Graduate School of Development Studies

# Gender Mainstreaming: a viable or unviable strategy? A Case Study of the Institute of Social Studies 

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## Table Of Contents

Acknowledgement .....
Table Of Contents ..... ii
List of Acronyms and Abbreviations ..... iv
List of Tables ..... v
Chapter 1. Introduction ..... 1
1.1. Problem Statement and Justification ..... 1
1.2. Research Objective and Questions ..... 4
1.3. Research Methods and Limitations ..... 5
1.3.1. Primary data ..... 5
1.3.2. Secondary data ..... 6
1.3.3. Scope and limitations ..... 6
1.4. Organisation of The Paper ..... 7
Chapter 2. Gender Mainstreaming as a Strategy towards Gender Equality: an Analytical Framework ..... 7
2.1. Gender: what, how and where ..... 7
2.2. Organisational Culture ..... 10
2.3. Gender Mainstreaming: a Key Strategy for Advancing Gender Equality ..... 11
Chapter 3. ISS: Gender Mainstreaming in Policy Documents ..... 15
3.1. The Organisational Structure of ISS ..... 15
3.2. Gender Policy in ISS ..... 17
3.2.1. Responsibility for implementation ..... 21
3.3. Gender Hierarchy and occupational segregation in 2005: Wo/Men Representation in ISS ..... 23
3.3.1. Academic staff ..... 24
3.3.2. Administrative staff ..... 26
3.3.3. Scholars' Association - SCHOLAS ..... 27
3.3.4. Constraints in relation to gender balanced representation ..... 30
3.4. ISS Policy Against Improper Behaviour ..... 33
Chapter 4. ISS: Gender Mainstreaming in PRACTICE: contraints and Obstacles ..... 37
4.1. Contested notions OF Gender Equality ..... 37
4.2. Gendered Organisational Culture ..... 38
4.4.1. Replay of gender stereotypes in the division of labour ..... 41
4.4.2. Gender blind or neutral? Organization of space and time ..... 43
4.5. Recent Institutional changes ..... 45
Chapter 5. Key Findings and Conclusions ..... 45
REFERENCES ..... 49
Annex A. List of Questions General to All Respondents ..... 53
Annex B. Specific Questions to Management Team ..... 55
Annex C. Specific Questions to Academic Staff ..... 56
Annex D. Specific Questions to Confidential Counsellors ..... 57
Annex E. Specific Questions to WGD Lecturer ..... 59
Annex F. Specific Questions to Gender Committee ..... 61
Annex G. Specific Questions to Non-WGD Student ..... 63
Annex H. Specific Questions to WGD Student ..... 65
Annex I. List of Respondents ..... 67

## List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ISS: Institute of Social Studies
GM: Gender Mainstreaming
GP: Gender Policy
AG: Gender Audit
AIB: Against Improper Behaviour
CDW: Curriculum Development Workshop
AWT: Advisory Council for Science and Technology Policy
SCHOLAS: Scholars' Association
IB: Institute Board
ISSAC: ISS Advisory Council
SG [B]: Staff Group [Boards]
OEA: Office of Educational Affairs
EO: Executive Office
ORPAS: Office of Research, Projects and Advisory Services
OLTIS: Office of Library and IT Services
ORM: Office of Resource Management
GASC: Gender Audit Steering Committee
GAD: Gender and Development
ECD: Economics and Development
LRD: Local and Rural Development
RLGC: Rural Livelihood and Global Change
WGD: Women, Gender and Development

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: The organisation structure of ISS (2005)
Table 2: Wo/Men representation in academic and technical administrative staff [as of August 2005]

Table 3: Wo/Men representation in academic staff based on ranks [as of August 2005]

Table 4: Wo/Men representation in technical administrative staff based on offices [as of August 2005]

Table 5: Wo/Men representation in the SCHOLAS (2004/2005)

Table 6: Wo/Men student participants per academic year

## Chapter 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Problem Statement and Justification

This study aims to analyse how gender mainstreaming is envisioned and implemented in an academic institution and the ways in which the organizational culture informs the process of mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming (GM) originated from development policies, which were then adopted by the UN at the 1995 women's conference in Beijing. It was adopted as the strategy for promoting gender equality by integrating gender perspective into policy and practice through the establishment of national 'machinery' as part of promoting women's empowerment and equality between men and women. Promoting gender equality means changing gender relations and this approach poses further challenges in gender planning and practice, which offered a variety of tools and methodologies strengthened by the new development focus: human well being and social justice. However there is no guarantee that GM will succeed because planning machineries seems to be unable to cope with the rapid changes of gender relations. Indeed according to Locke and Okali (1999) it is because social change is a complex process and cannot simply controlled by addressing interventions to a specific group or individuals or by engaging target groups more directly in project planning and implementation (Locke and Okali, 1999: 274).

The Gender mainstreaming concept itself has been criticized by feminists and there is an ongoing debate that mainstreaming in practice is not happening. Despite a decade of struggles by feminist activists in the development field, most institutions still need to be reminded about the needs for gender analysis in their work (Mukhopadhyay, 2004: 95). And this has further led to many feminist scholars being reluctant to contribute academically to the policy debate regarding GM (Booth and Bennett, 2002; Bennet, 2000 in Hankivsky, 2005: 1); consequently, unreflective
interpretation of GM continues by both policy makers and femocrats (Carney, 2004 in Hankivsky, ibid). A key question is

Is effective gender mainstreaming a technical issue concerned with designing and constructing the 'right' gender policy, the 'right' tools for gender analysis, and the 'right' gender training for staff? Or, is it an institutionally transformative process concerned more with reconstructing social relations within organisations than directly challenging development procedure or practice? (Piálek, 2005)

This study will look at the academic institution where the researcher is currently studying, the Institute of Social Studies (ISS) as a case study for gender mainstreaming. ISS is an international institute of higher education on social and economic change with a focus on development processes. The researcher choose this institution apart from her location at the institution, also because although there is already a study program on gender namely Women, Gender and Development (WGD) within the Institute ${ }^{1}$, it does not mean that gender mainstreaming is being implemented without problems. There is in fact a big challenge in doing mainstreaming in an institute believing itself already gender sensitive and gender aware.

Through the analysis of one particular institution, this research hopes to contribute to wider feminist debates on mainstreaming gender. Furthermore, this research is relevant since the WGD program took a recent initiative to hold a Curriculum Development Workshop (CDW) on Women, Gender, and Development as a step forward since the first adoption of gender policy in 2002 and the latest revision in July 2003. From the workshop report there are several key challenges mentioned to mainstreaming gender in the research and curriculum, which includes:
a. Lack of commitment to teaching gender as an institutional norm
b. No mechanism available to respond to the needs for staff members committed to the inclusion of gender issues to broaden their knowledge and sharpen the gender linkages in their areas of expertise

[^0]c. Staff members with gender expertise that already left have not yet been replaced
d. No institutionalised requirement for gender expertise in recruitment policy for new staff
e. Lack of explicit priority given to gender issues in the overall curricula, apart from WGD modules
f. Gaps and overlaps present within and across the current modules where gender is prioritised
g. Teaching most often failed to address the relationship between gender and other forms of inequality

The issues highlighted above raise a number of questions that can be divided into three levels of gender mainstreaming in the ISS:

1. Curriculum of non-WGD programmes
a. The course content
b. The availability of gender expertise within the programme
2. Gender policy at ISS
a. Policy Against Improper Behaviour (AIB) and methods of implementation as well as the dissemination system;
b. Gender balance in academic and administrative staff recruitment, promotion and representation: the numbers of women and men staffs in different programs, the position women staffs holds relative to men staffs, the presence of men and women staff in decision-making positions;
c. Gender balance in students' admission.
3. Organizational Culture
a. The ideologies of work, quality and conditions of its working life, beliefs and patterns of behaviour of the people here in the ISS in relation to gender: assumptions of femininity/masculinity;
b. The design of the institute: infrastructure, utilities, services provided and produced

The last two: Gender Policy and Organizational Culture have not been dealt with in the recent gender platform report. This research could therefore add to the ongoing discussions on GM at the ISS. This would be useful since after more than twenty years when the first separate MA for gender course was introduced, WGD staffs choose this year as the time "to look both backwards and forwards, to fine-tune activities and revitalize the identity of Women, Gender, Development"...as pointed out in the CDW report. However, the researcher is very aware that mainstreaming needs comprehensive analysis and with a very limited time, this research is restricted by looking at how the gender policy was implemented and what is the organizational culture of the institute. The researcher will look specifically at the history of how the gender policy is constructed, what are the mainstreaming strategies of ISS, and the fundamental constraints that confront those responsible for GM [if there is assigned staff] in their work in relation to the structures and cultures of the Institute.

### 1.2. Research Objective and Questions

Research Objectives:
a. To analyse the current situation of gender mainstreaming within the ISS by looking specifically at the Gender Policy and the Organisational Culture
b. To analyse the gendered organizational culture of the ISS and assess how conducive it is for gender mainstreaming
c. To contribute to the feminists debates and critiques on gender mainstreaming

Research Questions:
a. What is the content of the gender policy in the ISS?
b. What are the mainstreaming strategies in ISS? What are the constraints that prevent the realization of the mainstreaming in ISS?
c. What is the organizational culture in the ISS? How does it contribute to the gender policy formulation and implementation?
d. What lessons can be learnt from the success and failures of GM in ISS, which can contribute to the current debates and critique on GM?

### 1.3. Research Methods and Limitations

THE STUDY WILL DRAW ON BOTH PRIMARY AND SECONDARY DATA.

### 1.3.1. Primary data

Primary data was collected through semi-structured interviews with key respondents from the management team, the association of student participants of the ISS - SCHOLAS [Scholars' Association], selected academic and administrative staff members and students. The selection of respondents was based on the following criteria to make the study more representative:

1. Position at ISS;
2. Years of experience at ISS;
3. Country/region representation;
4. Course programmes representation.

The interviews took place from September to October 2005 to respondents of both ISS staff and students. The total ISS members interviewed were 29 of which 9 women and 7 men both academic and administrative staff members, and 7 women and 6 men students.

Interviews were carried out with nearly the whole management team. However from the Head of Offices there was one who did not respond and one who refused and assigned the interviews to his staff. Interview with the SCHOLAS was done with the representative of its Executive Committee that is the president who is also a WGD participant and members of its Gender Committee. The researcher purposely chose Gender Committee due to the fact that when this research took place, the committee is not functioning. As for the students, the researcher interviewed students from WGD
programme; students who took the WGD course; and those whose programme have only men staff.

In advance of the interview, the researcher sent out an email to individual interviewees mentioning the subject of the research and requesting their willingness to be part of it through interviews. As soon as the interviewees confirmed their participation, the researcher sent the questions prior to the interview in order for them to be familiar with the questions so that they would be able to think about the answers. All of the interviews were recorded with interviewees' permission and they were informed that their comments would be quoted anonymously. Each interviewee will receive the taped record of the interview along with the final research paper.

### 1.3.2. SeCONDARY DATA

For the secondary data, some quantitative information is collected on wo/men ratios of students, student body and staffs; the position held by academic and technical administrative staff. Aside from academic literatures and books, the researcher also use the results of previous research paper on gender issues in the ISS, ISS Gender Audit Report 2001, ISS Gender Policy 2003 (2 ${ }^{\text {nd }}$ edition), ISS Against Improper Behaviour Policy, WGD Curriculum Development Workshop Report 2005, and Annual Report 2000-2004.

### 1.3.3. SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

The researcher is very aware in the research process there will be resistances as well as the willingness to freely express the feeling and thoughts of the interviewees. The researcher is also very aware of her biases since this study was conducted from a feminist standpoint. Gender mainstreaming needs comprehensive efforts and with time limitation it is not possible for the researcher to do a comprehensive analysis, hence the researcher limited the scope of this research by looking at the gendered organizational cultures and selected policies, instead of the institution'
gender ideology, as it will require wider samples. Furthermore, the sample is small and the findings therefore cannot be generalized.

### 1.4. Organisation of The Paper

Chapter One introduces the background of this research: problem statement, justification, objectives, questions, methods, and limitation.

Chapter Two discusses conceptual frameworks used to analyse the GM processes within the institute as a strategy towards gender equality. Chapter Three studies the content of gender policies and proposals for mainstreaming in policy documents.

Chapter Four studies the gender mainstreaming in practice: the constraints, obstacles and resistance.

Chapter Five presents the key findings and conclusions.

## Chapter 2. Gender Mainstreaming as a Strategy towards Gender Equality: an Analytical Framework

This chapter elaborates the theoretical ground of gender mainstreaming process from policy formulation to implementation. It elaborates the concepts of gender; gendered organizational culture in institutions and gender mainstreaming to provide the analytical framework for the analysis.

### 2.1. GENDER: WHAT, HOW AND WHERE

The researcher will apply Scott's definition of gender as 'the social organization of sexual difference' in relation to gender mainstreaming as operating 1) on a symbolic level: 'where images of masculinity and femininity' within organizational culture 'impart meaning to phenomena which appear to be gender-neutral'; 2) at the level of individual and collective identity of the institution, of specific programs, lectures, staffs: where meanings of sexual difference affect the self-image of wo/men and the normative concepts in interpreting the meanings of it; and 3) at the level of social structures: 'the availability of resources, accessibility of social institutions and positions of power marked by gender norms and gender symbols' (Scott, 1999: 2; Sevenhuijsen, 1998:81). With these different levels, the researcher wish to look at the interpretation of the sexual difference and how they organized them in the daily interaction with the people within the Institute: how they express themselves, their experiences, and the desire for change, if any.

As Lorber (1994) points out, the constructions of gender for an individual starts as soon as s/he is born on the basis of the genitalia and then through naming, dress, and the use of other gender markers, where its process and outcomes are legitimated by law, religion, science, and societies whole set of values (Lorber, 1994: 14-15). We have been arranging
our everyday life in such distinction that we take gender for granted, where we were brought up with the socially constructed set of categories to learn gender-appropriate behaviour that is of being feminine and masculine. Believing and thinking of themselves as the kind of people they supposed to be and building character that is appropriate according to society for women or men. This gender arrangement, as Connell (2002) argued, are reproduced socially (not biologically) by the power of structures to constrain individual action, thus often they appear unchanging; yet, in fact the dynamics of human practice are always changing as they creates new situations (Connell, 2002: 10).

The notions of femininity and masculinity have been socially, culturally and historically constructed deeply in our life thus are seen as part of the order of nature. Connell (2002) claimed that being a man or a woman is not a fixed state, it is a becoming, a condition actively under construction. Simone de Beauvoir, the pioneering French feminist, in her classic phrase said that 'one is not born, but rather, becomes a woman' (in Connell, 2002: 4). Connell further claimed this is also true with men where 'one is not born masculine, but acquires and enacts masculinity, and so becomes a man' (ibid). Moreover, because we have been taking gender for granted, it is difficult to see how it is constructed. Although the social constructs that associated with masculinity and femininity are diverse and subject to constant negotiation and changes in everyday life, Erturk (2004) argued "the dominant gender identities and their patterned interconnectedness are embedded in the patriarchal legacy that manifests itself through particular relations of domination and subordination depending upon specific social formations" (Erturk, 2004: 9).

The way we place ourselves in the society, the way we perform ourselves in everyday life, play a role in the way we construct ourselves as masculine and feminine, which are shaped by social norms and traditions that treat women and men differently. All of the attributes of femininity and masculinity or so-called 'gender-based difference' (Gherardi, 1995) are embedded in the superior and subordinate relationship. This set of attributes is acted out in life-interaction of people within an institution
where there is a customary set of gender arrangements, such as who will do what work; what social divisions were acknowledged; how emotional relations conducted and how these institutions were related to others. Connell (2002) called this pattern as gender regime. He defined gender regime as a pattern of arrangements about gender of an organizational life, in institutions, schools, offices, factories, armies, police forces, sporting clubs and every organisation one can think of (Connell, 2002: 53).

A gender regime is a specific inventory at which the three levels of the operation of gender can be identified. While it is not possible to identify the full nature of the gender regimes operating in the ISS this study will highlight certain dimensions, which are part of the overall gender regime in this institution. The other two that will not be discussed in this paper are gender order, which is a wider pattern of gender relations enduring over time; and gender structure, which is does not mechanically determine but defines possibilities and consequences for people to enact gender (Connell, 2002: 54-55).

### 2.2. Organisational Culture

Often organizations claimed themselves as gender neutral while in practice, as Gherardi (1995) argued, organizations themselves are gendered because our direct experience tells us that its cultures - as holistic phenomena - are strongly 'gendered' (Gherardi, 1995: 12). Furthermore, studying an organisation will not be complete without looking at the culture of the organization because as Gherardi further argued, it expresses a number of work cultures and encompass social constructs of gender relations within workplace, which 'expresses a gender regime' (ibid: 3, 9). She further add that 'organizational cultures differ according to their gender regimes and consequently, according to the social patterning that they give to gender citizenship. As forms of communicative behaviour, organizations are constrained and shaped by the grammar of the social structure' (ibid: 3-4).

Strati's defined organisational culture as consisting of:
'The symbols, beliefs and patterns of behaviour learned, produced and created by the people who devote their energies and labour to the life of an organization. It is expressed in the design of the organization and of work, in the artefacts and services that the organization produces, in the architecture of its premises, in the technologies that it employs, in its ceremonials of encounter and meeting, in the temporal structuring of organizational courses of action, in the quality and conditions of its working life, in the ideologies of work, in the corporate philosophy, in the jargon, lifestyle and physical appearance of the organization's members' (Strati, 1992a: 578 in Gherardi, ibid: 13).

Gherardi prefer this definition because for her it refers not only to nonmaterial like values of what people think, but also to the symbolic message it conveys that is the social construction of gender. This is also true with sexuality. Although gender and sexuality are conceptually different, they are closely related. Both are very well interrelated with production and reproduction in and of society, and with the production and reproduction of organizations and organization: that is the sexuality of organization (Hearn et al., 1989: 2). This has further strengthened by Gherardi's notion of 'occupational segregation', in which they continue the 'symbolic system of subordination, of subservience' (Gherardi, 1995: 15). However, the researcher will limit the aspect of the study to the ideologies of work, quality and conditions of its working life, beliefs and patterns of behaviour of the people in the Institute.

### 2.3. Gender Mainstreaming: a Key Strategy for Advancing Gender Equality

After a decade of its first introduction at the Beijing Platform, there have been debates taking place to review and evaluate its implementation, in which scholars have claimed that this strategy is actually failing. It has been criticised for being 'limited and limiting due to the fact it always
prioritise gender as the axis of discrimination and furthermore, the conceptualisation of gender that GM rests upon is clearly outdated' (Hankivsky, 2005: 2). Gender mainstreaming involves bringing in the perceptions, knowledge, experience and interests of both women and men to participate in the policy-making and decision-making process with gender equality as the ends. According to Scott (1999), gender equality is the equality between women and men to gender balance - a fair representation for each sex and a need for gender awareness, which meant awareness of how policies affect women and men differently (Scott, 1999: x). To further understand why it is failing, one needs to know what is gender mainstreaming, what are the powerful appeal of its notion and the promise of its early intentions, which according to Woodford-Berger is 'to imbue all systems, structures and institutionalised cultures with awareness of genderbased biases and injustices, and to remove them' (2004: 65). In a broader term, 'the objectives of mainstreaming are to bring gender awareness from the sidelines to the centre of development planning, and to make gender issues an integral part of organisational thinking and practice' (Chant and Gutmann, 2000: 2).

Hankivsky (2005) further argued that GM has become a 'watered down' approach to challenging the status quo, which in turn influence how gender issues are constructed that leads to important issues being excluded or marginalized in the realm of policy. She proposed several reasons for this: 1) GM's present disconnect with its feminist theoretical groundings the understanding of gender and its interface with race, class, nationality, ethnicity, sexuality and power are not adequately reflected in the concept or in the strategies and tools that have been developed to engender public policy; 2) in its attempts to institute social justice, it has not moved beyond the male-female dichotomy (Hankivsky, 2005: 1-2).

Although there has been various definition of GM, however, the definition that most often used and referred to in literatures is of the United Nations, which defined GM as:

The process and strategy for achieving gender equality by assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences integral dimension in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and social spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality (Lansky, 2000: 499 in Pialek, 2005: 1, United Nations, 2002: v and Geisler, 1999: 17).

The literature on gender mainstreaming can be divided into two different approaches. The most common form is the 'technical approach' to gender mainstreaming. This approach is most often used by gender consultants and development institutions themselves when assessing the successes and failures of gender policies (but is also prevalent among academics writing on the issue). The technical approach aims to identify a set of practical reasons why mainstreaming is failing to occur in practice without questioning (or with little questioning of) the larger institutional framework in which the gender policy operates. "The reasons identified include: confusion of roles and responsibilities of gender units, weak mandates, lack of resources, lack of control over resources, locational instability or inappropriateness, lack of autonomy of gender units, and staff constraints" (Piálek, 2005: 2). This approach structures gender policies as a technical issue where it is in a state of modification to meet the continuing changing contexts and demands of the development of the institutions. So when the policies are seen not sufficient to cope with the emerging problems anymore, then all that needs to be done is to create a better policy, for example one with stronger mandates and command of more resources. However, if it is as simple as this, Pialek (2005) further questioned why then GM consistently meets with little success (beyond the level of rhetoric) despite the (often long term) recognition of these 'technical problems'?

The second approach on gender mainstreaming is the 'institutional culture' approach. "This approach looks beyond the specific problems of
gender policy and practice to the larger institutional framework in which gender mainstreaming is situated. Goetz highlights that the technical approach mentioned above implicitly identifies the problem as attitudinal: it assumes once sexist attitudes are changed, resistance will vanish. Furthermore, the search for simple formulae and tools to integrate gender sensitive data and practices into projects and policies implies a faith that technique can override forms of prejudice embedded in organisational cognitive systems and work cultures. However both approaches underestimate the role of discriminatory gendered patterns in the incentive systems, accountability structures, and bureaucratic procedure in derailing GAD efforts" (Goetz, 1997: 4 in Piálek, ibid: 2). According to this approach, GM should therefore "not be a process that attempts to incorporate gender issues and policies into the existing structure of an organisation but a process by which the entire organisational and institutional structure is challenged and reinvented to create equitable relations between men and women" (Pialek, ibid: 3).

As suggest by Woodford-Berger (2004), 'gender mainstreaming seeks to produce transformatory processes and practices that will concern, engage and benefit women and men equally by systematically integrating explicit attention to issues of sex and gender into all aspects of an organisation's work' (Woodford-Berger, 2004: 66). To do so, particular tools, concepts, instruments, and frameworks were developed within a planning context to make development attended to women. Furthermore, the gender analytical frameworks are used to impose tangibility and procedurability on what is ultimately a political project based on certain theoretical groundwork in which such frameworks are usually developed and designed by adopting particular framework to fit into the planning requirements, used in training courses and 'gender sensitisation' or 'gender awareness-raising' exercises to bring together support for specific values and interpretations within the organisation (Woodford-Berger, 2004: 66 and Halsema, 2003: 83).

For this research paper purpose, the researcher will discuss gender mainstreaming by focusing on the two dimensions: 'integrationist' and
'agenda-setting' or transformation, which was first introduced by Jahan (1995) and further used by several writers Mukhopadhyay (2004) and Hankivsky (2005). The integrationist dimension seeks to 'builds gender issues into existing development paradigms' (Jahan, 1995: 13) and 'selling gender mainstreaming as a way of more effectively achieving existing policy goals' (Walby, 2003:4) without 'transforming the overall development agenda' (Bhatta, 2001: 22), which as Mukhopadhyay states (2004: 96) 'the aim is to ensure that gender equality concerns are integrated in the analysis of the problems faced by the particular sector; that these inform the formulation of policy, programmes and projects; and that specific targets are set for outcomes and that the monitoring and evaluation of the progress is capture in the achievement of gender equality'. In this approach, Walby (2003) add that 'it is the mainstream that changes'. Whilst the agenda-setting dimension implies the 'transformation of the existing development agenda by the incorporation of a gender perspective' (Jahan, 1995 and Bhatta, 2001) and 'reorientation of existing policy paradigms, changing decision making processes, prioritising gender equality objectives and re-thinking policy ends' (Walby, 2003), in which 'the aim is to introduce women's concerns related to their position (strategic interests) into mainstream development agendas, so as to transform the agenda for change' (Mukhopadhyay, 2004). Walby (2003) further add, this approach means that gender mainstreaming is less expected rejected, where its impact is expected to be less substantial.

# Chapter 3. ISS: Gender Mainstreaming in Policy Documents 

### 3.1. The Organisational Structure of ISS

"The Rector is still a man, the Dean is still a man, not that they're not smart and intelligent or not doing a good job, but it's just kind of ironic, it happens all over, and over, and over again" (Student, woman)
"If you look from the top of the head all the committees are men, at least the chairs. The only committee I know of is the Works Council which is chaired by a woman" (Administrative staff, man)

Before we go further into discussing the policy, we need to know who are the actors who formulate and responsible for the implementation of the policies, making sure that the Institute operates properly towards achieving its goals and visions. Therefore first an overview of the organisational structure of the Institute is presented.

ISS is managed by an Institute Board (IB) consists of Rector, Deputy Rector, and Dean. The Rector is chair of the Board and research portfolioholder, the Deputy Rector is responsible for finances and resources and the Dean is responsible for the teaching programme, the library and the computer facilities. The Rector is appointed externally while the Deputy Rector and Dean are appointed internally and they are senior academic staff members of the Institute. In addition to the IB, there is the Board of Supervisors and the ISS Advisory Council (ISSAC), high-level bodies that advises on strategic matters.

The academic staffs is divided into four Staff Groups [SG I - IV], which operate as organisation units responsible for teaching activities and organising research and advisory services. The support staff are organised in five offices: Office of Educational Affairs (OEA), Executive Office (EO), Office of Research, Projects and Advisory Services (ORPAS), Office of Library and IT Services (OLTIS) and Office of Resource Management (ORM). For academic policy issues, ISS has Academic Council, whilst Works Council
considers personnel and organisational issues. The details of the structure can be seen below.

Table 1. The organisation structure of ISS (2005)


Over the life course of the Institute since 1952, all of the IB members have been men with only one-woman rector (1991-1995). In the current structure, out of five Heads of Offices, three are women; during the period of 2000-2004 there has been a rotation with composition in which whether women outnumbered men or the other way around. The chair of Academic Council and Works Council has always been a man, and only recently has a woman been appointed as the chair of Works Council. As for the Staff Group Boards (SGB) members, there is only one woman in the SGIII Board (Human Resources and Local Development) while the chair are all men. The members of each SG have an unequal composition of wo/men staffs where men outnumbered women, while in SGI - Economics of Sustainable Development, are all men. The researcher intentionally compare the period of 2000-2004 to see the current situations of the Institute after the Gender Audit in 2000 and the adoption of the Gender Policy in 2002 with the latest revision on July 2003. In terms of overall change in numbers, the majority
of the interviewees expressed that there has been a great change within the Institute in recruiting more women staffs. "Over the last year we have a lot of new people coming in to the ISS, fortunately also a lot of women" (Administrative staff, man). Furthermore,
"as far as I know it's the policy of ISS to make sure that there also enough women entering the teaching programme. So as far as I know this academic year start arrives now even more women than men...I know because I'm one of the members of selection committee" (Administrative staff, woman).

### 3.2. Gender Policy in ISS

"No, I know they are working on it, but never came out. I never see anything. I never see it" (Administrative staff, man)
"No, I didn't know. I have heard, but I've never seen it myself. It would be nice to look at it. Well you see, probably those issues, that is there but it's in the shelf" (Student, man)
"Yes, I know that. I have not read the gender policy, no" (Student, woman)
"Very often the move to have elements of a gender policy have been a response to outside pressure- regulations imposed on all educational institutions hence the policy on sexual harassment" (Academic staff, woman)

In the late 1990s, gender issues emerged as a matter of serious concern within the ISS and in 2000, what was then the Executive Board (now IB) initiated a gender audit, led by Dr van Doorne-Huiskes, Professor of Emancipatie Onderzoek en Vrouwenstudies at Erasmus University. The audit was supervised by the then Deputy Rector and guided by a Gender Audit Steering Committee (GASC), composed of representatives of ISS staff. This audit was a response of the Institute after the publication of Halfslachtige wetenschap (a report regarding gender in science - the literally interpretation is 'Half-hearted Science') in 2000 by the Advisory Council for Science and Technology Policy (AWT), which reveal that there is a persistent of imbalance in the numbers of wo/men staffs in higher ranks, in particular
with few women staff in higher academic ranks at all Dutch universities: the higher in rank the academic position, the smaller the number of women present (Doorne-Huikes \& Henderikse, 2001: 5). However, to actually even have an audit was not without a struggle, as informed by one of the interviewee,
"At an institutional level it has been necessary to struggle to raise gender issues - the establishment of the program itself was a struggle led by staff and students - the gender audit was conducted after a WGD staff member wrote a very strong memo to the IB pointing out the gender and age hierarchy in the ISS" (Academic staff, woman).

According to AWT, this low representation is not entirely caused by a shortage of available candidates at that level, but because of the social structure differences in career opportunities for wo/men academics. This is further strengthened by one of the interviewee comments,
"in the Netherlands the social structure doesn't stimulate women to full-time participate. It also means that the family role of men and women are not equally divided. So it remains exceptional that there is a man who takes care of the children, the households, etc. And if you compare with Western or North America, it's different" (Administrative staff, man).

However, the fact that ISS is an international institution, this situation is not entirely similar to Dutch universities.

As this gender imbalance has been one of the Gender Audit findings, the Institute become aware of this issue and this was recognised 'could have a potentially unfavourable bearing on its professional strength and reputation' (Gender Policy, 2003). Further it was pointed out that, "It could also limit its intellectual scope in very undesirable ways by perpetuating gendered views of research and teaching priorities, the thematic content of courses and relevant problem analysis. It could further constrain the working and social environment of students and their overall learning process. There is an issue if the image of the Institute is maleoriented, it could deter highly qualified women candidates from applying for ISS appointments. If this is not addressed, it could eventually create an
unwanted image of the ISS as a development institute that expresses a principled concern for equality and emancipation, but has failed to practice it in-house" (ibid).

Referring to the 2003 Gender Policy, there are three main findings from the 2001 gender audit:
a. Serious imbalance between men and women in the academic staff was confirmed, with women a definite minority
b. The gender balance in the TAS (technical administrative staff) was better
c. There was a lack of explicit gender policies at the ISS

Based-on the above main findings and discussion that have taken place, the Institute decided the following as the policy priorities (Gender Policy, 2003: $2)$ :

1. To give high priority to improving the proportion of women in the ISS, particularly in higher academic positions;
2. To open clearer career possibilities;
3. To streamline and monitor transparency in ISS personnel policy (including career development and review/assessment procedures) to safeguard and strengthen, inter alia, the process of gender balancing;
4. To improve secondary labour conditions to facilitate ways of combining work and family life, with a view to attracting and retaining more women as ISS staff members and providing them better career perspectives;
5. To promote gender-sensitivity in ISS working conditions, procedures and in its policies more generally; and
6. To build a reputation for SS as a gender-friendly institution

Further in the Gender Policy, many decisions have already been taken in these directions and are reflected in other ISS policies that were developed earlier and influenced by the ISS Gender Audit. Such policies include Against Improper Behaviour (May 2005), Arrangements During Pregnancy (September 2001), Vacation, ADV, and Leave Regulations
(November 2001), the Professorial Plan 2002-2006 (December 2001), and the Staff Development Programme (January 2002). However, having these policies cannot ensure that job is done. As noted in the policy, it is clear that gender imbalance, lack of gender awareness and gender sensitivity in working conditions are unlikely to be tackled effectively by scattered references in policies or on a case-by-case basis. More in the policy, what needs to be done are willingness to invest financially regardless the availability of the resources; sensitivity to the problem faced especially by women in combining their works in ISS with other responsibilities; ability to attract and create career path for highly-qualified women, which is thought as lacking in the Institute. The high demands of the workload, especially related with travelling are difficult to be followed by its staff members that have to combine work with other responsibilities in which prevent them to meet the requirement, would unlikely face stagnancy in their career,
"what we hardly has in ISS is system of couching that could be useful for younger and newer staff of men and women...such sort of couching could be extremely useful for women to scratching out a career path and concretely taking step to meeting the requirements for promotion" (Academic staff, woman).

There are further gaps: the only part that concern or relates to the students life in the Institute is on the Against Improper Behaviour policy. Others such as the advice on schooling, crèche facilities and after-school care, flexible holiday schemes, paid and unpaid parental leave, time off when children are ill, and partner policy are only for the staff members.

### 3.2.1. RESPONSIBILITY FOR IMPLEMENTATION

Referring to Braunmuhl (2002), gender mainstreaming in implementation terms has two-pronged strategy. First, gender issues should be recognised and taken into consideration at all levels of development action; second, women-specific projects should continue in order to remove the obstacles and constraints affecting women, which have been brought to
the front through gender analysis (Braunmuhl, 2002: 62). Unfortunately, at operational level in most cases this is not happening as it should be and it is related to the opposing notions of who should take the responsibility for mainstreaming gender. First, it was left to small units, specialist persons, teams or 'machineries' (Woodford-Berger, 2004: 65), where they struggle to create and develop policies and instruments to incorporate gender concerns into mainstreaming planning and implementation (Braunmuhl, ibid). Second, there are efforts to make gender issues as concern and responsibility of everyone in development agencies (Woodford-Berger, ibid).

As for the ISS, in the gender policy it stated very clear that the rector or deputy-rector would be held responsible for the implementation of a gender policy within ISS (ISS Gender Policy 2003). Again, this falls into the first approach, leaving it to one or two individuals or unit or team in making sure the gender mainstreaming is actually taking place, in the case of the ISS is the deputy-rector, which in a high position and this creates another problem in terms of accountability as well as the limited understanding of what GM means. This was expressed by one of the staff after read the definition of GM gave by the researcher, that he did not know GM actually covers range of issues. It is very clear and obvious that when the responsibility is given to a person or a unit, there are tendencies for the people within the institution or organisation to think by having the policy it means we are now a gender-aware and gender-sensitive institute. Another issue is the existence of WGD programme seen as primarily responsible for gender mainstreaming, while it is very different to have a separate course teaching about gender with a unit assigned specially for mainstreaming gender within the Institute. So, there are unclear and limited mandates.

Therefore, when the Deputy Rector was informed that some staff members did not know that gender policy existed, even those who are already with the Institute for more than 30 years, he was very surprised, almost seemed bothered and did not believe it saying, "all staff are given the policy...when the new policy come, like the gender policy, it's handed to the staff" while he went to a shelf, took two files from it and put them
hard on the table where the interview took place that startled the researcher. Only distributing all kind of policies to the new coming staffs as well as students is not enough, especially the gender policy that is most likely to be neglected, especially by those who do not understand what is gender and/or do not see it as priority.
"But now several years later, I'm almost sure that a number of the new people serving on the staff group boards at the moment have no clue, don't know at all that we have gender document. I'm not surprise because there is no active promotion and certainly no repeated promotion in systematic way; it's broader and not only gender policy" (Academic staff, woman).

It is very obvious that the top management only concern is distributing the policy documents, without proper monitoring and evaluation system in place as expressed here,
"IB is the daily management in charge of everything, so they have a certain role, but they seem to confine themselves largely at bringing out the gender policy document" (Academic staff, woman).

Further comment that emerged was regarding the lack of induction programme to help the new staff to go through the policies, which also currently suggested in the 'Dean Suggestion Box' at the ISS First Class desktop (the ISS email system) by new staff. This was further expressed by one of the interviewee saying,
"because everybody has been here for quite some times, everybody knows who and where they are...this has something to do with the organization of ISS. There's no staff induction program here, so because there's no staff induction program here, I don't even know where the exits are" (Administrative staff, man).

Without proper introduction to make sure the staff actually reads it and understands what is the policy about is not really effective and certainly "not going to change the attitude of the people overnight" (Academic staff, woman).

Another thing that the researcher think as the most important issues is first, the commitment of the people within the Institute and the Institute to mainstream gender, especially those who are in high-positions, to make it as their priority due to the fact although there is enough resources and facilities, but as long as no commitment from the management team, it will be useless. As expressed by this interviewee, "lots of pressure of other commitments and agendas (financial, organisational, MA re-accreditation, research accreditation, etc.)" (Academic staff, man). And second, the willingness of the people and the Institute to challenge the gendered organisational culture, which is lacking in the ISS as expressed by this interviewee:
"So far the concrete action has really been confined to the least controversial one and the more difficult things such as trying to change the academic culture, trying to break male hierarchical relations, etc. there the action hasn't been taken, we see little movement and I'm not sure there is reason to be optimistic there" (Academic staff, woman).

### 3.3. Gender Hierarchy and occupational segregation in 2005: Wo/Men Representation in ISS

"If you look at any position in the Netherlands, you will see that there's a majority for men to work for full time, and a majority of women who works part time" (Administrative staff, man)
"The administration, the number of women outnumbered men. And I think that happens not only at ISS but in many cases in Dutch institutes"
(Administrative staff, woman)
"Another thing is it tells enough about the gender relationships here that there is so huge number of women employees who are on the lower level of hierarchy and the men professors, so in that respect ISS is a very classical institution" (Academic staff, woman)
"Not bad but not very good, partly because there are many pressures and pools on people. So people are busy and preoccupied, I didn't find it bad. If it is bad I don't think we would have long-term successful women staffs, high performance women students" (Academic staff, man)

### 3.3.1. Academic staff

Concerns regarding wo/men representation have always been an issue whenever the 'gender issue' is raised and discussed, especially in an institution. It has been a common practice that to indicate whether an institution is gender-aware or gender-sensitive or not is by looking at the gender balance of its staffs as the immediate indicator for any institutions. As mentioned previously, the Institute recognised the lack of women representation respectively at the academic staff especially at the professorial level.

Table 2. Wo/Men representation in academic and technical administrative staff [as of August 2005]

|  | F |  | M |  | Proportion of <br> women |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 1999 | 2005 | 1999 | 2005 | 1999 | 2005 |
| Academic Staff | 18 | 15 | 54 | 38 | $25 \%$ | $28 \%$ |
| Technical <br> Administrative Staff | 54 | 60 | 29 | 30 | $65 \%$ | $60 \%$ |

The above table shows that compared to the 2000 gender audit findings (see column year 1999); overall there have not been dramatic changes. However, there is significant drop of the male academic staff, in which there are several reasons. The first would be the age structure of the academic staff provided that the average age of senior staff above 50 years are $50 \%$, which was mentioned in the gender policy which stated that between 2003 and 2008 about 15\% (in total 9, with 2 are women) of the academic staff on tenure track would have to retire (Gender Policy, 2003: 4). Other reasons would be there are other staffs that may leave and there will be some early retirements. Currently there is only one part-time women professor within the Institute whose position is partly externalfunded and there is a risk that this chair will disappear because at one point the funding will end. The only full-time women professor has left this year
and the staff has been asking for replacement but they have not receive any,
"we have - for more than a year now - been writing back and forth with the IB asking for a new lecturer, for a chair, and (for this year specifically) for a temporary support staff who would join us for a year or 15 months. So far we got none of these" (Academic staff, woman).

There have been several women staffs who left before and there are two views on why they left. One view is that it was due to the fact that the 'glass ceiling' - the invisible cultural barriers of which Gherardi argued traps women below the executive-level threshold (1995: 9) - in the Institute is very difficult to break through, as expressed by one of the interviewee, "Actually I know of cases where women lecturers have gone away because they couldn't get a promotion. It's very hard to break through that famous glass ceiling here" (Administrative staff, man). Although there were some who disagreed and said that the glass ceiling does not exist anymore, as this interviewee further commented, "the issue of what is the glass ceiling in the ISS was much more in the " 80 s" (Academic staff, woman). The other view is that it was because there were disagreements among the staffs member that caused the other women members left the Institute. As expressed by this interviewee, "why is there always so much fighting going on amongst the women...that has been like that for many years; they're always fighting together. There is no one programme in the ISS where there is so much fighting going on because of jealousy and so on" (Administrative staff, woman).

Table 3. Wo/Men representation in academic staff based on ranks [as of August 2005]

| Ranks | F |  | M | Proportion of <br> Women |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Lecturer | 4 |  | 6 | $40 \%$ |
| Senior Lecturer | 6 | 11 | $35 \%$ |  |
| Associate | 4 | 10 | $29 \%$ |  |


| Professor |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Professor | $1^{2}$ | 11 | $8 \%$ |
| Total | 15 | 38 | $28 \%$ |

From table 3, we can see that currently the only woman professor within the Institute is on a part-time basis. However, in the rank of associate professor, there has been significant increase since the 2001 Gender Audit. Now, the Institute has four women associate professors and this has great impact at the professorial level as most of the candidates appointed internally to the professorial level are recruited from this level. Yet, there was one case where one women candidate was rejected due to her circumstances, in which she still hold a job and need another 9 months to be able to fill the position at the ISS. Unfortunately the then rector declined her condition and the staffs regretted his decision, as expressed by one of the interviewee, "I think it was strategically wrong, I think it would have been worth waiting" (Academic staff, man).

### 3.3.2. ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

The condition in the technical administrative staffs is the other way around compared to the academic staffs. It is obvious that the women staffs outnumbered the men staffs and this is very encouraging on the surface. But if we look in the details (see table 4), one will find that especially at the Educational Affairs section, the proportion of women is $93 \%$ and at the Executive Office the proportion of women is $89 \%$ compare to those of men. Looking further to the type of work the staffs do, they are very typical known as women's work, such as secretary and administrator.

As for the Library and IT Services (OLITS), on the table it looks ideally balanced. However the fact is in the Library section, which has to do with a lot of administration works, is dominated by women, as the IT is all men. Again, the occupational segregation is being replayed here. As expressed by

[^1]this interviewee, "the administrative staffs are dominated by women. The academic staffs are dominated by men" (Academic staff, man). This fact is not very surprising as it is the same with other institutions.

Table 4. Wo/Men representation in technical administrative staff based on offices [as of August 2005]

| Offices | F | M | Proportion of <br> Women |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Executive Office | 8 | 1 | $89 \%$ |
| Educational Affairs | 26 | 2 | $93 \%$ |
| Library \& IT Services (OLITS) | 9 | 9 | $50 \%$ |
| Research, Projects \& | 6 | 3 | $67 \%$ |
| Advisory Services (ORPAS) | 9 | 12 | $43 \%$ |
| Resource Management (ORM) | 9 | 1 | $0 \%$ |
| Fundraising Team | 0 | 2 | $33 \%$ |
| PhD \& Post Doc | 2 | 30 | $60 \%$ |
| Total | 60 |  |  |

### 3.3.3. Scholars' Association - SCHOLAS

With regards to the SCHOLAS, the composition of both sexes is very encouraging with the proportion of women $64 \%$ compare to men, as can be seen at table 3. However, if one look further into details (see table 5), it shows yet another occupational segregation where majority men students in sports committee and in gender committee, while the women students in housing and welfare committee, environment committee, library and computer committee, and international relations committee. Each member of the SCHOLAS Executive Committee is required to be in the work committees that s/he preferred. In the case of the president of the student body, he strongly feels that he needs to be in the gender committee because he is taking the WGD programme. There are two issues as to why on the whole women outnumbered men in the student body: a) men are more focused on academic achievement and less on social life, and b) men
just let women do the social work, which is another replay of sexual division of labour.

Table 5. Wo/Men representation in the SCHOLAS (2004/2005)

| Position | F | M | Proportion of <br> Women |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Executive Committee | 2 | 2 | $50 \%$ |
| Academic Committee | 1 | 0 | $100 \%$ |
| Master of Arts Coordinating <br> Committee | 1 | 1 | $50 \%$ |
| Housing and Welfare <br> Committee | 7 | 2 | $78 \%$ |
| Sports Committee | 2 | 3 | $40 \%$ |
| International Relations | 7 | 5 | $58 \%$ |
| Committee | 4 | 1 | $80 \%$ |
| Arts/Culture Committee | 4 | 1 | $80 \%$ |
| Library and Computer | 2 | 3 | $40 \%$ |
| Committee | 9 | 1 | $90 \%$ |
| Gender Committee ${ }^{3}$ | 6 | 4 | $60 \%$ |
| Environmental Committee | 6 | 6 | $50 \%$ |
| Editorial Committee | 51 | 29 | $64 \%$ |
| Social Committee |  |  |  |
| Total |  |  |  |

The case of students' enrolment is very much different. There has been a dramatic change after a decade of the Beijing Platform where a large number of women have been increasing and every year outnumbered men students; this is true in the case of MA course as can be seen in table 6. One of the main reasons would be the scholarships regulation, which encourages women to apply as expressed by one of the interviewee,
"The number of women students, the total of women students outnumbered men students for the past 10 years. That is also partly due to the fellowship regulations. They required 50\% of the fellowship receiver should be a woman. But also the number of applications from women is a lot" (Administrative staff, woman).

[^2]Table 6. Wo/Men student participants per academic year

| Programme | Year | F | M | Proportion of <br> Women |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Diploma | 2000 | 37 | 47 | $44 \%$ |
|  | 2001 | 71 | 75 | $49 \%$ |
|  | 2002 | 96 | 79 | $55 \%$ |
|  | 2003 | 75 | 52 | $59 \%$ |
|  | 2004 | 87 | 86 | $50 \%$ |
|  | Total | 366 | 339 | $52 \%$ |
| Master | $2000 / 2001$ | 86 | 66 |  |
|  | $2001 / 2002$ | 89 | 68 | $57 \%$ |
|  | $2002 / 2003$ | 98 | 61 | $57 \%$ |
|  | $2003 / 2004$ | 111 | 77 | $62 \%$ |
|  | $2004 / 2005$ | 96 | 75 | $59 \%$ |
|  | Total | 480 | 347 | $56 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  | $58 \%$ |
|  | $2000 / 2001$ | 2 | 3 |  |
|  | $2001 / 2002$ | 5 | 4 | $40 \%$ |
|  | $2002 / 2003$ | 4 | 2 | $56 \%$ |
|  | $2003 / 2004$ | 5 | 4 | $67 \%$ |
|  | $2004 / 2005$ | 2 | 6 | $56 \%$ |
|  | Total | 18 | 19 | $25 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  | $49 \%$ |

At the PhD level, there is a significant drop in female admission in year 2004. However, this requires further research, which is outside the scope of this study.

### 3.3.4. Constraints in relation to gender balanced

## REPRESENTATION

[^3]like, Ok, it's useless to go against that and why bother" (Administrative staff, man)
" The main problem lies with an academic promotion and hiring of women or availability of women when they are applying" (Academic staff, man)
"On a whole, I would say that ISS - in personnel policy at least - is not a very gender sensitive at all. And also it's not creating any possibility for women to attain certain position" (Administrative staff, man)

With regard to Dutch society, one of the constraints to recruit more women in the higher-position is the availability within the labour market itself due to the fact that 'the increase women students starting relatively late in the Netherlands compared with most other countries and by a few specific historical and cultural conditions’ (Doorne-Huikes \& Henderikse, 2001: 6. The Institute has adopted the pro-active searches in order to recruit more women, especially in the academic staffs at the professorship level.
"I think they do try hard to looking to their own networks for good women, which is one of...that is a positive thing you can do. And I thoroughly support that, I mean let's not just go blind down one alley way, let's make sure we got all vision to go and have a look actively, go and look actively, I think that is good" (Administrative staff, woman).

However, there are suggestions that the Institute is not doing their best to really look for suitable candidates, there are scepticism by its members that the Institute is not actively look into the networks, as expressed by one of the staff, "whether it actively happened that they actively looking at the network, I don't know" (Administrative staff, woman). Furthermore, "the question is what do they do in practice and more could be done and should be done, we should be able to do better" (Academic staff, woman).

Another view that emerged was who is seen as adequate and eligible to 'lead' within the Institute,
"there have been eligible candidates for the professorship internally and they were not chosen- the problem is not lack of candidates- more than
there is prejudice and assumptions of what kind of person should 'lead'. Very often this is based on a lack of full understanding of the field of WGD as an academic specialisation" (Academic staff, woman).

One of the mainstreaming strategies is to include more women in the management team at different levels and ensure that gender-awareness and/or gender-sensitive is incorporated in the personnel policy in order to make certain gender balance could be achieved. And this is a further point up, since from the beginning the understanding of gender is only superficial, almost in every work or project implementation striving for gender equality, they only focusing women, failing to see that we should involve the community and men of the society.

However, there is a danger in assuming that by having more women in the decision making position would automatically translate into gender equality, that women at the lower level would have better opportunity and/or treatment because there are women at the higher level of authority. Unfortunately and undeniably, each and everyone has different needs and interests, thus it does not mean that those women at the top would be able to represent those women at the lower level, especially in a multicultural institute like the ISS and this is also applied to men as well.
"No reason to think that every women necessarily working on gender issues even in a progressive way, like all these regulations for women parliamentarian, yes good idea, but don't think that they are all fighting for gender, emancipation the way you like them to. They might just surrogate the power hungry politicians and behaving exactly the same way as men, even worse because they might be able to use certain symbolic power, which a woman in that situation has, to be able to carry on with their agenda which had nothing to do with gender" (Academic staff, man).

On the other hand, there is also other view that by having more women at the higher level and those who are working on gender issues, especially for the academic staffs, would bring in different perspective for the development processes. This is further argued by Bhatta (2001) that the participation of women as decision-makers is for women to effectively put
across their own views on development with a critical number or them in that positions who will then trigger and encourage other women to be involved (Bhatta, 2001: 22). As this is recognised, there is an urgent need as expressed by this interviewee,
"it would probably make sense for the Institute as a whole, as part of its ambition as a post-graduate international centre to realise that it in fact needs more professors and that would make it much easier also to make progress on getting more women on the professor side as it is only a couple of years the post comes" (Academic staff, man).

What is more, to bring in different perspective is not only by bringing in more women, instead the Institute should consider to bring in more people with different background in terms of race, ethnicity,
"we should be even more careful that we have a balance in terms of where people come from and what their life experiences are because at this time we only have 2 or 3 out of group of 15 who comes from the South. So I think the issue is broader than this, whether it has to do with race, ethnicity, original background, and of course the ideology fact comes into this as well" (Academic staff, man).

### 3.4. ISS Policy Against Improper Behaviour

"The policy on improper behaviour, the key thing in that is how it is applied and as you know, how it is perceived and that perception of people, people have to take the step themselves...And I think the policy is mostly directed at solving problem rather than creating the norms and changes at a wider level" (Academic staff, man)
"I do know how often still it's women who are bullied, it's women who are sexually harassed, so there's this neutrality in the policy and it should be there, but acknowledged that many women have a disadvantaged position and have not also learned to be very outspoken, and there's an assumption like 'I won't beat you if you tell me not to beat you, but how are you going to tell if you have never been speaking out?" (Academic staff, woman)
"I think given the mixture of cultures and backgrounds we have, I think it's essential that we say which values we find very important and what their expected behaviour here...I mean, we have the duty of care to ask students of both genders, also protection to female students, although on the other hand we're not talking about 18 years old but adults. You got to do a lot of allowances for people who are first time in West, I think it's very important to make people aware of the Dos and Don'ts" (Administrative staff, woman)

The first version of the then Sexual Harassment policy was adopted from the harassment policy of FAO (Food and Agricultural Organisation) in 1992. The push factor for the adoption was the continuous number of cases that took place at that time, which has brought to the Institute attention and recognition of the urgent needs to have a policy on sexual harassment, aside from it is the Dutch law, which required ISS to do. Since then there has been several revision of the policy with the latest version in 2005 and its name has been changed to Against Improper Behaviour Policy. The implementation system of this policy is by disseminating the policy to all of the staffs and students when they first arrived and recruited. Every year they are given a package during the orientation program, of what they called 'welcoming package' with all of the rules and regulations in which this policy is included.

The Institute recognised and is very aware of its multicultural society with the students coming from all over the world that it was necessary to have 'gender workshop', which were held every new academic year, except for the last two years due to the availability of the person who usually conduct the workshop, to further discuss on this issue and the Institute's stand. The absence of the workshop was regretted by students,
"I was very surprise actually that they didn't do some kind of gender awareness orientation for students at the beginning of the year, I think it's probably necessary. Women needs to understand that maybe they have more protective mechanism here within Holland but also at the ISS versus maybe in their home country" (Student, woman).

This circumstances of not conducting the workshop simply because the person who used to conduct them was not available indicates how gender is not regarded as top priority, regardless the claim that the Institute stands very strongly against improper behaviour and will not tolerate it at all, but to actually putting what is written into practice is the real issue here.

The Institute changed the policy name to against improper behaviour because it is not sexual harassment alone, but also bullying, mobbing, and so on - it is wider. Ever since the adoption of the policy, it is believe by its staff members that the number of cases has fallen,
"I have an impression the number of cases fallen, which I take as a good sign...to me it's encouraging there are fewer problems because I judged that student population is at least as outspoken now as it was before. Therefore I'm inferring that there might be less problems than before" (Academic staff, man).

There are two different issues emerged on why the cases has fallen. First, the assumption those incidents have actually lessened, and whether students are more vocal than before or the Institute is succeeding in emphasizing where it stands in this matter. Second and most important, there are a lot of cases that not being reported, which translated into the perception that less incidents have occurred. There are several reasons for this: it has to do with the background of the people here at the ISS, where as discussed before women and men have been historically constructed with gender-appropriate behaviour and the power relations that exists amongst people, regardless between women and men, among men, among women, between different levels of position, and between employer-employee, also produce the knowledge of women as the subordinate group. As expressed by an interviewee,
" all over the world that when it comes to harassment or any form of violence against women, bad behaviour relations to women, women hold back because the costs are very high and cost also high because you structured a whole set of norms of good behaviour, bad behaviour, how you
supposed to do and if you challenge that and again you become a bad person and in any case things take even if you are right or wrong" (Academic staff, man).

And second, they do not know that there is a mechanism and policy in this matter, so when incidents happen, they simply keep it for themselves,
"If the people unaware the policy exist, there's nothing you can...it's not gonna be useful, it's not gonna be helpful. So if I'm sexually harassed or assaulted and I don't know the policy exist I'm gonna more like keep my mouth shut because I don't know there's protective mechanism in play for me" (Student, woman).

Of all cases reported, it is pretty much depends on the person being wronged to take any action or not. If s/he thinks it is not necessary, then the Institute will not take any actions. There was a case where student filed a complaint of unwanted behaviour received through pigeonhole and the confidential person sent out warning through email and afterwards it stopped. There was also a case where student being sent home because of the improper behaviour after being reproved several times but continued with his unacceptable behaviour. In the policy, it is stated very clear that the decision to take any actions - submit a formal complaint as well as formulating a complaint - is facilitated. However, it become a totally different case if the victimised person who was facilitated felt being discouraged to file a complaint,
"I feel like A $A^{4}$ was encouraging us not to make a formal complaint. He was saying that making a complaint is difficult, lots of bureaucracy, takes a long time (in other words, it's not worth it). He made me feel the situation that happened fell outside the range of the student code of conduct, so he said he didn't know how to deal with it. I have this feeling that if it was only remarks, a big deal would not have been made, but because there was violence involved with a male student, they had to take it seriously. This is my feeling, that because a physical attack took place, this whole issue was taken more seriously (than if only the female

[^4]harassment had happened)...after the meeting we left feeling like it was our responsibility if we made a complaint, we felt almost guilty" (Student, woman).

Furthermore, when a male student told A that the women and other male student that were attacked are all freaked out, the response was, "Well, they're probably more worried about what 'might happen', then about what did take place". The student was shocked to hear this and he thought it came across as if A was totally downplaying the event, as if because nothing physical happened, nothing major really took place then,
"I felt as if he didn't see the damage that even a threat of sexual advance can do to a woman. He talked about how he was going to talk to him, get him to see a doctor, take care of things, etc. Like don't worry, it'll all get taken care of in-house" (Student, man).

It is very obvious that there is an issue of having the written policy with how it is actually being implemented, of what and how the system apply,
"the monitoring system and the way of solving it is not efficient. You cannot have a policy without institution - no institution, no budget...the system is not well-done, not creative enough because it is still new" (Academic staff, woman).

## Chapter 4. ISS: Gender Mainstreaming in PRACTICE: contraints and Obstacles


#### Abstract

"And to be honest with you, I can also not be so interested anymore in reading any...because to me personally it doesn't make any difference where there's written gender policy in this place or not. Maybe I'm also an exceptional position because I'm a senior project officer and I've work here for more than 30 years so I don't take any shit from anyone, as simple as that" (Administrative staff, woman)


"People are sensitive and people are also insensitive...so gender sensitisation also needed, not just between students and students or between staffs and students, but between also staffs and staffs" (Academic staff, man)
"Yes, to some extend it is pretend to be gender sensitive. But I'm not sure gender sensitivity in practice has been fully accomplished" (Academic staff, woman)

In this chapter the researcher will explore the structural constraints, obstacles and resistance to change in the ISS to fully implementing GM.

### 4.1. Contested notions OF Gender Equality

Mainstreaming should situate gender equality issues at the centre of analysis and policy decisions making as well as institutional structures. However, in practice this is very difficult due to the fact of various perception of the Institute's community in regards to their understanding on gender equality. Some perceived it as "equal opportunities, equal appreciation, equal choices. Equality on all levels, and opportunities I think is important, because that's kind of thing for a lot of people"(Administrative staff, man), other as "the absent of the need to use hierarchical power" (Academic staff, man). But when the researcher asked using their own view of gender equality do they find it here, some said yes and some said no, "I don't know whether you find it anywhere, certainly we don't find it fully in ISS. And that's partly a problem caused by ISS in the
way it organised and the culture of the place, but it's partly also because of a broader issues in society as a whole" (Academic staff, woman). The unclear visions of gender equality were taken up by Walby (2005) in that whether it is draw on notions of 'sameness' (equal opportunities or equal treatment), 'difference' (special programmes), or 'transformation' (Walby, 2005: 2, 6).

### 4.2. Gendered Organisational Culture

"Well, very much male dominated. Because the institute is ruled by all middle aged white men and that really does not correlates with the idea of ISS as an aggressive and liberal institution. If you look at seminars that we have, if you look at people behind the table, count the number of whitemiddle aged men, that gives you the indication" (Administrative staff, man)
"I mean because I did the gender course obviously I have a tendency to bring gender up in my other classes as well and it's a touchy topic so there's always some of resistance a little bit to it...between students I find men sometimes turn off their brain or their ear or their eyes when gender was brought in to the conversation. But guess that's to be expected" (Student, woman)
"On the whole, no, it's a lot of a... I think they playing a lot of lip services, they claimed that they are but if you look at the reality in way things are being carried out, no" (Administrative staff, man)
> "To be honest, I think it's distinction of generation, I think the older generation are probably zero sensitive, prefer to remain so, I think the young generation are definitely sensitive and they're prepare to take it on as well, in that sense good quality, just know when to accept it"
> (Administrative staff, woman)

As an international institution, ISS has a very mixed culture with the students coming from all over the world as well as with the staff; with this culture the Institute has been able to attract its students and staff, as one of the interviewee expressed, "what I like from the ISS is the international community which makes huge difference in teaching and discussions and language" (Academic staff, woman). However, there is also a notion with the mixed culture background, people are expected to be automatically have the sort of sensitive behaviour towards each other. There are three
views on ISS as a gender-aware and gender-sensitive institute. The first are those who said yes, in a way it allows equal opportunity, equal treatment for both genders. Second are those who said no, in a way how the Institute is structured,
"when you look down to it, the organisational structure, who's given the professorship, if you look a panel when somebody's getting their PhD who's sitting at the panel, I mean it's fairly obvious, it's white older male. I mean there is gender imbalance in the institute. So that's my first indication that it's not gender aware/sensitive" (Student, woman).

And third, are those who said partly, in a way that the gender policy has led to some concrete actions, for example the promotion of women academic staff to higher level, but on a whole range of other things in practice, it has not led to significant changes and this is due to the culture of the Institute,
"the constraints have to do with the male dominated academic culture with the very fact that in the leadership rank there are few women, which by itself already automatically will lead to a lesser inclination to actually consider gender aspect in academic work. I think very little systematic action has been taken in trying to change the culture in ISS, the culture of how you relate to each other, the culture of what are issues that we profiled strongly and I think by not doing that automatically you sort of lack of situation exist. So in that sense you could say ISS reinforces the status quo" (Academic staff, woman).

It is also varied, in a way that the Institute does respond on issues raised but there are resistances, as expressed by one of the interviewee,
"it is mixed - one hand there is a gender-aware and gender sensitive caucus and when issues are raised and pressure exerted the ISS does respond but still at every level one encounters different kinds of resistance" (Academic staff, woman).

Chhachhi's 'Forms of Institutional Resistance' notes different ways in which resistance is expressed, such includes denial there is no problem;
redefining the problem- the problem is that women are not qualified, not assertive, not interested; watering down; tokenism; undermining; postponing; lip service; compartmentalization - putting gender only in one sector; commissioning a study; putting into perspective - other groups more vulnerable; over-integrate - no need for women/gender specific policies; practical reasons; ridiculing; personalizing; and stigmatising (Chhachhi, 2002). Bhatta (2001) further adds that gender mainstreaming is not only a technical process but is also a political process in a sense that "GM requires shifts in organisational cultures and ways of thinking, and a commitment to actively pursue all strategies that will not only enhance the roles that women may play in the development process but also question the fundamental barriers to women's participation in agenda-setting, policymaking, planning, implementation, and evaluation" (Bhatta, op cit.: 23). However, a commitment itself is not enough, because as Pialek (2005) argued, $G M$ is not being imposed on a blank institutional canvas but is trying to overlay itself on top of a richly gendered picture. Further question is, does commitment automatically translate into action if there is no willingness to actually make things happens or to transform what is need to be changed and no environment that can support the process of mainstreaming?
"I think the constraints are much more in the fact that proper integration of gender requires a transformation in people personal attitude and ways of handling decision-making processes" (Academic staff, woman).

Kabeer reasoned "the ability to mainstream a GAD framework is dependent less on the commitment of an organisation to the principles of gender equity and equality, than it is on institutional culture and the willingness of an organisation to challenge that culture" (Kabeer, 1992: 1 in Pialek, 2005: 2).

Further challenge would be in creating an environment for behaviours to change, to challenge the thinking, which is very difficult, especially when there are people who are gender blind and/or do not take up gender issues
and have different perspective of what is gender, of what is gender-aware, of what is gender-sensitive for them. As expressed here,
"However there still is a section who do not think gender is an issueand also some who are very conservative- these do not always speak out openly because there is an assumption of 'being progressive' and politically correct" (Academic staff, woman).

And most importantly of those who are at decision-making level, if their understanding of gender is still very limited and outdated, it can influence their decision-making, especially when they are all men. This concern is not unaware by its staff members,
"I think it has to do with the fact the decision makers are men, some are interested they read up gender but not keeping up the things that are blossoming everywhere and they still make the decision. So, in the final instance, sometimes they can make a decision on things that are not based on good information and there's nothing you can do about it" (Academic staff, woman).

Having discussed earlier that GM should be an introspective and selfreflective process, the needs for gender training as one of the strategy for sensitisation would further add on creating an enabling environment. Kabeer notes this when looking at gender training programme in development organisations: "Gender equity goals would be more effectively addressed through gender training if it could be used to encourage more critical self-examination among planners as to how exclusionary structures work within their own institutions, through their hierarchies of authority, rules of recruitment, privileged disciplines and divisions of resources and responsibilities (Kabeer, 1993: 23 in Pialek, 2005:3).

### 4.4.1. REPLAY OF GENDER STEREOTYPES IN THE DIVISION OF LABOUR

"If we talk about support staff you'll see that it's predominantly women working there. If you go to the internal services these are predominantly men, computer department predominantly men, so there are a lot of stereotypical works. Like all the secretarial job are being done by women, and all the technological stuff are being done by men. No
efforts have been made to change that. No efforts at all. It's just they take that as a given...so among staff, if you look at the professors that we have are predominantly men" (Administrative staff, man)
"If I see it, many clerical job are perform by women and many academic job are perform by men. Maybe it indicates a gap between...the education between men and women here that may mean more men here have higher education than women in the Netherlands" (Student, man)

Gherardi suggested this as 'occupational segregation': women do women's tasks, in organisations they occupy women posts, they perpetuate the symbolic system of subordination. As expressed by an interviewee,
"Most of the men staffs that we have here are quite old. I'm not saying that age has anything to do with it, but they can be quite traditional with it also in their views. The good example is on how the academic staffs treats the program administrator. That's a very stereotypical relationship of higher-ranking staff with so-called lower ranking staff" (Administrative staff, man).

Of all of the interviewees, they agreed that the Institute is a hierarchical institution regardless it is less or just hierarchy,
"It is not men-oriented but is sometimes gender-blind. It is hierarchical in some of the same ways as any university, but less hierarchical than most, due to its character as a small postgraduate institute" (Academic staff, man).

When compared to other institutions that the interviewees know, they all agreed that the Institute is less hierarchical as expressed by another interviewee:
"Do I found it more hierarchical? On the surface of it, now this goes back also to the Dutch institution, you know it's very mix, half and half, so it's difficult to generalize...they remains to me a little bit an outsider view. But from comparing to other places I know, I think it is less hierarchical" (Academic staff, man).

Similar with the terms gender and gender equality, the notion of hierarchy is also very much contextual, depends on how and who perceive this notion. However, this is the same in all over the world, everywhere we go, within an institution, hierarchy always exist although it apply differently and very much cultural specific.

There are two notions of hierarchy of the Institute: first, it is as status of a functional form and second, it is as power. And for the Institute as a whole the first notion applied to it, as expressed by another interviewee, "Ok, it's hierarchical in a sense that you have different positions, but it's also very flat in a sense that people are easily approachable" (Administrative staff, man).

Studies have shown that gender equality is easier to achieve in 'flatter organisations'.

### 4.4.2. GENDER BLIND OR NEUTRAL? ORGANIZATION OF SPACE AND TIME

Other interesting issues which came out during the interviews was the recognition of the Institute's facilities in supporting the work and stay, especially of the students. Regarding the arrangement of housing facilities for example, there were concerns expressed by students that they are very surprised and think that it is not women friendly, as expressed by this interviewee,
"student housing is a problem, I think you have to have a separate female only dorm and I actually surprised most people being a western-northern-woman that I am, I actually requested to have my floor only to be female, because I don't want to be put in uncomfortable situation with a strange man that I don't know, that I'm very very shocked...so no, I don't think it's gender friendly if you look at housing facilities" (Student, woman).

When this issue was brought up to the staff, they replied, "There is one gender-separated housing at request" (Academic staff, man). So the very fact that it is at request shows that ISS is not as sensitive as it claimed and how gender is not regarded as priority of the Institute. Furthermore,
"despite this 'Life in ISS' seemed to go on as if nothing is happening no official communication about what is happening and so assumption that actually nothing was happening. I had to resort to ' Unprofessional' way of making life in ISS to stop and think about the quality of life of some students who are suffering and especially some like me who because of some special reasons can not use the staircase" (Student, woman).

And when further asked whether the Institute is gender-friendly, another interviewee answered,
"I would say not, definitely not for students or staffs...how many mothers are here studying and yet the ISS has no child care, no provision for child care, it's not even discussed" (Student, woman).

The unavailability of the childcare facilities has make students who have children face difficulty to combine their study with family responsibilities due to the Netherlands government new policy, where it is not possible for the ISS to subsidised anymore and certainly not affordable for the students,
"It's due to changes of law in this country, particularly at the beginning of this year. It's now not only become expensive for the individuals but also for ISS" (Administrative staff, woman).

The recent global trends, which in part due to economic restructuring in casualisation and feminisation of the workforce; collapse of the welfare state; erosion of the economic autonomy of the family wage system; among others, have undermined traditional male authority on its most secure ground: the family (Erturk, 2004: 11-12). The traditional division of the private and public sphere that produced gender-based inequality where women roles within a society are seen as those in domestic work, in the home and the family, in a way has been transformed with increasing women participation in labour market to pursue career as well as in education.

In developed countries, Chhachhi (2004) stated 'the increase has been in women's greater involvement in part-time work relative to men' (Chhachhi, 2004: 8). This is reflected in the condition of the Institute where
majority women are working part-time as it is strongly related with the social structure within the Netherlands. This trends is what Harvey (1989) called 'flexibility in accumulation in production system, financial and banking systems and marketing strategies' (Harvey, 1989 in Chhachhi, 2004:8). Therefore the entry of women into the labour market has not been accompanied with social protection systems especially in the area of childcare.

### 4.5. Recent Institutional changes

There are differences between policies on paper with what happens actually in practice. One of the outcome that is considered, as one great achievement is the establishment of the Gender Platform, as suggested by this interviewee, "the new gender platform is a good initiative to build up communication across the academic staff" (Academic staff, man). This platform seek to take the challenges to mainstreaming gender in research and curriculum: 1) cooperation and commitment to teaching gender across programs, 2) knowledge base to sharpen the gender linkages in areas of expertise, 3) mobility of expertise where many staff members with gender expertise have left and not been replaced, 4) teaching objectives where overall there is a lack of explicit priority given to gender issues in the curricula, apart from WGD modules, 5) structural and management issues where the organisation of staff into Staff Groups hinder the cooperation in both research and teaching, leading to many lost opportunities, and 6) technical issues where it is recognised that the system of minors can be limiting (Curriculum Development Workshop report, 2005).

## Chapter 5. Key Findings and Conclusions

Despite its grand strategy aiming for gender equality, despite its objective to bring gender awareness from sidelines to the centre of development planning and of organisational thinking and practice, despite it started to have an impact by introducing gender into policy-making, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, gender mainstreaming (GM) continues to have little and disappointing results. Despite the struggles by feminists to make gender equality to be recognize and accepted as well as integrated in policy and practice, the political project of equality continue to being normalised in development works where the male-biases leaves the existing and unequal power relations remain stubbornly intact. This study analysed how GM is envisioned and implemented in the Institute of Social Studies (ISS) and the ways the organisational culture informs the process of the mainstreaming. GM in the Institute is being interpreted to bring more women in the organisations; it becomes the responsibility of one person and a unit [namely Women, Gender and Development department] with lack of mandates; lack of willingness of the people and the Institute itself to actually challenge the status quo, to challenge the thinking, especially having the members working for a very long period in a senior level position, despite its claimed in bringing more young-highly qualified-women into the Institute.

GM is essentially contested both in notion and practice, and has been criticised as becoming a 'watered down' approach in challenging status quo and existing power structure that further led on how gender issues are constructed, which left out and/or marginalized important issues in the realm of policy. It fails to incorporate the understanding of gender and its interfaces - race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, ability, and power - in its concepts, strategies, and developed tools. It has not sufficiently considered and reflects the inherently unequal aspects of gender and its intersections with other systems of inequality and domination in the policy formulation and programme design. Reflecting on the ISS as an international institute
with students coming from all over the world, the diversity it has enriched the multicultural environment of the Institute. However, there is a very strong notion of political correctness among its members (both staff and students) because of that background. People are expected to know how to behave towards each other and what are the acceptable behaviours when interacting with other people within the Institute, but when it is put in practice, it is totally the other way around.

Another point that was taken up is the vagueness of the visions of gender equality, whether it is draw on 'sameness' (equal opportunity or equal treatment), 'difference' (special programme), or 'transformation', makes it more difficult to the realisation of gender mainstreaming. As in the case of the ISS, some of its members stop at the sameness, for they feel they have the equal opportunity, equal benefit, equal treatment, and equal facilities. And others who are very sceptic saying there is no gender equality anywhere for it is a transformation realm, in which it will need to challenge the existing status quo as well as challenging the thinking and the organisational culture.

Reflecting on the gender mainstreaming process in the Institute of Social Studies with gender policy as one of the means, it is very obvious that this strategy will continue to become an unviable strategy as long as the idea of gender inequalities is understand as a result of the natural characteristics of wo/men. Rather, it should be understood as the product of a historically constructed established system of differently assigned attributes that are unequally structured, creating various privileged and subordinate positions. The diversities that have been observed across time and space should be taken as contributions to extend and redefine the notions of equality and human rights. Then how to change the initial purpose of gender mainstreaming to promote gender equality? One thing that is considered as a very crucial step is to redefine the focus and provide a clear and rigorous concepts and meanings of gender mainstreaming. Another important step is that the institutes or participating organisations should worked responsively and accountably to women's interests by creating a supportive organisational culture and environment, and to have
the political will to make sure that gender mainstreaming is being carry out in ways that it should. They should reconfirm that political project of equality requires engagement in politics, which of creating voices, carrying out rights, insisting participation and mobilisation the women to demand accountability. This was further taken up by Hankivsky, "if the social justice is to be realized, there is a pressing need to integrate present feminist knowledge about the context of lives and experiences, structural inequalities in the public and private spheres, and gender with all its intersectionalities" (2005: 23). And this calls for dialogue among academicians, decision-makers and activists in order to take into account the broad and general characteristics of inequality between women and men, not only on gender but also along with other diversities.

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## Annex A. List of Questions General to All Respondents

1. What do you think of ISS in terms of the gender relations within the institute? How would you describe the institute? Do you think it is a gender aware or gender sensitive institute? If yes, in what way? If no, what makes you think so?
2. Are gender issues being taken seriously and discussed openly by men and women in the institute? Do you think ISS reinforce gender sensitive behaviour, for example in terms of language used, jokes, and comments made? If no, why? If yes, in what way?
3. What do you think of the quality of the staffs at ISS to reinforce gender sensitive behaviour and/or having the knowledge of gender?
4. Do you ever addressed or encountered gender stereotyping (e.g. "those gender blind men" or "those feminist") to or by individual staff members in the ISS? Could you give more examples?
5. Do wo/men in the ISS think that the institute is women friendly and/or gender friendly? If yes, could you give examples in what way? If no, why do you think so?
6. Do meeting in the ISS tend to be dominated by male staffs? If yes, could you give examples or share how does the process of the meeting go?
7. What is the typical quality of women's work and men's work in the institute? Could you share why do you think that way? How does it influence the interaction of people within the institute?
8. Is there assigned staff responsible for gender integration in your department? Does s/he have the necessary knowledge, skills and attitude to carry out their responsibility? Is there training of senior management and members of boards in institutionalising the integration of gender into the management of the institute? Do staffs' members receive training in gender awareness, sensitisation, planning and analysis?
9. Is there a written equal opportunity policy at ISS? Could you tell what is the name of the policy? Does it being implemented accordingly? If no, why is this so?
10. How do you define gender equality? Do you think that by having gender policy the institute affirms its commitment to gender equality? In what way?
11.Do you know ISS has a Gender Policy (GP)? Do staffs in the ISS committed to the implementation of the gender policy? Could you explain your answer?
11. From the gender audit report, findings of lack of women in higher position have been recognized and recommendations have been suggested in the gender policy, as well as in the Curriculum Development

Workshop (CDW) report. Do you think it is important to have more women in higher position aside from the gender balance issue? Do you know/think the recommendations have been carrying out? If no, what are the constraints?
[There is under-representation of female staffs in high-level position, such as professor in ISS (Note: currently, there's only 1 female professor: Gerrie ter Haar). Why do you think so? ]
13. In the GP, there is a statement, "if the institute is male-oriented, it could deter highly-qualified women candidates from applying for ISS appointments". Could you share what would be the problems or obstacles they encounter? Do you think ISS is a male-oriented institute or a hierarchical institute? If yes, in what way? What can be done to change it?
14. The GP has been implemented for 2 years. In your opinion, are there any differences in the ISS before and after having the policy? What are they? Do you think the working environment in the ISS has improved for women over the past two years since the adoption of Gender Policy? Do you think it is being implement accordingly, as planned? If yes, in what way? How does it affecting the institute? Are you being optimistic that it will be well implemented? If not, why? What would be the obstacles?
15. ISS has a policy on "Against Improper Behaviour" but still there are cases continue to happening and recently through emails. Why do you think people continue addressing and/or encountering improper behaviour although there is the policy? What can be done to change it or to make it better
16. In your opinion, do you think ISS is successful in mainstreaming gender within the institute? If yes, why? If no, what would be the constraints?
17. What are your recommendations to make ISS as a gender friendly institute as well as a gender sensitive institute?

## Annex B. Specific Questions to Management

Team

1. Has the institute budgeted adequate financial resources to support its gender mainstreaming work? Have the resources been allocated for the implementation of the gender policy at all levels? If yes, do you think it's enough? If no, why?

## Annex C. Specific Questions to Academic Staff

1. From the Gender Audit report and Gender Policy regarding the parental leave, there's recognition that it is very difficult for some academic staff to take the leave because of the workload and the difficulty in making adequate arrangements with colleagues in the staff group. Why it is difficult to make adequate arrangements with other colleagues? Has there been any improvement or change since the commitment by the IB to look into this problem with staff group boards? If no, what are the obstacles?
2. Do you think WGD should continue to exist as a major/department or it should be integrated in the entire programme? Why do you think so?

## Annex D. Specific Questions to Confidential Counsellors

1. When did the Against Improper Behaviour policy first introduced? Why it was being introduced then? Could you share why the policy being reformulated? How many cases has happened before and how many after the policy being adopted? Could you share why it happened? In your opinion, why there were still cases although the policy already been adopted?
2. Could you share why you are being appointed as one of the confidential person? Could you share why the institute change the name from Sexual Harassment to Against Improper Behaviour policy?
3. What is the dissemination system of this policy? Do you think it's enough? Does the system works properly? If no, why? What is your recommendation for better dissemination and implementation system?

## Annex E. Specific Questions to WGD Lecturer

1. What motivated you to apply to ISS? How do you find teaching in WGD programme? Is there any difference then and now?
2. In your opinion, what is the organizational culture at the ISS? How does it contribute to the policy formulation and curriculum development of the programmes?
3. Having been in the institute for teaching gender, what do you think of ISS? And compare to other institutions that you know, is it the same?

## Annex F. Specific Questions to Gender

## Committee

1. Why did you want to join the SCHOLAS Gender Committee?
2. Do you think it is necessary to have separate gender committee in a student body or gender should be integrated in all of the committee? Why do you think so?
3. There have been comments that the gender committee is not functioning. Why is this so? Did the executive committee take any action of the situation? How did the ISS or the student office or welfare office response or action of the situation?
4. Could you share why did you resign from the committee? What did the executive committee response of this?

## Annex G. Specific Questions to Non-WGD Student

1. What do you think of the student body - SCHOLAS? How do you find their roles? Currently the gender committee is not functioning, what do you think of this? In your opinion, does it have any implications for the students or the institute as a whole? Do you think it is necessary to have a separate gender committee? Why?
2. How do you find your course content in terms of gender issues? Do the lecturer ever mentioned or initiated discussion on gender issues? Do you think gender should be included in your course? Why?
3. Did you take gender courses? If yes, what motivated you to took them? Can you link them to your own programme courses?
4. There are several programmes where all of the lecturers are male, as the WGD programme is all female. In your opinion, why is this so? And how it affects to the teaching? What can be done to change it?

## Annex H. Specific Questions to WGD Student

1. The majority students of the programme are female and all of the lecturers are female. In your opinion, why is this so? What can be done to change it?
2. How do you find the non-WGD courses that you took? Did they mentioned or discussed about gender issues? Do you think gender is being integrated in the course content?

## Annex I. List of Respondents

| Name | Gender | Period of Working |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Dunham, D M | Male | 38 years |
| Tabink, BBLM | Female | 31 years |
| Mulder, E J | Female | 30 years |
| Truong, T | Female | 26 years |
| Saith, A | Male | 24 years |
| Chhachhi, A | Female | 22 years |
| Gasper, D | Male | 22 years |
| Keysers, L | Female | 18 years |
| Blok, M | Male | 15 years |
| Arts, C J M | Female | 11 years |
| Berg, A G M van den | Female | 19 years |
| Opschoor, J B | Male | 9 years |
| Zarkov, D. | Female | 4 years |
| Wesseling, M.G. | Male | 1 years |
| Rive Box, L. de la | Male | 10 months |
| Louw - Battershill, R. de | Female | 6 months |
| Name | Gender | Programmes |
| Adriyanto | Male | ECD |
| Hien, B. V. | Female | ECD |
| De Asis, K. A. D. J. | Male | LRD |
| Barnicoat, G. E. | Male | PAD |
| Henderson, D. | Female | RLGC |
| Cader, A. T. A. | Female | RLGC |
| Salcido, F. P. | Male | RLGC |
| Conteh, M. L. L. | Male | WGD |
| Haque, M. R. | Male | WGD |
| Apoll, T. L. | Female | WGD |
| Mbua, P. O. | Female | WGD |
| Mulongo, E. M. N. | Female | WGD |
| Nguyen, T. M. A. | Female | WGD |


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Whenever the researcher use capital letter for Institute it is referring to the ISS.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ The only female professor holds a part-time position in the Human Rights programme.

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ Currently this committee is not functioning after the resignation two of its members ( 1 female and 1 male), where both were the former chairs of the committee.

[^3]:    "The fact that most of the decision-making positions are being held by men, and most of the support positions are being taken by women, already
    indicates that there's an inequality in the system. But you rarely hear people complain about that. It's interesting and one wonder why...it could be that people have been working here for such a long time that they feel

[^4]:    ${ }^{4}$ The researcher used an alphabet to represent the name of the person the students interact with as part of the confidentiality.

