.

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THE GENDER POLITICS OF POSTFEMINIST SEMANTICS

RAMONA MIHĂILĂ
ramona.mihaila@ucdc.ro
Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University
MIHAELA MATEESCU
mihaela_mateescu2006@yahoo.com
Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University

ABSTRACT. The main objective of this paper is to explore and describe the intricate, shifting gender dynamics of the present postfeminist culture, the manners in which distinct consumers handle the matter of postfeminist representations, the importance of the manners in which postfeminism collates and essentializes muliebrity, and postfeminism's predilection for separate agency and its detachment from questions of structure and shared undertaking. The overall results provide strong evidence for postfeminism's practice of revitalizing formerly problematized patterns of femininity, the ubiquity of postfeminist identity archetypes in the contemporary popular culture setting, postfeminist approaches of normative femininity, and the boundaries of accepted postfeminist female emancipation and independence.

Keywords: gender; politics; postfeminism; dynamics; culture; representation

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1. Introduction

Postfeminism exploits a concept of feminism as inflexible, far-reaching, anti-sex and affair, challenging and extremist, providing the contentment of (re)claiming a distinctiveness manageable by gender politics, postmodernism, or established critique. Postfeminism frequently operates as a way of recording and apparently determining the continuity of option quandaries for women. The tremendous ideological effect that is constituted by an accrual of

postfeminist cultural matter is the underpinning of conventional norms as the critical preeminent options (Bratu, 2016; Magrini, 2016; Schwieler and Magrini, 2015) in women's lives. Postfeminism confers substantial relevance to the configuration of a meaningful personal routine and the capacity to decide on the appropriate articles of trade to accomplish it, fetishizing female ascendancy and craving while reliably placing them within definite boundaries. (Negra, 2009)

2. The Intricate, Shifting Gender Dynamics of the Present Postfeminist Culture

The influential politics within feminism has come out from the liberal-democratic practice with a stress on marginal restructuring. The main goal is equality of chance, in which personal development is highlighted over essential alterations in the structural regulation of society. State interference concentrates on attaining a harmony between individual self-determination and community interests (Barnett, 2015; Krivochen, 2016; Rauch, 2016), assisting in moderating between opposing concerns. Liberal feminism is bound to accomplishing superior gender equality via legislative and policy amendment, its mission being to formulate and engage in carrying out schemes for alteration and bringing about equality for women via regulation within the political mechanisms and social strategies of liberal democracy. (Coppock et al., 2014)

Postfeminism repudiates the egalitarian doctrines of feminism, becoming established as an ideological system in an epoch in which democratic fairness has coagulated into entitlism, substantially developing in the framework of influential antidemocratic propensities. The choices, chances, and incentives undergone by women in postfeminist media ensue to a gilt-edged group in possession of substantial informational, social, and financial resources. Postfeminism represses flexibility, furthering hindrance and the compliance to normative patterns of distinctiveness (Buchely, 2016; O'Neill, 2015; Zaharia and Zaharia, 2015) even while publicizing self-improving consumerism. Postfeminism flourishes on restlessness about aging, revamping the latter among a diversity of generational clusters and encompassing the possibility of age evasion. Postfeminism directs representational attention on household, time, labor, and consumer culture, and is likely to generate accounts and pictures that signify female apprehension and imagine female emancipation in these spheres. Retreatism is an essential social routine of postfeminist culture, being both vague and politically inconclusive. The postfeminist media culture inclines to reprocess established representational codes but deprives them of their reformist and/or conflicting attributes. In a hypermatrimonial, post-

feminist culture, critical situations frequently convert to analysis even as individuals' recollection of topical mediathons disappears. (Negra, 2009)

Individuals of all genders embrace the neoliberal, postfeminist subject view. Postfeminist rhetoric has highlighted and valorized female accomplishments within male-dominated labor settings. Postfeminism's emphasis on the female expert shapes the presumed entitlement to toil and spend money as the rationale of personal autonomy for women. Postfeminism formulates the newfangled self-determination for women as the capacity to make personal decisions, although the unmitigated amount of options and the requirement (Chen, 2015; Peters, 2015) to make them on an incessant reason has contributed to option occasionally becoming a burden. The postfeminist epoch is teeming with novel options for individuals of a particular class who often strive for the objective of having a family at the same time as both parents labor as experts. Postfeminist culture shapes the self as an assignment that is under no circumstances completed and monopolizes all of an individual's time. While women can be designed as the archetypal postfeminist subjects, all individuals have been restructured by the current gender politics. The emphasis on consumerism as the main framework for self-management and design is key to postfeminist culture. The logic of postfeminism presupposes the capacity of individuals to acquire autonomy and contentment via operations of consumption. (Cohn, 2013)

3. Postfeminism's Predilection for Separate Agency and Its Detachment from Questions of Structure and Shared Undertaking

Postfeminism operates as a false narrative for the fact that women's condition and protection are questionable and family values patterns organize femininity in ranks of significance and abjection. Postfeminist media culture employs female public figures displayed throughout a range from devious to ignorant. While women's lives are depicted as intensely regulated by the passage of time, postfeminism advances the possibility of novel self-determinations to surpass time, i.e. symbolic types of time command (Androniceanu and Ohanyan, 2016; Ionescu, 2016; Popescu Ljungholm, 2015, 2016) may supply the solution to the recovery of self. In postfeminist culture, the single woman is the ultimate noticeably time-beset instance of present-day muliebrity, her singlehood being converted as a mainly temporal deficit and a drooping sequence from the regularizing phases of the female lifecycle. (Negra, 2009)

The development of postfeminism has generated dissimilarities between women, and has routed the attention away from the real enhancements, e.g. raised increase of variety and practice (Gloukhov, 2016; Popescu, 2016), and collective annoyance causing shared counteraction. Women are held respon-

sible, or accuse themselves and one another, for their attitudes of dissatisfaction, and the intrinsic grounds remain neglected or repudiated. Most women attempt to harmonize their lives and integrate the needs of self-determination and cooperation. If women suspect they are to be criticized, or positioned on a pecking order of persecution by other women, they refrain from formulating their opinions or debating the substantial and deep-rooted inconsistencies in their lives. (Coppock et al., 2014)

Postfeminism achieves rhetorical adequacy via the proposal that gender and sexual fairness have been attained, and thus feminism is not any longer required. Throughout the time postfeminist media culture commonly situates feminism in the former times, the regulation of feminism does not concern revisiting some concrete or fictional past. Postfeminism endeavors to design a here and now (Borbone, 2016; Lucas, 2016; Ruthrof, 2016) in which feminism is completed. Under the innovative sexual agreement, the traditional tendency of male supremacy and female subjugation is amended, and male-controlled gender relations are advocated in fashionable configurations. Postfeminism stands for a particularly damaging kind of anti-feminism wherein the considered feminism involves a more comprehensive disassembling of feminist politics, throughout the time that gender disparities are reestablished and patriarchal norms restored. (O'Neill, 2015)

4. The Ubiquity of Postfeminist Identity Archetypes in the Contemporary Popular Culture Setting

Postfeminist temporality puts forward matters of memory, habit, generational alliance, and aging, promoting conjugal anxiety, recommending motherhood as the beneficial situation of mature female subjectivity, and praising a maternal conviction that functions in disagreement to current restlessness. A postfeminist mentality serves to considerably underestimate women's labor while preserving a contradictory obsession with women employees who may be conceived as subservient personalities to male public attainment and unrealistic female domesticity. The subjects, values, and habits related to postfeminism frequently involve a consumerism that is legitimate and connected with a restored moral ascendancy. Postfeminist family values are the moral fabric in which competitive earning and spending models (Falletti, 2015; Peters and Heraud, 2015) are sound and acceptable. The excessive domesticity of postfeminism is an indication of uncertainties concerning atomization and disorganization at a moment when social relationships are in small amounts, where transatlantic relocations for corporate careers are quite ordinary and where dreams of being securely located at home and in a household community escalate broadly. (Negra, 2009)

Postfeminist principles have been given acceptance via the advancement of factitious sections and kinds of feminism, positioning each consistent and recognizable component of feminist thought in an arrangement of rivalry and dispute with other individuals in a endeavor to proclaim the prevalence of a particular matter or angle, and leaving feminist beliefs falsely strict and severe in attitude and behavior and separated within the investigation, being instrumental in the anti-feminist adverse reaction in which feminists en masse are held responsible for the impasses contemporary women experience. The career-mother illustrates the novel epoch in which social alteration and political improvement (Benedikter et al., 2016; Life, 2016) supplies her with the non-biased, open access and adequately protected setting in which both roles may thrive. Competences, admittance, promotion, and job security are confirmed standards of impartiality, being widespread in all entities and their management structures. (Coppock et al., 2014)

Postfeminist media culture is typified by the notion that femininity is a corporal attribute: one exhibits femininity via possession and display of a seductive body that necessitates persistent strictness and scrutiny to stick to criteria of feminine look. Postfeminist materials portray women as determined, sexual subjects with cravings of their own who may opt for exhibiting themselves as sexual objects as it assists their own goals. Postfeminism includes a stress on independence, option, and emancipation (Buber-Ennser, 2015; Nica, 2015a, b; Tulloch, 2016), in accordance with neoliberal economic approaches. Women should pursue the guidance of authorities to revolutionize their unsatisfactory lives, typically via a rise or alteration in consumer conducts. In consort with an expanded sexualization of culture, the strengthening of sexual dissimilarity is an essential aspect of postfeminist responsiveness. (Kissling, 2013)

5. Conclusions

Postfeminism has developed jointly with wide-ranging socioeconomic directions in relation to high-quality lifestyling and retreatism, and complies with a move concerning the hyper-aestheticization (Becerra Alonso et al., 2016; Lăzăroiu, 2015) of ordinary life. Postfeminism is characterized by a glorification of conservative femininities, a practice of marginalizing the female expert, and prevailing mesmerizing images of faultless female bodies and awe-inspiring domestic scenes. Postfeminism assesses contemptuously the kinds of female agency unconnected to couple and family constitution, opting for a self-surveilling subject whose ideas of body and conduct are guided by status concern. The postfeminist maternalization of muliebrity depends on race and class advantage. (Negra, 2009)

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REPORT

Sub-Forum
"Adaptability and Breakthrough: University's Reform and Innovation in the New Ecology of Higher Education"
"Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University, Bucharest
June 1–5, 2017

The Sub-Forum "Adaptability and Breakthrough: University's Reform and Innovation in the New Ecology of Higher Education" was organized by "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University, Bucharest, during June 1–5, 2017, as an initiative of the President of the Senate of "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University, Professor Ph.D. Corina Adriana Dumitrescu, who, along with Professor Ph.D. Momcilo Luburici, founded 27 years ago one of the most impressive and modern private universities in Romania that has been awarded the High Degree of Confidence, a qualifier assigned by The Romanian Agency for Quality Assurance in Higher Education, based on the outstanding results of the almost 65,000 undergraduates and master graduates. "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University has other five branches in the country: Constanța, Cluj, Timișoara, Brașov, and Sibiu for faculties dedicated to law and economic studies, and nine faculties at the headquarters in Bucharest that offer undergraduate and graduate programs on legal and administrative sciences, touristic and commercial management, international economic relations, finance, banking and accounting, marketing, education sciences, foreign languages and literatures, security and defense studies, pedagogy of primary education, the history of international relations, geopolitics and diplomacy and communication and public relations criminal sciences, national and international business law, legal career, administration and public management, negotiation and economic diplomacy, financial audit, financial and banking management, and accounting financial management.

Launched by Communication University of China (originally Beijing Broadcast Institute) in August 2001, the World Women University Presidents Forum (WWUPF) aims at gathering the strength of women university presidents all over the world and creating an international platform as they meet and work together for promoting female leadership in higher education. Since the establishment of the WWUPF, by the president Professor Ph.D. Liu

Jinan, Communication University of China, seven forums – held every two or three years in China – and seven sub-forums – held around the world during the interval – have been successfully attended by over 1,000 women presidents from 90 countries and regions. Their valuable ideas on the development of higher education have highlighted the leading role of women university presidents, making the Forum's scientific events a major influential brand in the international academic community.

In accordance with the latest current concepts on education, the sub-forum "Adaptability and Breakthrough: University's Reform and Innovation in the New Ecology of Higher Education" focused on a challenging theme, to integrate a new, up-to-date mission in the academic educational system. Thus it was organized on three sub-themes for further inquiry:

1) University's Challenges and Opportunities in New Ecology;
2) University's Innovation on Education and Teaching in the Internet era;
3) University and Women Rector's Roles and Mission in New Ecology.

In her opening speech, Professor Ph.D. **Corina Adriana Dumitrescu**, the President of the Senate, addressed her message underlying the fact that "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University was honored to organize and host this WWUPF Sub-Forum, "focusing on the inspiring topic of a 'New Ecology' in higher education, that underlines the essential role that people can play in shaping the way the Earth will look like in the coming century and defines the substantial changes and opportunities both in education and communication, with an effective and holistic approach. Technology, science, and the arts never cease to amaze us with the ever newer advancements / results and discoveries, challenge minds and souls of people worldwide to embrace, and adapt them accordingly, and make a new philosophical framework for living, communicating, learning, teaching, and designing the future that are different almost every day. All these generate a constant and noble need for universities to strengthen relationships, shake hands, and build bridges all over this planet." Thus Professor Ph.D. **Corina Adriana Dumitrescu** strongly believes that women academics have the knowledge, power, and skill to successfully attain new goals, to open new horizons for the coming generations that expect to be warmly welcomed and encouraged to move on with their life, profession, and passion.

Professor Ph.D. **Liu Jinan**, the president of WWUPF, affirmed that "universities are the palaces of civilization for multiculturalism cultivation and WWUPF aims to create an international platform for women university presidents to communicate and collaborate, and to share new ideas and thoughts in the fields of higher education development and women leadership promotion. Women are the gentle powers to change the world."

Zhao Hui, Vice-president of Communication University of China, said that the world women university presidents' forum has been working to

promote the development of women's education and to enhance the cultivation of female leadership. Women presidents use their own personal growth experience and successful understanding to construct the vivid reality of the picture for the development of women and women's leadership. She also added that women presidents are the most dazzling female education leaders, as although they are in small number, they show huge impact.

Corat Saniye Gulser, Director of Division for Gender Equality, Office of the Director-General, UNESCO, said that UNESCO had been involved in promoting gender equality and women's leadership for as long as its existence. Its efforts have concluded in organizing conferences and for the 2030 Agenda there are also discussions concerning gender equality. Thus this conference is crucial for discussing women's leadership in higher learning and research institutions, since the proportion of women leadership in the world is only 29%.

Sağlamer Gülsün, President of the European Women Rectors Association, Former Rector of Istanbul Technical University, Turkey, underlined the importance of women's roles in university leadership. She also mentioned that she likes Romania very much and whenever she visits "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University she feels as being at home while having President Corina Adriana Dumitrescu and Rector Cristiana Cristureanu as very close friends.

Tian Shulan, Former Vice-president of the All-China Women's Federation and former Vice-minister of Education, China, talked about her personal experience that constituted her focus on the beginning of gender equality. She also added that, in higher education, women university presidents not only embody the women's talent and wisdom, but also promote the improvement of women status as leaders of cultivating high-level talent. The important social role status of women university presidents makes them an important force in promoting gender equality.

In the end of the opening speeches session, **Luminița Gheorghiu**, Member of Directory College of the National Council for Combating Discrimination, The Romanian Parliament, affirmed that women are real values for education and health, the sine qua non conditions for civilization.

During the gift ceremony, Professor Ph.D. **Liu Jinan** offered a piece of ceramic art named the *Net Bottle* to Professor Ph.D. Corina Adriana Dumitrescu, the President of the Senate of "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University. Its shape originated from a kind of musical instrument held in the hand of the Buddhist Goddess, Guanyin, meaning "taking a drop of sweet dew from the net bottle, benefiting all beings." As the competitive products, its craft of glaze firing is perfect, demonstrating the unique charm of underglaze red. *Net Bottle* is Mr. Ye Jianxin's masterpiece, who is a professor and doctoral tutor of Communication University of China. As Chinese Ceramic Design Art Master, through seven years of innovation and research, professor

Ye inherited the traditional Chinese under-glaze red firing craft, achieved the art crossover integration by applying the artistic conception of Chinese drawing into the ceramic art, and reached the new height of Chinese under-glaze red.

The sub-forum opened its working debates with the keynote speech session moderated by **Chen Naifang** and **Ramona Mihăilă**. The first speaker, **Ma Dexiu** (Honorary Chairperson of Shanghai Jiao Tong University), tried to "Answer the Call of Our Times: Ways to Make Universities Creative and Innovative," while **Corina Adriana Dumitrescu** (Professor Ph.D., President of the Senate of "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University, Bucharest) talked about the influences of "The Intercultural Dynamic Ecology of Higher Education Landscape."

The next two presentations discussed issues of higher education in Asia: **Chen Weijia** (Vice-director and Secretary General of Women Leadership Academy, China) analyzed "The Progress of and Thinking on the Internationalization of China's Higher Education," while **Park Dong Soon** (Chancellor at Dongseo Educational Foundation, Republic of Korea) focused her speech on "Innovation in Higher Education: A Case Study of Global Access Asia." Then, **Zou Xiaoqiao** (Vice-president, UN Committee on the Elimination Discrimination against Women/ Women Leadership Academy, China) shifted the discussion to "Gender Equality and Women's Leadership from the International Perspective." In her speech, "Bologna Process and the European Integration in Higher Education," **Ramona Mihăilă** (Vice-rector for International Relations, "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University, Bucharest, Romania) made an introspection upon the way the Bologna Process influenced the higher education in Europe, neighboring European countries, and the Asian countries. The last presentation was an analysis of "The Changing Role of Women in Higher Education 3.0 and beyond" made by **Olga Burukina** (Director of the Centre for International Students' Recruitment, National Moscow State Institute for Tourism Industry, Russian Federation).

The first panel, "University's Challenges and Opportunities in New Ecology," moderated by **Marja-Liisa Tenhunen** and **Chen Naifang**, dealt with teaching and researching methods in higher education, and opened the discussions with **Guo Shulan** (Chairperson of Board of School Administration, Central Conservatory of Music, Beijing, China) who talked about "Challenges and Opportunities for Art Institutions in New Ecology." She was followed by **Giuli Alasania** (President of the University of Georgia, Georgia) and **Mariam Janjaria** (Head of Human Resources Department, University of Georgia, Georgia), who presented a case study on "Women in Georgia Facing the New Challenges. Case Study: Females at the University of Georgia." The discussion moved on "Characteristics Development: The Optimal Strategy for Challenges in the New Ecology of Chinese Higher Educa-

tion Institutions," as **Zhang Fuzhen** (Vice-president of China Pharmaceutical University, Nanjing, China) asserted, while **Tamara Gella** (Dean, I.S. Turgenev Orel State University, Russian Federation) emphasized, the "New Ecology in Russian Universities in the Era of Innovative Technologies." **Ezza Agha Malak** (Vice President of the Faculty of Arts, Lebanese University) tried to answer the question "Is University Innovation Possible in a Sick Country?"

The next presentations turned the discussion towards educational environment. Thus, **Ren Fang** (President of Xijing University, China) talked "On Reform of Higher Learning Institutions Expedited by Relation between Teaching and Learning under New Ecology of Education," **Yang Xuemei** (President of Huanghe Science and Technology College, Zhengzhou, Henan, China) emphasized the "Strategic Choices for the Educational Reform of Innovation and Entrepreneurship in Colleges and Universities under the New Ecology," while **Chen Naifang** (Professor, Former President of Beijing Foreign Studies University, China) presented the "Challenges and Innovations in the Reform and Development of China's Higher Education in the New Era."

Marja-Liisa Tenhunen (Shanghai University, MBA Center & Global Management Education Institute, Former President of Centria University of Applied Sciences, Finland) answered the question "How to Boost Sustainable Development in Higher Education?" while the next speakers talked about "Challenges and Approaches in Research and Doctoral Studies in the New Ecology," **Anca Hermenean** (Vice-Rector, "Vasile Goldiş" Western University of Arad, Romania), "Group Research: Management and Authorship in Academic Environment," **Silvia Tita** (Center for Advanced Study of the Visual Arts, National Gallery Washington, United States), "The Environmental Policy of Azerbaijan and its Realization," **Lala Ahmadova** (Institute on Law and Human Rights of Azerbaijan National Academy of Science, Azerbaijan), and "University's Role in Preservation of Ethnic Diversity and Traditional Culture in New Ecology," **Iuliia Sushkova** (Ogarev Mordovia State University, Saransk, Russian Federation).

The second panel, "University's Innovation on Education and Teaching in the Era of 'Internet+'," moderated by **Ileana Alexandra Orlich** and **Guan Naijia**, dealt with topics concerning teaching methods in the era of "Internet+" as adapted to different educational environments. Thus **Ileana Alexandra Orlich** (President's Professor, Director of Romanian Studies, Honorary Consul General of Romania in Arizona, Arizona State University, United States) referred to ways of "Adapting Textual Tradition in the Era of the Internet," while **Wu Hui** (Vice-president of University of International Relations, Beijing, China) underlined the ways of "Braving Challenges to Classroom Teaching in the Internet Age," and **Gao Xiaohong** (Director of Faculty of

Journalism & Communications, Communication University of China, Beijing, China) offered solutions for "Trimming the Sail China's Media Transition and Journalism-Communication Education Reform," while **Tatiana A. Gurko** (Head researcher, Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia) talked about "Gender Equality in Professional Education and Formation of the Family in Russia."

The next presentations approached "University's Innovation on Education and Teaching in the Era of 'Internet+'," by **Jasminka Hasic Telalovic** (Head of Department, International University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina), "Reform Approaches of Higher Education in the Internet Era," by **Zhao Huili** (Vice-president of Huanghe S&T College, Zhengzhou, China), "Research on Entrepreneurship Education Mode of Private Universities and Colleges in China-Based on the Practical Explorations of Changchun University of Science and Technology," by **Wang Yanmei** (Vice-president of Changchun Sci-Tech University, Changchun, China), "The Transformation of Knowledge Production and Imparting Mode of Private Institutions of Higher Learning in the New Ecology," by **Ding Jing** (Chairman of Board, Xi'an Fanyi University, China), "The Innovational Road of Education and Teaching Mode in University – The Case of Nankai University," by **Guan Naijia** (Professor, the Former Vice-president of Nankai University, Tianjin, China), "Information Technology and New Ecology in the Management of the University," by **Olga Pilipenko Vasilevna** (I.S. Turgenev Orel State University, Russian Federation), "Kenya's 8-4-4- Education System," by **Nancy Abwalaba Owano** (Department of Educational Foundations and Policy Studies at Pwani University, Kenya), and "Bridging Cultures: The Role of the International Student Coordinator," by **Carmen Săpunaru Tamaş** (International Student Coordinator, Graduate School of Humanities and Faculty of Letters, Kobe University, Japan) and **Mihaela Sighinaş** (Kobe-Oxford Japanese Studies Program Coordinator, Kobe University, Japan).

The third panel, "University and Women's Role and Mission in New Ecology" moderated by **Ines Sanchez de Madariaga, Marija Bogdanovic,** and **Qin He**, emphasized the women's roles in higher education leadership towards matters of responsibility, power, missions, success, discrimination, and gender equality. Thus, **Tian Shulan** (Former Vice-president of the All-China Women's Federation and former Vice-minister of Education, China) approached "Women University Presidents' Social Responsibility and the Power of Role Models in Pushing Gender Equality," **Ines Sanchez de Madariaga** (UNESCO Chair on Gender Equality Policies in Science, Technology and Innovation; Member of the Leadership Council, REDS, UN-SDSN; Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, Spain) introduced the audience to the "Keys to Effective Implementation of Gender Equality Plans in Technological Universities. The TRIGGER Project at Universidad Politécnica de

Madrid." **Sümeyra Buran Utku** (Counsellor, Department of Women Studies, Social Sciences University of Ankara Council of Higher Education, Turkey) and **Aşkın Asan** (Rector, Avrasya University, Former Minister of Family, Ankara, Turkey) talked about "Women Academics in Strategic Administrative Positions in Turkey's Higher Education," **Zhao Hui** (Vice-president of Communication University of China, Beijing, China) pointed to the "New Ecology of Education and the Mission of Women University Presidents," while **Marija Bogdanovic** (Former Rector of the University of Belgrade, Serbia) analyzed the "Ethics in Science."

The next three presentations focused on Chinese higher education: **Zhang Qin** (Vice-president of Guizhou University, Guiyang, China) discussed about "The Role, Mission and Responsibility of Female University Presidents in China," **Wu Jianhua** (Professor of Nanjing Institute of Technology, Nanjing, Jiangsu province, China) presented "Decision Making: Key Ability for Success of Female University Presidents," and **Qin He** (President of Jilin Huaqiao University of Foreign Languages, Changchun City, China) argued on "The Facilitating Role of Female Leaders in Educational Reform and Innovation."

Alenka Jensterle Doležalová (Director of Department of South Slavonic and Balkan Studies, Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic) talked about "New Ecology and Gender Roles in the University Teaching," **Efstratia Oktapoda** (European Projects coordinator, University Paris IV-Sorbonne, France) showed "The Involvement of Universities and Women Presidents and Rectors for Equality between Women and Men and the Creation of Innovative Missions for Equality and Fight against Discrimination in France, in Universities, and at the Sorbonne University," while **Svetlana Aronova Anatolevna** (Department Director, I.S. Turgenev Orel State University, Russian Federation) underlined "The Evolvement of Women's Contribution in the Higher Education Authority."

The gender issue was debated during the next presentations: "Structural Change Promoting Gender Equality in Lithuanian Science System: Requirements, Possibilities and Challenges," by **Aurelija Novelskaite** (Coordinator of European Projects, Vilnius University, Lithuanian Social Research Center, Institute of Sociology, Vilnius Gediminas, Lithuania), "Role and Position of University Women's Leaders in The New Ecology through Gender Lens," by **Kim Anh Duong** (Dean of Gender and Development Faculty, Vietnam Women's Academy, Hanoi), "Reflecting on a Decade of Gender and Diversity Education at SUNY Cortland" by **Mechthild Nagel** (Director, Center for Gender and Intercultural Studies, State University of New York, College at Cortland, United States), and "Female Leadership: The Way We Look: What Do We Stand for?" by **Isabel Lousada** (Director, Nova University of Lisbon, Portuguese Association of Women in Science, Portugal).

During the last day of the subforum, **Qin He** and **Giuli Alasania** moderated the roundtable "University Development and Innovation in New Ecology of Education Policy: Challenges of Private and Public Institutions." **Xu Xuefen** (Institute of Communication Studies, Communication University of China, China) started the discussion by analyzing the opportunities and challenges faced by private higher education in China, **Long Xiaonong** (Institute of Communication Studies, Communication University of China, Beijing, China) presented the application-oriented type or research – elitist type: the repositioning of talent cultivating in private university, while the rest of the participants in the round table, **Park Dong Soon** (Chancellor at Dongseo Educational Foundation, Republic of Korea), **Ren Fang** (President of Xijing University, China), **Wang Yanmei** (Vice-president of Changchun Sci-Tech University, Changchun, China), **Zhao Huili** (Vice-president of Huanghe S&T College, Zhengzhou, China), took the floor and added new aspects of the development and innovation in new ecology both from the private and public higher education institutions.

Closing Speeches session drew the conclusions of three fruitful working days of the subforum, and all the speakers, **Corina Adriana Dumitrescu** (President of the Senate of "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University), **Cristiana Cristureanu** (Rector of "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University), **Ileana Alexandra Orlich** (Honorary Consul of Romania, Arizona State University), and **Liu Jinan** (Chairman of World Women University Presidents Forum/President of Women Leadership Academy / Honorary President of Communication University of China), emphasized the university women's roles in the academic leadership.

So far, the WWUPF has published six collected works and 50 books as a series of "World Women Presidents and Women's Universities," reflecting women university presidents' thoughts and visions.

The papers delivered at the subforum "Adaptability and Breakthrough: University's Reform and Innovation in the New Ecology of Higher Education" will be published by Addleton Academic Publishers, New York, as a volume indexed in many first-rate international databases.

The subforum had the following scientific partners: *Scientific Journals: Journal of Research in Gender Studies*, Addleton Academic Publishers, New York, *Waqado*, A Journal of Transnational Women's and Gender Studies, SUNY Cortland, New York, *Navegações*, Universidade de Lisboa, Lisbon, *HISTORIÆ*, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande, Brazil, and *Media Partners:* București TV, Naşul TV, Agerpres, Radio România, Economistul, UCDC TV.

The organizing committee of "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University led by **Corina Adriana Dumitrescu** (President of the Senate) and **Cristiana Cristureanu** (Rector) reunited efforts of the vice rectors Ramona Mihăilă and Georgeta Ilie, members of the Department of International Relations,

Andreea Danielescu and Dominic Perez Danielescu, the director of the university's television channel UCDC TV, Ștefan Vartolomei, and teaching staff and student volunteers of the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures.

The subforum registered a high participation of women university leaders from over 20 countries, and as the initiator of organizing the subforum at "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University, **President Corina Adriana Dumitrescu** added that "she had been equally concerned to offer these ladies – who represent the University Leadership, the World University Leadership – the occasion to get acquainted with 'Dimitrie Cantemir' Christian University, with the Romanian higher education and especially to succeed – and we have succeeded – in having dialogues and exchanging ideas. And the conclusion can be that regardless the countries these ladies stand for – the Far East, the Middle East, Europe, USA – the set of values they share – which we also share with them – is the same."

Ramona Mihăilă



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