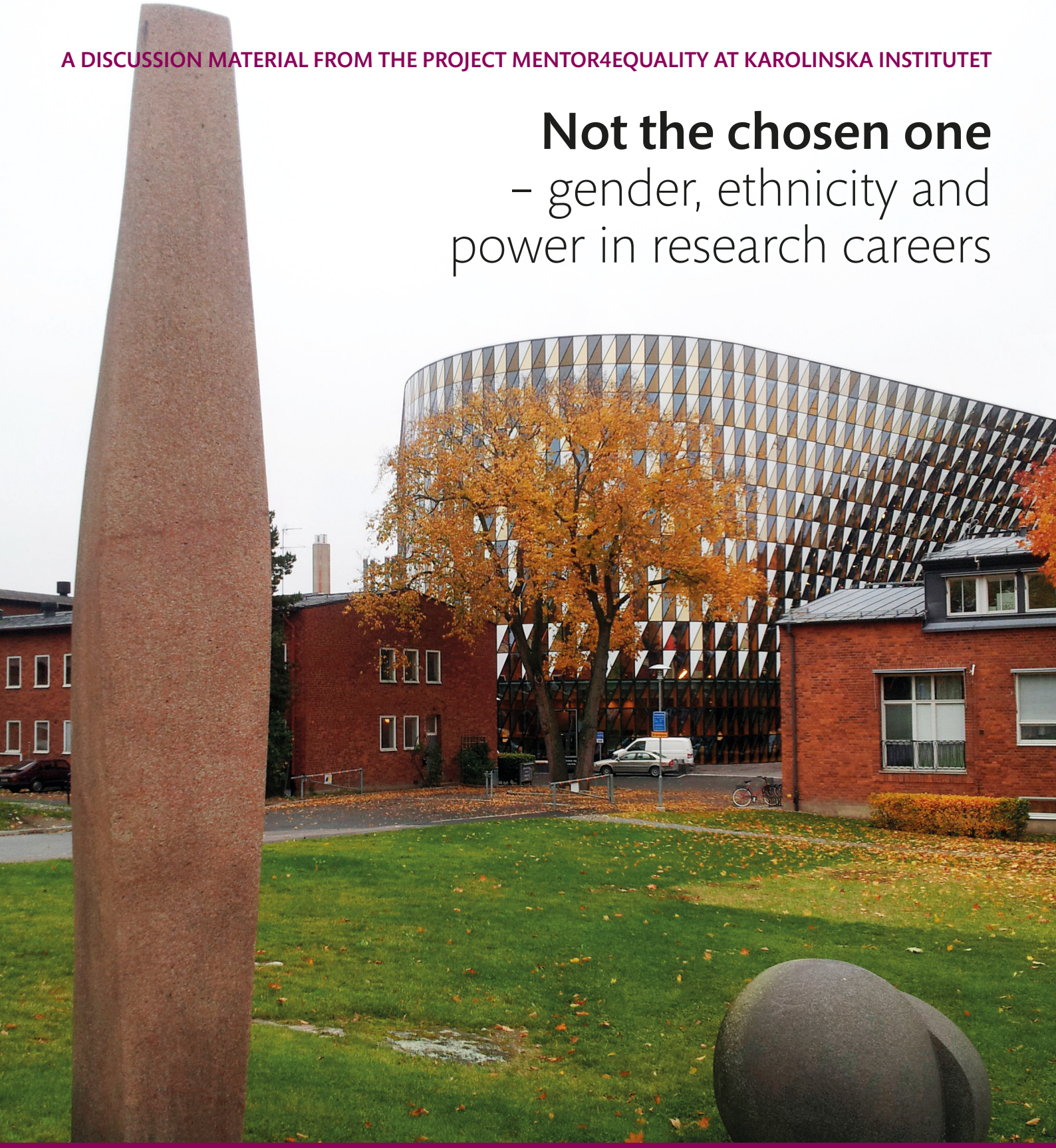
A DISCUSSION MATERIAL FROM THE PROJECT MENTOR4EQUALITY AT KAROLINSKA INSTITUTET

Not the chosen one
– gender, ethnicity and power in research careers



Karolinska Institutet

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Personally, in case of an emergency I prefer to have an experienced flight attendant, other qualities are secondary*. *(postdoc at KI)

Thank you all participants and coworkers of Mentor4Equality who have put so much of your time and positive energy into the project – with a true motivation to contribute to the development of Karolinska Institutet into an attractive and creative university for all. I would like to praise the mentees who have conducted the assessment – a great achievement done entirely on their free time. The commitment of the mentors of the program has also been amazing. I would like to especially thank mentors Mona Eliasson, Baran Cürüklü, Annica Gad and Lena Andersson who have contributed with their experiences and advice in a special workshop of the program. Furthermore, Mona Eliasson and Silja Marit Zetterqvist have been of great help in discussing the development of the project. The program would not have been possible to follow through without the professional and engaged work of Kerstin Beckenius, Catharina Sköld and Eva Flodström. It has been a great experience to work with all of you!

Frida Nilsson

Project leader

Terminology

Inequality regimes: the interdependent and/or interlocked practices and processes that result in continuing inequalities in all work organizations.[1]

Ethnicity: the social categorization and differentiation of people on the basis of their national or ethnic origin, skin color or other similar circumstance.[2] Ethnicity is socially constructed, relational and created in the context of historical and current power relations. Dominant groups often create negative stereotypes of other groups.[3]

Sex: the social categorization of people into women and men according to physical appearance /biological criteria.

Gender: Gender is not something we are, in some inherent sense, although we may consciously, think of ourselves that way. It is the patterned, socially produced distinctions between female and male, feminine and masculine. Rather, for the individual and the collective it is a daily accomplishment – that occurs in the course of participation in work organizations as well as in many other locations and relations.[4]

Gendered processes: mean that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine. It is the everyday procedures and actions. What people do and say, and how they think about these activities.[5]

Introduction

A woman from X (a European country) is always having her lunch alone and I have never seen her interacting with other people. Whenever I meet her in the corridor, there is just an eye contact, we greet each other and that's all. There is another woman from Y (an Asian country); I noticed that she is mostly talking to other male coworkers from Y. I never see her interacting with other people. This does not indicate that both women have more to do than others – rather it shows that they are not comfortable in the working environment because of their being a woman or belonging to another ethnicity/nationality.[6] (postdoc at KI)

Karolinska Institutet (KI) received funds for the project Mentor4Equality – a one year mentor program – from the *Delegation for Gender Equality in Higher Education* in order to describe and analyze unequal gender structures in research careers and to propose measures for change. We have expanded the scope of the assessment to include ethnicity as well, as several of the participants of the program have other national backgrounds than Swedish.

Despite gender equality efforts on national and local levels, gender discriminating practices persist in academia. This means that although there are no longer formal obstacles for gender equality more subtle forms of gender discrimination still exist.[7] Comparable efforts regarding research and measures on inequalities based on ethnicity in academia have not been forthcoming. Studies indicate, however, that similar discriminating mechanisms as have been described regarding gender also exist regarding ethnicity.[8]

The above quote from a postdoc at KI serves as an illustration of how ”not belonging to the (male and/or Swedish and/or white) norm” may isolate and marginalize coworkers and students due to gender and ethnic background. This quote above also illustrates how exclusion and discrimination, on many occasions, are not constituted of conscious deliberate acts with the intention to put people down – but is rather part of the everyday and normalized interaction and procedures of an organization.[9] What sociologist Liisa Husu describes as: *What happens is that “nothing happens”, that “something does not happen" or “something or someone is not seen, heard, or recognized or asked to join”* (2001:122).

A first and necessary step in the work to improve unequal conditions is to make normalized patterns visible. One important aim of this discussion material is therefore to present the assessment of the project in the form of *educational examples* from everyday work- and study situations at KI. The examples serve to illustrate how gender and ethnicity may operate in such situations.

The examples are contextualized within a theoretical framework and with research and other studies of unequal conditions in higher education. The *Council for Equal Treatment* at KI is responsible for the dissemination of the material and project results. The discussion material may be used by managers with responsibility to develop equal opportunities at KI, as well as others interested in furthering equal opportunities, to implement at departmental and central levels in order to improve conditions and make KI an attractive and creative university for all.

Excellence in research and education goes hand in hand with equal opportunities!

What is the policy of KI?

KI strives to be an attractive study and working environment which is free from discrimination and provides equal opportunities for all.

All employees and students are entitled to the same rights, opportunities and obligations regardless of gender, transgender identity or expression, ethnicity, religion or other belief, disability, sexual orientation or age. The campaign for equal treatment aims to create an inclusive environment for study and work that is also free of discrimination, offensive behavior and harassment. Utilizing other people's various experience and qualities is regarded by KI as a fundamental requirement for excellence in both research and teaching.

Strategy 2012 is intended to provide guidance for employees and students at KI. The strategy sets out KI's strategic and fundamental values. *The action plan for equal treatment* is also based on that. This states that everything that KI does is to be characterized by the following values – an ethical approach; trust and support for all initiatives from employees and students; creativity, independence and competence; good leadership and participation; equal opportunities and diversity; and a leadership team who will show the way for KI's values.

Karolinska Institutet's Action Plan for Equal Treatment 2013-2015

More information on Equal Treatment and Guidelines at KI: http://internwebben.ki.se/en/rules-and-guidelines-z

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Why work for equal opportunities?

Equal opportunities and discrimination is ultimately an issue of democracy and human rights. Everyone, regardless of sex, country, culture, ethnicity and context, are born free and equal in dignity and rights. Thus, it is a basic right for students and staff at KI to work and study in an environment free from discrimination, a right regulated by law.

Sweden has ratified a number of UN-conventions which protect human rights. Furthermore, the European Union (EU) is founded on the principles of freedom, democracy and respect for human rights and the principle of the rule of law. EU policy is therefore to respect, protect and promote human rights.[10] Important national legal provisions which regulate employers and education providers are the *Discrimination Act*, the *Higher Education Act* and the *Parental Leave Act*. In addition to legal obligations, KI policy and guidelines, there are other benefits in working for equal opportunities, which will be discussed below.

National legal provisions

The Swedish Discrimination Act prohibits employers and education providers to discriminate employees and students on the grounds of sex, transgender identity or expression, ethnicity, religion or other beliefs, disability, sexual orientation or age. If an employer or an education provider becomes aware that an employee /student considers that he or she has been subjected in connection with work/these activities to harassment or sexual harassment the employer/education provider is obliged to investigate the circumstances surrounding the alleged harassment and where appropriate take the measures that can reasonably be demanded to prevent harassment in the future. In addition, there are provisions that employers are to conduct goal-

The Swedish Discrimination Act- Definitions

Direct discrimination
that someone is disadvantaged by being treated less favorably than someone else is treated, has been treated or would have been treated in a comparable situation, if this disadvantaging is associated with sex, transgender identity or expression, ethnicity, religion or other belief, disability, sexual orientation or age.

Indirect discrimination
that someone is disadvantaged by the application of a provision, a criterion or a procedure that appears neutral but that may put people of a certain sex, a certain transgender identity or expression, a certain ethnicity, a certain religion or other belief, a certain disability, a certain sexual orientation or a certain age at a particular disadvantage, unless the provision, criterion or procedure has a legitimate purpose and the means that are used are appropriate and necessary to achieve that purpose.

Harassment
conduct that violates a person's dignity and that is associated with one of the grounds of discrimination sex, transgender identity or expression, ethnicity, religion or other belief, disability, sexual orientation or age.

Sexual harassment
conduct of a sexual nature that violates someone's dignity.

Instructions to discriminate
orders or instructions to discriminate against someone in a manner referred to in points 1–4 that are given to someone who is in a subordinate or dependent position relative to the person who gives the orders or instructions or to someone who has committed herself or himself to performing an assignment for that person.

http://www.government.se/sb/d/10105/a/115903

oriented work to actively promote equal rights and equal opportunities in working life regardless of sex, ethnicity, religion or other belief. An education provider is to conduct goal-oriented work to actively promote equal rights and opportunities for students participating in or applying for the activities, regardless of sex, ethnicity, religion or other beliefs, disability or sexual orientation. Employers and education providers are also required to take active steps to prevent harassment and sexual harassment. In addition it is prohibited to treat someone unfairly in connection with parental leave – which is laid down in the *Parental Leave Act*.

Furthermore, *The Swedish Higher Education Act* states that equality between women and men shall always be taken into account and promoted in the operations of higher education institutions.

What factors facilitates a creative research environment?

KI has everything to gain by intensifying its work for equal opportunities in research careers.[11] Segregation and unequal conditions for women and individuals of other nationalities than Swedish may be detrimental for those affected but it may also hamper creativity and progress of research.

The extent to which an individual's (or group's) creative potential is expressed depends considerably on the environment in which that individual (or group) works. (Hemlin et.al. 2008).

Furthermore, the chance of keeping upcoming and excellent researchers in the organization may increase through providing an environment where working for equality is taken seriously.[12]

Who to contact if discriminated against at KI

At the department/similar
Head of department, line manager, chief administrator, safety representative, work environment representative, equal opportunities representative, HR manager or another person in accordance with delegation at the department.

At university administration
HR Director, HR Consultants

Doctoral students can also contact
Unit Manager at the postgraduate education unit, The Director of Education at the department, The Doctoral Student Ombudsman, Student Health Services

Other
Occupational Health Services, Previa,
Trade union organizations OFR, SACO and SEKO
Telephone and address details can be found on KI's intranet/external website.

In a summary of major findings in organizational research on performance of research groups, mentioned factors are diversity in size, age, and scientific and other experiences of groups and individuals; to have multiple structural links internally and externally; to have a sense of collective pride and faith in the talents of individuals and to emphasize collaboration and teamwork.[13]

In a case study of Rockefeller University – a relatively small university which has had more major breakthroughs in biomedical science than any other institution in the twentieth century – diversity and integration are pointed out as crucial factors in facilitating major scientific breakthroughs.[14] Other factors are leadership and a rich learning environment. Scientists in diverse fields need to have intense and frequent interactions with one another and this may be achieved through, for example, the sharing of lunch and/or tea/coffee breaks, scientific retreats etc. Leaders who are able to provide a nurturing environment in which there is rigorous criticism, meted out with a high degree of sensitivity is another factor mentioned. Such a nurturing environment is quite the opposite of how the academic environment at KI as well as at other universities in Sweden sometimes are described in different studies of the academy as well as in Mentor4Equality.

Furthermore, senior and junior staff at the Rockefeller University is recruited from many parts of the world. One conclusion of the study is that ”this cultural diversity added to its scientific diversity has enhanced very high levels of creativity within the organization.”[15]

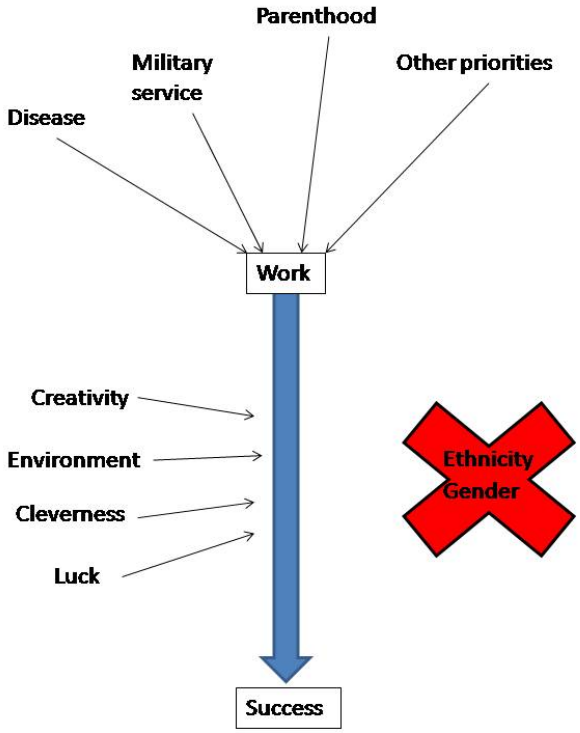
An environment in which unequal treatment and discrimination are components could be described as the

Benefits of working for equal opportunities

Working for equal opportunities may contribute to:

- Improving the wellbeing, health and work ability of individuals
- Keeping talented researchers in the organization
- Improving the creative potential of individuals and groups and thus KIs international competiveness
- Strengthen KI´s reputation as an attractive milieu for top international researchers
- Achieve external recognition for good practice in equal opportunities

opposite of factors which promote creativity in research. Hierarchical segregation of different nationalities/ethnicities does not promote interaction between researchers. Unequal treatment of other nationalities than Swedes and of women does not promote the exchange of diverse experiences. The gendered status difference between different scientific fields does not promote interdisciplinary contact between disciplines.[16] A biased selection of talented individuals does not show faith in the capacity of individuals regardless of gender and ethnicity. The sometimes harsh, academic environment is not the nurturing climate in which rigorous criticism is coupled with a high degree of sensitivity. Combating unequal structures should, therefore, constitute an important part in the work to secure and promote KIs international competitiveness in research.



Success in research. Anna Andreasson, Mentor4Equality

Mentor4Equality

The inquiry was conducted by the mentees of a one year mentor program – Mentor4Equality – which started in March 2012. 16 PhD- students and postdocs from 13 departments at KI have assessed conditions for conducting a research career from a gender and ethnicity perspective.[17] In the project application to the *Delegation of Gender Equality in Higher Education*, the initial focus was to investigate structures and mechanisms in the academy/KI which hinder gender equality in research careers. As several of the mentees had other national backgrounds than Swedish the project expanded the scope to include ethnicity as well.

Research and other studies on inequality regimes[18] in the academy and other organizations have been used as a starting point for the project. Mentee observations and experiences from KI confirm the presence of inequality regimes based on gender and ethnicity as described in previous studies of KI as well as in research on inequality in organizations/in the academy elsewhere.

The project do not claim that the observations made to be representative for KI as a whole. The observations should rather be seen as *educational examples* that may be used in order to visualize what forms unequal treatment and discrimination may take. The examples, together with research presented in this discussion material, may contribute to increase the knowledge and awareness of inequality regimes at KI and thus, to improve the quality of existing preventive measures.

Aim of the project

- To identify, describe and analyze structures and mechanisms which lead to unequal conditions based on gender and ethnicity in the academy/at KI
- To propose measures on a structural level that KI may implement in order to create equal conditions for all women and men pursuing a career in research

Furthermore, the observations of imbalances in success rates of applicants to different forms of research- and doctoral student funding at KI, should be seen as indicators of a need for further exploration and measures to take in that specific area.

The project have suggested procedures to improve conditions for a research career based on their observations and other studies and research in the field. Suggestions are presented last in the discussion material.

Steering group and project group

The steering group of the project consisted of representatives from the *Board of Research*, the *Board of Doctoral Education*, *Junior Faculty* and the *Medical Students Association.* In 2011-2013 Prof. Martin Ingvar, Dean of Research was chairing the steering group and in 2013 he was succeeded by Prof. Göran Dahllöf, who is also Chair of the *Council for Equal Treatment*. The steering group and project group of Mentor4Equality were all offered the same education on the topic of gender and organization as participants in the Mentorship program. It is essential to emphasize that gender studies and other studies of socio-cultural power structures is a field of research where basic knowledge is needed working in the field.

Steering group:

- Chair, Prof. Martin Ingvar, Dean of Research. Since Jan 1, 2013 Prof. Göran Dahllöf who is also Chair of the Council for Equal Treatment.
- Representative of the Board of Research: Prof. Stefan Eriksson.
- Representative of the Board of Doctoral Education: DDS, PhD, Lecturer Patricia de Palma.
- Representative of Junior Faculty: Prof. Qiang Pan-Hammarström.
- Doctoral student representative: Ulf Gehrlmann.

Project group:

- Frida Nilsson: Project Leader.
- Kerstin Beckenius: Career Service.
- Catharina Sköld: Psychologist.

The assessment

A starting point for the assessment is that KI may learn from its doctoral students and postdocs about unequal conditions in research careers. Mentors (except two) and mentees have applied to take part of the program. Both groups have been offered education in the field of gender and organization and have taken part in workshops together with invited researchers from KI and elsewhere.[19] The assessment has, to a large extent, been conducted by the mentees. They have described conditions, analyzed them and also carried out observations – through group and individual assignments – within three themes of investigation. The project leader suggested the themes of the investigation based on gender theory and has also contextualized and analyzed the mentee observations in light of research and theory in the field. The assessment is based on research and other studies in the field – but is not in itself a research project. Gender research and theory by two sociologists, Joan Acker and Liisa Husu, have been used as inspiration for the formulation of the themes of the investigation (described below).

Mentees had the option of using the research and theory by Acker and Husu to conduct observations of other inequality regimes than the gender order. Sometimes they have also chosen to conduct observations of unequal conditions based on ethnicity.

Workshops

Mentees have participated in all together eight workshops in which the different themes of the assessment have been approached from various angles. The aim of the workshops was to raise awareness and increase the knowledge among mentees about inequality regimes, unequal treatment and discrimination in organizations. Various pedagogical methods have been used in order to structure discussions and reflect on the assessment themes and suggested measures for change. For example, forum theatre was practiced in order to explore master suppression techniques and counter strategies. Mentors have participated in some of the workshops discussing the assessment and possible measures for change.

The themes of the assessment

Sociologist Joan Acker's (1992) theory on gender processes in organizations served as inspiration in order to structure observations. The four gendered processes in Acker's theory are to be seen as components of the same reality separated only for analytical purposes.

- Production of gender divisions
- Symbols, images and forms of consciousness
- Interaction between individuals
- Internal mental work

The first three processes have been used as themes for the assessment whereas the fourth has not been an explicit theme but is, nevertheless, present as an important part in many of the examples and discussions of the other three explored themes. Examples from KI in the discussion material have been altered regarding information which may identify individuals. The individuals who shared their experiences at KI have approved of using their examples in print.

The production of divisions

The first process in Acker's theory is *production of divisions* caused by ordinary organizational practices which form gendered patterns of jobs, wages, hierarchies, power and subordination.

The project has investigated the success rate of some forms of research funding and funding of doctoral education in order to determine possible imbalances regarding gender. – In one case the focus was on country/continent of undergraduate studies of the applicant. Imbalances may indicate that there are unequal opportunities in pursuing research careers at KI. The investigated forms of funding are:

- *KID-funding* (KID): Once every semester the *Board of Doctoral Education* invites applications for funding to new doctoral students at KI, KID-funding. Supervisors apply for funding for the project where the student will be active in (Since 2010 only supervisors may apply for the grant whereas before that students were able to apply together with their supervisor).

- *KI Research Foundations*: Once a year KI invites researchers to apply for funding from the *KI Research Foundations* – a yield from about 120 foundations and 10 endowments.
- *Research AT*: Funding to enable research during the AT- education. Joint announcement by Karolinska University Hospital, Danderyd Hospital and *Södersjukhuset*.
- *Clinical Scientist Training Programme (CSTP).* In order to stimulate early doctoral education of medical, dental and psychology students, the *Board of Doctoral Education* at the Karolinska Institutet (KI) has initiated the CSTP. Applications are invited twice annually and funds have been reserved for up to 15 grants per year.
- *Research-associate grants*. In 2011 and 2012 the *Board of Research* has announced *research-associate grants*. In 2012, SEK 60 million was invested in 20 fixed-term research-associate grants following the government's decision earlier that June to reintroduce into its *Higher education ordinance* this category of academic position, which had been removed in November 2011 as part of the autonomy reform.

In addition, workshops, discussions with invited researchers about research in the field and about experiences and observations, constitute part of the assessment regarding the production of divisions in research careers.

Culture, symbols and images

Gendered symbols and images explicate, justify and sometimes oppose gender divisions. Many academic symbols and titles are gendered, e.g. as masters, fellows, the doctoral hat, the popular image of a scholar or scientist which historically has been a man.[20]

In Acker's theoretical model all four processes are intertwined in *organizational culture*. The concept refers to the dominant ways "of doing things" in an organization/part of organization. It is also constituted by artifacts that symbolize the organization, and may include: rites, ceremonies, dress, symbols, buildings, expressed values and leadership style.[21]

Mentees have explored gender norms displayed in art, images and text of *KI-bladet* and in presentations of KI on the internet such as YouTube, etc. Furthermore, academic culture and KI culture were explored through other studies as well as through observations within the project.

Interaction between individuals

The third set of processes that produce gendered social structures, including organizations, are interactions between women and men, women and women, men and men, including all those patterns that enact dominance and submission. For example, conversation analysis shows how gender differences in interruptions, turn taking, and setting the topic of discussion recreate gender inequality in the flow of ordinary talk.[22]

With Acker's theory of gendered processes in organizations as a base – the process *Interaction between individuals* was explored with inspiration from Liisa Husu's (2001) dissertation *Sexism, support and survival in academia. Academic women and hidden discrimination in Finland*. Gender discrimination, in Husu's research, is understood as "unequal and harmful treatment of people because of their sex".[23] The concept of hidden discrimination is used to discern subtle forms of unfair treatment. Mentees were free to use these concepts as inspiration to observe inequalities based also on other grounds than gender. Some mentees chose to explore unequal treatment and discrimination based on ethnicity.

Are there unequal conditions in the academy and at KI?

Vertical and horizontal segregation – ethnicity

There is no national statistics on ethnicity/nationality in higher education in Sweden. The statistics which is available is differentiated on the basis of "Swedish background" or "foreign background" and is primarily on the level of undergraduate- and doctoral studies. In 2012, about one-third of the PhD-students at KI have their degree used for admission to doctoral education, from another country than Sweden.

Number of PhD-students at KI in Dec 2012	Total	Women
Degree from Sweden	1 544	970
Degree from other country	760	426

In recent years, at national level there has been a larger increase in the number of international new entrants to third-cycle studies than for Swedish entrants. In 2012 the proportion of international new entrants was 39 per cent, the largest ever. An international third-cycle student is one who has come to Sweden in order to pursue studies on that academic level.[24]

The academic year 2011/12, 62 % of the newly accepted doctoral students at national level were Swedes. Out of those, 20 % had a "foreign background". The term "foreign background" is used by the *Swedish Higher Education Authority* to refer to those who were either born outside Sweden or were born in Sweden but with both parents born abroad. The largest proportion of newly accepted doctoral students with "foreign background" was within medicine and health sciences, where they constituted 25% in 2011/12.[25]

Regarding employees in higher education, a national enquiry from the year 2000 shows that the number of individuals employed in higher education, who are born abroad is high compared to the population as a whole. The proportion of individuals with another citizenship than Swedish was 10% higher than in the surrounding society, which in that time was 5%.[26] Short time visiting researchers

were included in these statistics. The, by far, most common background of those born abroad was European. The highest proportion of employees with “foreign background” was constituted by researchers with time limited positions. A smaller number was found in teaching and the very smallest proportion within administration. Furthermore, a large group was employed in cleaning and other “low” positions in the institutional hierarchy. The proportion of individuals born abroad and “multigeneration Swedes" (Sw. flergenerationssvenskar) in high administrative positions was very low. One conclusion of the report is that there is a career problem for employees with a ”foreign background”.[27]

In a report from the *Department of Integration,* higher education institutions are presented as a sector which is more successful than other sectors in integrating individuals with a “foreign background” in the core activities. Guest researchers are included in these statistics as well. Sociologist Paula Mählck points out the interesting fact that the imbalance, regarding national background, on high positions is not analyzed further in the report.[28] *The National Association for Teachers in Higher Education* has compiled statistics from *Statistics Sweden* (SCB) which shows that the proportion of teachers in higher education who are born abroad has increased from 18-23% from 2006 until 2010 but there is no information of what positions they hold. The proportion of teachers and researchers from Asia has increased dramatically since the last study in 2000.[29] On a local level institutions in *Higher Education* have started to collect information on Swedish/foreign background of its employees.[30] In a governmental investigation in 2006 on structural discrimination based on ethnicity – there are a couple of studies on ethnic discrimination in higher education institutions. Similar mechanisms of exclusion as those described in studies on gender discrimination in academic settings are reported.[31]

Although information on ethnic discrimination in higher education institutions is sparse we know from research on work life more generally that there is such discrimination in Sweden.[32]

The Government has recognized the problematic situation of monitoring discrimination politics without having statistics on several of the groups protected by law – such as ethnic groups.[33]

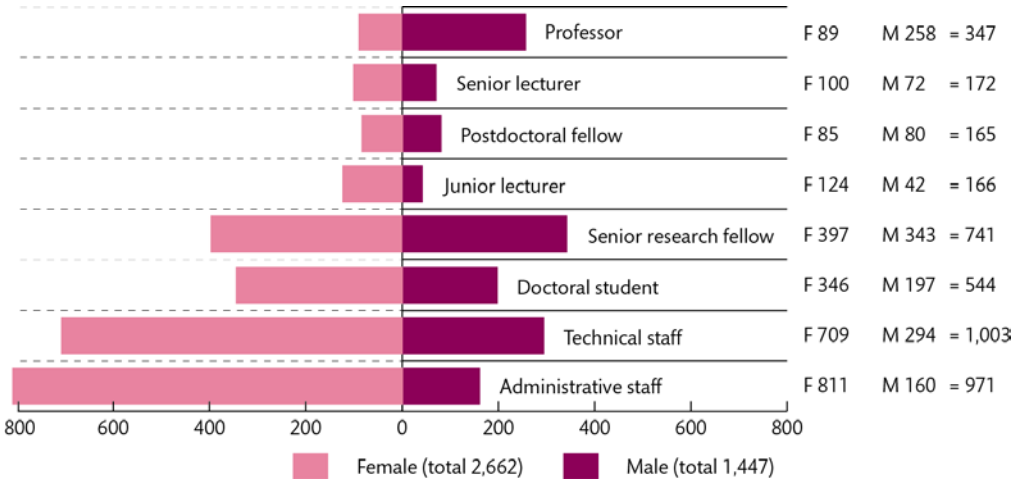
Vertical and horizontal segregation – gender

There has been a substantial gender imbalance in top academic positions for a long time – in 2012, 73% of the professors at KI were men whereas men only made up 24% of the student population. In 2012, 83% of the deans and assistant deans at KI were men; all deans and two out of three assistant deans are men. The proportions women and men on the three Faculty Boards are within the 40-60% interval. The proportion of men in the management group of KI has increased from 44% in 2011 to 68% in 2012. The proportion of men as heads of departments is 68 % which is a decrease of 5 % from the previous year.

Departments	Male professors n (%)	Female professors n (%)
IMM	18 (%64)	10 (%36)
Onk/Pat	20 (%87)	3 (%13)
Clinical Neuroscience	25 (%86)	4 (%14)
MMK	17 (%70)	7 (%30)
KBH/WCH	12 (%70)	5 (%30)

Some examples from KI (Mentee observation 2012): 26,5% of the professors at KI are women but the proportion varies between departments.

Gender – staff categories at KI



Higher education in Sweden is still, regarding scientific fields and positions, a gender segregated and gender unequal arena for men and women. This pattern of gender inequality has been relatively stable despite the fact that women and men formally have been granted equal opportunities for a long time and that women have been present in large numbers in the academic system for a considerably long time – the majority of students are women since the mid-seventies.[34]

During the last decade the proportion of women and men on lower levels than professor positions in academia, such as doctoral student, research-associate (Sw. *forskarassistent*) and senior lecturer (Sw. *lektor*), have become more equal in numbers. The increase of women on such positions is sometimes taken as a guarantee that a more equal proportion of men and women as professors will soon follow. On the contrary, the *The Swedish Higher Education Authority* concluded in a report from 2009 that if the proportion of women professors would reach 50% within 20 years, the proportion of newly recruited women professors would have to amount to 57% per year.[35] In the year 2012, Malmö University had the highest proportion of women professors in Sweden (36%) followed by University of Stockholm (29%). Karolinska Institutet is number five on the list. On national level 24% of the professors were women.[36]

One of the conclusions of the *Delegation for Gender Equality in Higher education* is that: "There has, of course, been some progress. It is also reasonable to assume that further progress will be made in time. But the process is slow: too slow."[37] As a result, the government has reintroduced recruitment goals for

women professors to institutions of higher education. The goal set for KI 2012-2015 is that at least 47% of the new professors should be women.

Mona Eliasson, professor of Psychology, describes the academy as one of the institutions in society which has displayed most resistance to efforts to include gender equality, feminism and gender studies.[38] A recently published statistical study by Rickard Danell and Mikael Hjerm (2013), in which they have analyzed individual research career trajectories in Sweden between 1995 and 2010, confirm the lack of advancement regarding gender equality in research careers in academia:

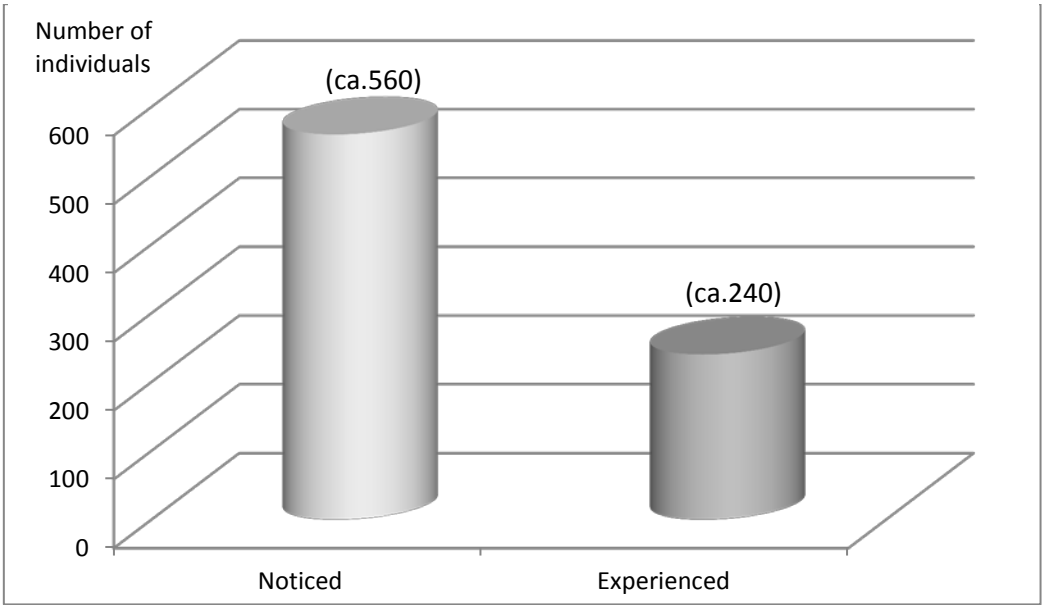
First, career prospects for female university researchers are clearly worse than for their male counterparts. Translated into hazard ratios, it means that women have a 37 % lower chance of becoming full Professors compared to men across cohorts. Second, and most important, gender differences in promotion rate have not decreased. This means that the increasing share of female professors is not a function of a changing probability of females being promoted, but a result of changes in the gender composition within universities.[39]

Furthermore, Hjerm and Danell found that promotion rates of men and women who have had the position of research-associate (Sw. *forskarassistent*) – a post considered important for a research career in Sweden – are about equal, whereas men who have not had such a position had a greater chance of becoming professors compared to women from the same background. A possible interpretation, according to these researchers, is that: "as long as competition over resources and positions is transparent, competitive women fare as well as men, but when men and women are allowed to compete over resources and networks in a more informal way, women are clearly worse off than men."[40] *In this discussion material we use examples from KI and research in the field in order to highlight different forms of informal structures – which may contribute in explaining why women's chances to become full professors are 37% lower than it is for men.*

Unequal conditions at KI?

KI, as an organization is not isolated from external societal inequalities – which is, of course, true of any organization – but how inequalities are reproduced, to what extent and what forms they take are to some extent dependent on the specific organization at hand and may vary within the organization itself.[41] Several studies have been conducted which indicate that KI, indeed, is not free from inequality regimes based on gender and ethnicity as well as other forms of unequal treatment and discrimination.[42]

AHA. Bullying and harassment at KI, 2011



The diagram shows how many of the respondents have noticed or experienced bullying, harassment or victimization (Sw. *kränkande särbehandling*).

AHA

KI regularly conducts surveys (AHA) in order to investigate how coworkers experience the work environment. The 2011 survey was sent to 5144 individuals and 69% of those responded.[43] About 560 individuals, who participated in the survey in 2011, have noticed the occurrence of bullying and harassment at KI. About 240 individuals have experienced bullying and harassment. The number includes bullying and harassment on the grounds of sex, ethnicity, age, religion or other beliefs, sexual orientation, transgender identity or expression and disability – there is also the possibility to reply "other" or "multiple" in the survey. In actual practice it is difficult for the affected individual to define on what grounds the

harassment or bullying is conducted. We know from research that it may only be late in one's career that one can recognize such experiences of harassment as related to, for instance, sex/gender.[44] The percentage of individuals who have experienced bullying and/or harassment has increased since the last survey was conducted in 2009.

Exit Poll

Exit Poll is an online survey distributed to KI's former doctoral students shortly after graduation. One in every six of the respondents stated that they suffered harassment or discriminatory treatment at KI, particularly from their supervisors, but also from others, including teachers, fellow doctoral students and postdocs.[45] Combining the results for all exit polls from 2008 to 2011 totals some 1,250 individuals. The most common complaint seems to be the personally abusive way some supervisors reprimand their students in front of their peers, which goes way beyond the limits of what is acceptable.

There appear to be large variations between departments with one department with no reports of harassment or discrimination and one with a rate of up around 25%. More women than men doctoral students report being subjected to harassment or discrimination. *The Board of Doctoral Education* at KI has appointed a project group in order to visit departments to raise awareness of the problem and make them take more effective action.[46]

Health as indicator of gender equality

One of the conclusions of a dissertation in medical and health sciences, by Ann Sörlin, is that: ”If employees perceive their company to be gender equal, they have higher odds of rating their health as good, and this is especially so for women.”[47]

Health is one of the indicators used by JÄMIX (indicators used to measure the level of gender equality in organizations) to measure gender equality in organizations. In 2012, the JÄMIX indicator *long term sick leaves* shows that at KI, women outnumber men among long term sick leaves with 0,82% of the women as compared to 0,22% of the men.

The "normality" of structural inequalities

The gender order

The social structure of gender relations is commonly termed *gender order* by the research field. Unequal gender orders have a long history in society at large as well as within academia.[48] Unequal gender orders result in men as a group being dominant in relation to women as a group.

Historian Yvonne Hirdman argues that there are two principles upholding unequal gender orders: women and men are considered as essentially different from each other and what men are and what men do is considered the norm.[49] This means that women are perceived as "the other" and the "deviant" part of humanity whereas men are considered universal and the norm. It is not uncommon, for instance, to speak about soccer and women's soccer - if there is no prefix the word soccer refers to men's soccer. The exception is noted, the norm is not.

The perceived gender differences are upheld by *heteronormativity* - norms saying that heterosexuality is the only "normal" expression of sexuality. In order to be seen as a "proper man" you need to be seen as a heterosexual man. The "normality" of gender orders is also true regarding power structures based on other grounds, such as transgender identity or expression, ethnicity, religion, disability, sexual orientation and age. The heteronormativity in academic settings have, for instance been described and analyzed in the anthology *I den akademiska garderoben (2005).*

Are women supporting each other? We need to start with ourselves: 'There is a special place in hell for women who don't help each other'. How we talk about other women, how we describe the ability of other women. (Mentee)

Gender orders are upheld by *both women and men* as part of every-day activities and the perception of them. Mentees have discussed how not only men need to change unequal behavior but also the need for women to break these normalized patterns. Thus, the unequal relations, are for the most part *not* constituted of conscious unequal acts intended to subordinate another group.

Ethnic discrimination

Mechanisms which exclude (white, heterosexual) women from academic careers may also exclude men as well as women from other groups. Observations of unequal treatment based on ethnicity have been reported in this project as well as in previous studies at KI.[50] Ethnic discrimination and racism is, in the same manner as unequal gender relations, structural phenomena propagated by individuals. Like unequal gender relations it is for the most part constituted, not of conscious deliberate acts of unequal treatment and discrimination, but of acts considered "normal". In order to clarify how racism not only includes extreme phenomena like racist violence, the term “everyday racism” has been employed.[51]

Chinese and Indian academics at KI need to work hard, work extra hours and weekends, and get lower payment, although these are light forms of discrimination. (PhD-student at KI)

Steven Saxonberg and Lena Sawyer argues – on the basis of a study of excluding mechanisms and ethnic reproduction in the academy in Sweden – that there are similar mechanisms discriminating against women as against individuals with "foreign background" in departments in higher education.[52]

Economic historian, Paulina de los Reyes (2007) has studied structural discrimination and everyday racism in academic settings in Sweden.[53] She argues that discrimination should be understood from the perspective of power relations in concrete institutional contexts. The power relations privilege certain groups over others through normalized behavioral patterns and frames of reference.[54]

Privileges due to structural discrimination and everyday racism

- Symbolic and material resources
- Status and positive attention.

Paulina de los Reyes (2007)

The norm of "Swedishness" has been described in the academic context in studies among students at University of Umeå as well as at KI. Normative perceptions of "Swedishness" may put pressure on students to adapt if they are, in one way or another, perceived as "different".[55] There are other studies on "problematic practices" in academic contexts such as ethnic and gender stereotypes which may be used to exclude individuals from networks through conceptions of "Swedishness".[56]

Subtle forms of unequal treatment and discrimination

Subtle forms of unequal treatment and discrimination is sometimes difficult for those affected to identify than are more overt forms. One reason is that both discriminator and discriminated person often have internalized acts of subtle forms of discrimination as "normal" behavior.[57] Another contributing factor is that subtle forms sometimes manifest themselves as "non-events", silence or "invisibility". Even though we have put some emphasis on subtle forms of unequal treatment and discrimination within the program – still more overt forms have been observed, as well.[58]

The following example illustrates how Husu's analysis and findings, regarding subtle forms of discrimination, are helping one of the mentees to reflect on her own work place for the first assignment, when mentees were asked to describe a situation where they have observed some form of discrimination/unequal treatment:

This task was surprisingly difficult, and I could not come up with a single situation where discrimination was clear. Yet I am absolutely aware that men are more important, or suitable/adequate, than women at work. And Swedish co-workers are more important, or suitable/adequate, than foreign co-workers. /…/

Examples of forms of unequal treatment and discrimination

- Homosocial professional behavior of men leading to women's and minority groups isolation and marginalization
- "Making invisible" such as ignoring
- Jokes
- Belittling of women and their research topics
- Harassment
- Sexual harassment
- Even greater harassment of women from minority groups (such as ethnic minorities and feminists)
- Double standards
- Stereotypic expectations
- Division of labor
- Hostility
- Lack of encouragement
- Invalidation of experiences of discrimination
- Tokenism
- Manipulation

Compilation of forms described by Benokraitis and Feagin 1995. Husu 2001, DO, etc..

… there is a fundamental difference between men and women the way I see it: Women are dealing with feelings of inability or incompetence to a great extent, even the brilliant ones. Many of them are planning to do something else after obtaining their doctorate. It seems impossible to fit into and manage the scientific community. Many of the women work with administration or teaching after their thesis defense. I have never heard a man talk about his inability or incompetence. Men can feel stressed, alone, lost, exposed, but never "wrong". They generally talk about a continued career in science and seem confident that they "will do", will be adequate, that they are suitable. I get the impression that men are somehow self-evident, in a way that women rarely are.

How come? It is definitely not based on competence, intelligence or production. The problem with this assignment was very well described in the assigned literature: "What happens is that nothing happens.

The above citation reflects how subtle forms of unequal treatment may increase the vulnerability of women and other groups as well as contributing to a feeling of "not belonging" in academia. In Sweden, research by Paula Mählk has demonstrated that some women leave academia after finishing their PhD-studies with the explanation: "It wasn't really my arena".[59] Mählk also concluded that even the departments that were actively working with gender issues had informal power structures that excluded women from continued academic careers.

The "normality" of what seems to be quite overt unequal treatment is illustrated by the following example related by a PhD-student at KI:

On the 8th and 9th of March there was a conference at KI. When looking at the program it was obvious that there was a majority of male speakers (16 men, 4 women). The department had made an effort have one man and one woman as moderators in every session. When I pointed out to a man associated with the department that even on the International women´s day there was such a blatant inequality in the number of speakers his reply was "You can´t choose speakers just according to sex, can you?". The irony of his reply did not register with him at all.

Examples from KI

- Event for undergraduate students at KI called 'talk to a professor' include 14 prof (3 women), 6 deans (1 woman)
- Token people exist in KI, examples: 'chinese group leader', 'woman surgeon'.

(Mentee observations)

Tokens in organizations

In her land mark study on gender in organizations *Women and men in the corporation*, Moss Kanter (1977) addressed the position of tokens in organizations. She described tokens as members of minority groups with special characteristics associated with their position:

They are people identified by ascribed characteristics (master statuses such as sex, race, religion, ethnic group, age etc.) or other characteristics that carry with them a set of assumptions about culture, status, and behavior highly salient for majority group members.[60]

A *token* is easily perceived as a representative of their ascribed group and they are highly visible. The visibility refers to them being under public scrutiny and that they are easily perceived as representing their group (for example all women – i.e. not women members of a select group – or all members of an ascribed ethnicity). The heightened visibility may lead to performance pressures and the women in Kanter's study responded to these pressures mainly in two ways: by *overachievement* and by trying to *limit their visibility, to become socially invisible* "which could mean blending into the predominant male culture, or avoiding public events or occasions, deliberately keeping a low profile, avoiding conflicts, risks and controversial situations".[61]

In a Mentor4Equality workshop, a former woman president of KI mentioned how she felt that there were, sometimes, all too high expectations on her from women at KI, of her possibilities to change unequal gender relations at KI. This may be interpreted in the light of Kanter's theory – as a consequence of her token status as the first woman president of KI – in that she was expected to represent all women and advance women's interests. A woman's space for action – even in a top position – may well be quite circumscribed both by her position as a token and by the patriarchal structures around her as well. Mentor4Equality has been informed by a man in a top position at KI, who had noticed how women in top positions at KI were much more exposed to critique and aggressive behavior than he was – something he attributed to the unequal treatment of women.

The high visibility of being a woman leader in academia at the same time as women many times have a smaller academic network and support – increases the risk of failing. In a study of gender relations at *KTH Royal Institute of Technology*

some women who didn't accept taking office/a higher position as they didn't want to risk failing.[62] This would confirm discriminatory expectations of women as not being capable enough for advancement.

Homogeneity of academic social networks

Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu´s concepts *social- and cultural capital* are useful in order to understand the hidden mechanisms which reproduce inequality regimes in higher education. Processes of differentiation privileges certain groups over others in spite of the self-perception of the institutions as strictly meritocratic. *Cultural capital* is constituted by linguistic skills, habits, preferences which the individual gains through socialization in various social fields which Bourdieu considers "the best hidden form of hereditary transmission of capital".[63] Cultural capital may lead to social capital, – i.e. access to groups/networks with actual or potential resources (such as access to "a helping hand," "string pulling," the "old boy network"). Relationships between individuals within such a network are partly grounded on the acknowledgement of each other as members of the group and partly on the recruitment of individuals who *resemble the members of the group.* Thus, homogeneity is characteristic of such networks.[64]

Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg, describe the reproduction of unequal relations in many social spheres, such as work places and family relations, as "cloning cultures". The preferences of individuals are central to such systems – structured by "race", ethnicity, gender etc – in order to reproduce existing privileges.[65] One cornerstone of the reproduction of groups in such a system is stereotypes of "us" and "them". The discourse on meritocracy is hegemonic in higher education institutions which make it necessary to hide the preference for "sameness" – the hidden nature of the process is thus a necessary condition for its reproduction.[66]

Bourdieu (1988) describes how academic groups aim at reproducing themselves through social capital and an "indefinable" identity which is not possible to reduce to technical definitions and merits allowing one to join. He argues that relationships within the academy are organized through a patron-client relationship, in which younger researchers positions, are dependent on a good relationship with their professors who have more access to research grants and

networks. In the end, social capital becomes more important than intellectual capacity. As it is pivotal to understand the unwritten rules, individuals with cultural capital gained through "the right social background" have easier to access their influential senior researchers.[67] Feminist scholars have developed the concept of homosociality to describe and theorize the homogeneity of organizational power structures with a gender perspective, which will be discussed under "Culture, symbols and images".

Woman as norm

Woman dominated work places in academia may become excluding of other groups. One study of a woman dominated research setting in Sweden noticed how the women had a relaxed and equal everyday interaction among themselves in spite of different academic positions. Thereby creating a sense of community among themselves through sameness and equality as they are, at the same time, challenging traditional hierarchical university structures. But their homogeneity – they were all similar age, white, heterosexual and middle class, risked excluding groups with other ethnic and class backgrounds and LGBT (Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender) people.[68] There has been one observation within the project of how a woman dominated work place may become excluding for men.[69]

/…/my colleagues were talking about a man and commented on his looks in a way that probably would make us furious if it would have been a group of males that had said the same thing. *(PhD-student at KI)*

I work in a female dominated setting and recently reacted to the fact that my colleagues were talking about a man and commented on his looks in a way that probably would make us furious if it had been a group of males saying the same thing about a woman. In this case the man was not a colleague and not even working at KI but I guess being the subject could lead to insecurity, not participating actively on meetings, skip lunches and coffee breaks. If you don´t participate in these activities it could limit your possibilities to take part in future applications/collaborations and miss the chance to further develop your own ideas from the input you otherwise would get from the group.

Intersecting power structures

The project has dealt with unequal treatment and discrimination based on sex/gender and ethnicity/"race". Although discrimination based on sex, gender, ethnicity, "race", sexual orientation and so forth, may be analytically separated

categories – in actual practice it may not be useful to try and separate on which ground one is unfairly treated if – for instance – you are an Asian woman academic. But being in a position where you have to deal with intersecting power structures based on, in this case, both ethnicity/"race" and sex/gender, may increase the vulnerability and the complexities of not fitting neither “the Swedish/white norm” nor the "sex/gender norm" – compared to a white, Swedish middle class man academic.

The privilege of interpretation

The dominant groups of the symbolic, economic and political fields are the ones with the power to make their social classifications of a society hegemonic.[70]

It is when you don't fit the norm it becomes easier to recognize the structural inequalities at hand. PhD-students from non-European countries may, for example, to a larger extent than Swedish PhD-students recognize structural inequalities based on ethnicity. A difficulty in starting to acknowledge structural inequalities in the organization is that the groups that fit the norm are those generally having the privilege of interpretation. It is therefore difficult for disadvantaged groups to have their experiences and observations validated.

The Swedish self-image

Researchers have argued that part of the Swedish self-image is that Sweden is an anti-racist society.[71] Similarly, there is a common view in Sweden that we have already reached gender-equality, or that we are pretty close. These views may contribute to obscuring unequal gender structures based on gender and ethnicity. With the words of political scientist Maud Eduards: "Insisting that gender equality has been more or less fully achieved in society makes women more responsible for any unequal conditions that occur. /.../The women blame themselves for having behaved in an unequal way."[72]

Furthermore, researchers have pointed out that the Swedish self-image contains a perception of having reached gender equality as a contrast to “other cultures” – and thus contributing to ethnic discrimination through sharply contrasting the gender equal “us” from the gender unequal “them”.

It’s in the walls – culture, symbols and images

Theme one of the assessment has been inspired by Joan Acker’s theory of gendered processes in organizations of which one process is labeled “Symbols, images and forms of consciousness”. In addition to exploring symbols and images at KI, mentees have explored academic and KI-culture.[73]



”Campus Solna” Photographs by mentees of Mentor4Equality

Why don't we fit in? – A patriarchal historical legacy



Photograph at the entrance of Sahlgrenska Hospital

The academy may be described as a hierarchical or fundamentally feudal organization which traditionally has been dominated by men. Women have on the basis of their gender been excluded, in an international perspective, during 800 years of the universities 900 year history as an institution.[74]

KI campus Huddinge - "It is in the walls" Karolinska Institutet



Department of Bioscience and Nutrition	Un-named males: 15
Males presented with name and title: 21	Un-named females: 29
	Males alone: 21
Females presented with name and title: 4	Females alone: 3
	Group pictures: 8

Power point presentation by mentees March, 2013
Example from KI.

NOBEL PRIZE

5% female Nobel Prize winners, 1901-2011

Between 1901 and 2011, the Nobel Prizes and the Prize in Economic Sciences were awarded 549 times to 853 people and organizations. With some receiving the Nobel Prize more than once, this makes a total of 826 individuals and 20 organizations.

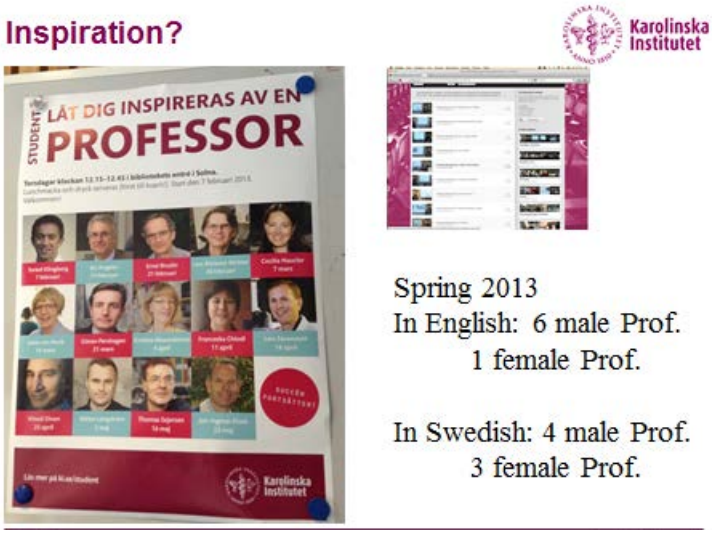
The Nobel Prizes - Physics, Chemistry, Physiology or Medicine, Literature and Peace - and Prize in Economic Sciences in memory of Alfred Nobel, have been awarded to women 40 times between 1901 and 2011. Only one woman, Marie Curie, has been honored twice, with the 1903 Nobel Prize in Physics and the 1911 Nobel Prize in Chemistry. This means that 43 women in total have been awarded the Nobel Prize between 1901 and 2011. (www.nobelprize.org).

(Example of gender inequality in the academy by mentees of Mentor4Equality)

Sociologist Jeff Hearn has described academia as a masculine gendered organization and a context in which masculinity is produced and reproduced. The more an organization is dominated by men and the more homosocial it is – the more it will be perceived as gender neutral according to Hearn. This may partly explain why a senior researcher at one department at KI defines his department as woman dominated even though there is an equal number of women and men working there:

My work place was mistakenly called woman-dominated by one of these gentlemen (there is an equal number of men and women), but the women are predominately administrators or teachers, and if scientists they have a time-limited employment. Men are associate professors or professors.

Hearn argues that it is of utmost importance to change men and their positions in the universities and in the university cultures in order for women's position and the gendered cultures to change. Cultures dominated by men in academia need to be open to discussion, assessment, critique and change.[75]



Mentee power point presentation March, 2013

A culture without culture – meritocracy rules?

International as well as national research on academia has pointed out that there is a tension between the male dominated hierarchical structures of the organizations and a self-image in which gender is not seen as relevant. Furthermore, the self-image is that institutions of higher education and research are firmly founded in meritocratic and gender neutral principles.[76]

In a Swedish dissertation sociologist Maria Thörnqvist (2006) discusses the academic self- image. She argues that meritocracy is considered an objective system which does not discriminate against or favor individuals on the basis of which group they belong to. The meritocratic system is perceived as meriting de facto knowledge, competence and intelligence. As scientific results are regarded as independent of the researcher there is no need for representativity among academic staff. Any attempt to problematize this assumption will be met by resistance.[77]

The resistance to question one's own academic culture has been researched on the departmental level. When speaking about gender equality on a principal level, views of the academics interviewed, are quite consistent with official gender equality policy at university level. At the same time, *differences* between women and men are continuously emphasized as well as perceived problems with women and what is perceived as *women's problems*.[78]

Gender norms

Both women and men may be socially punished for not living up to norms of good masculinity and good femininity and norms for sexuality. A Swedish man wearing a skirt is clearly breaking a norm for gender. Good femininity is associated with being helpful. Mentees reflect on how and why it is difficult for women to say no:



Information brochure about KI. Also shown on monitors at KI. The second woman from the left is the former Dean of Education, Prof. Sari Ponzer.

-The importance of saying no in different situations in a polite way is crucial for equal opportunities in a research career.

- Regarding a study of children – we raise girls differently. Girls are pretty and boys are tough and girls of school age did not say no as often as boys.

- Girls/women feel bad when saying no and not being polite and helpful. The first time is hard to say no – but after that easier and giving the signals that there are more important things to do.

*A woman who says no is a **trouble maker** which makes it difficult to proceed with your career (Mentee).*

Men are pictured/judged through work and females through their looks. (Mentee analysis of photos in KI-bladet)

Women in the academy have to deal with norms of good femininity which clash with (masculine) norms for what constitutes an ideal successful researcher. They both risk being seen as unfeminine - bitches - if they compete for an academic career - and they risk being judged as not having what it takes to become a successful researcher if they do not want to play according to traditional academic norms, or simply because they are women. Mentees have made observations of how women having careers at KI many times are regarded as "bitches" for behaviors not commented upon in the same derogatory manner when found in men. The epithet “bitch” in these cases is a reflection of how women in academia are socially punished when not displaying what is regarded as good femininity – a punishment which reduces women to their gender.

Furthermore, the academy has been described by researchers as permeated by a heteronormative order in which women have to deal with expectations of them being sexually available and supportive to men.[79] This heteronormative order is mirrored in pictures of *KI-bladet* in which men are to a larger extent than women portrayed in their professional roles – and center stage – whereas women more often are portrayed smiling and listening to men. Such images

Gender norms in KI-bladet

Mentees have analyzed 38 issues, 2007-2012, of *KI-bladet* from a gender perspective. The description below refers to observed gender differences in *patterns* of how women and men are portrayed in photographs. (There are also some photographs which do not follow this pattern and in which men and women are e.g. portrayed on par with each other and in which women are portrayed center stage in their professional role.)

Women in photos often are:

- associated with the body, health, exercise and stress. For instance, articles on health and exercise often are illustrated with photos of women.
- portrayed *posing* and *not* in relation to their professional role – or *not* paying attention/being serious in relation to their work.
- portrayed smiling and as bystanders.

- **Men in photos often are**:
- associated with work and technical gadgets in the work place.
- portrayed in their professional role.
- portrayed center stage.

reinforce the idea of research as a male domain, naturally dominated by (mostly white) men.



Issue: 1/ Year: 07 "KI-bladet"



Issue: 1/ Year: 08



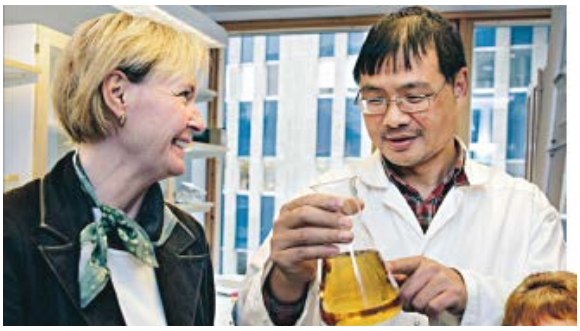
Issue: 1/ Year: 12 "KI-bladet"



Issue: 4/ Year: 07 "KI-bladet"



Issue: 2/ Year: 09 "KI-bladet"



Issue: 6/ Year: 07 "KI-bladet"



Issue: 1/ Year: 08 "KI-bladet"



Mentee power point presentation, March 21, 2013. Men are associated/photographed with technical gadgets and in their professional role. Photographs in "KI-bladet".

Men as norm

In a study conducted by ethnologist Angela Nilsson it was evident that only interviewed women academics at KI were aware of the significance of their gender in the organization whereas the men generally did not consider their gender to be relevant.[80] The women feel that they need to relate to being women in the organization regardless of their own will to do so. This generates a feeling of powerlessness.

The higher position you have in academia – makes you less aware of inequalities.
(Mentee)

When you emphasize a woman's sex, you inevitably end up dismissing her science.
(Finkbeiner)

As has been discussed before, it is when you fit the norm that it is generally more difficult to recognize structural inequalities which affect women and minority groups.


KI INNOVATION

– Poetiskt med labbmiljöer

Slumpen gjorde Mona Ståhle till forskare – och **innovatör**

Professor Mona Ståhle borde egentligen lida av svårartad hjärtklappning.
När hon förstår hur något fungerar klappar nämligen hennes forskarhjärta fortare.

Är det något denna kluriga skånska är bra på så är det att förstå hur saker fungerar. Med nio patentansökningar, och

blev det hudkliniken som svarade först, och på den slumpartade vägen är det.

Hon blev snabbt intresserad av dermatologi, men det skulle dröja några år innan hon upptäckte tjusningen med att vara en "labbnörd".

– När hela familjen åkte till USA i slutet av 80-talet passade jag på att jobba på olika labb där.

tiv och förmågan att koppla ihop olika bitar i pusslet. Kanske skadar det inte att våga tänka lite på tvärs också.

Mona Ståhle grundade år 2003 KD-bolaget Li-popeptide (biologisk sårläkning) tillsammans med doktor Johan Heilborn vid KI. Ytterligare ett bolag är i startfas,

Issue: 2/ Year: 08. Headline: - *Lab environments are poetic. Mona Ståhle became researcher by chance.* Women researchers are portrayed posing "standing in style". In this headline she is, furthermore, described as passively becoming a researcher and not as active in pursuing a career in research.


KVINNLIGA KI-TANDLÄKARE GÅR LÅNGT

Flera av samhällets toppar läste tandläkarprogrammet

Issue: 3/ Year: 10. Headline: *KI women dentists are successful.*An example of how sex is emphasized in relation to women professionals.

Females are always shown in a pose, where she is in business suit and standing in style, smiling which does not reflect her actual profession or position she is holding.
(Mentee analysis of pictures in KI-bladet)

Woman as body – man as intellect

Women were to a larger extent than men associated with exercise outside of the work situation in the pictures of *KI-bladet.* Men are to a larger extent than women associated with technology which belongs in the work place.

Finkbeiner test

for stories about women in science.

The test could apply to profiles of women in other fields, too.

To pass the Finkbeiner test, the story cannot mention

- The fact that she's a woman
- Her husband's job
- Her child care arrangements
- How she nurtures her underlings
- How she was taken aback by the competitiveness in her field
- How she's such a role model for other women
- How she's the "first woman to…"

"Here's another trick. Take the things that are said about a female subject and flip them around as if they were said about a male. If they sound ridiculous, then chances are good they have no business in the story. /…./

It's not that Finkbeiner objects to drawing attention to successful female scientists. The issue, she says, is that when you emphasize a woman's sex, you inevitably end up dismissing her science." (Christie Aschwanden . Authored by DXS Contributor on March 5, 2013







Issue: 2/ Year: 08







Många läkemedel mot muntorrhet ger biverkningar. Calabar, ett bolag i KD-portföljen genomför en studie av en ny produkt mot besvären.
Foto: SCANPIX

Issue: 2/ Year: 08.

Front pages on the left: Portraits of two successful researchers. The woman is portrayed passively posing "standing in style" with her back towards "the frontline" whereas the man below has an active role symbolizing his making of a "straight professional road to success".
Front pages on the right: The recently elected woman Pro-Vice-Chancellor of KI is portrayed in a passive pose which does not reflect her professional role – and the man Vice- Chancellor of KI is portrayed in an active role symbolizing his "entering" his new professional role at KI.

The association of women with the body may be related to a western tradition of separating body and intellect. Women are traditionally associated with the home and the private sphere whereas the public domain traditionally has been a domain for men. This association of women and the private sphere and men with the public sphere is mirrored in the gendered dichotomy of body and intellect within academia. Political scientist Maud Eduards describes the academy as historically characterized by a dichotomy between body and intellect.[81]

In this pervasive western tradition women are associated with reproduction and hence are excluded and not considered suitable for education and knowledge. Men are considered capable of knowledge which transcends the body and nature whereas women who would like to gain rational knowledge have to struggle to overcome their bodily functions. Eduards points out that women always have been exposed to resistance from the academy regardless of how few or how many they have been. She explains this as: "women are and continue to be (the wrong) gender, an anomaly in the realm of science which leads thoughts in the wrong direction."[82]



Mentee power point presentation, March, 2013. Women are associated with/photographed on subjects such as health, physical training and stress . Photographs in "KI-bladet".

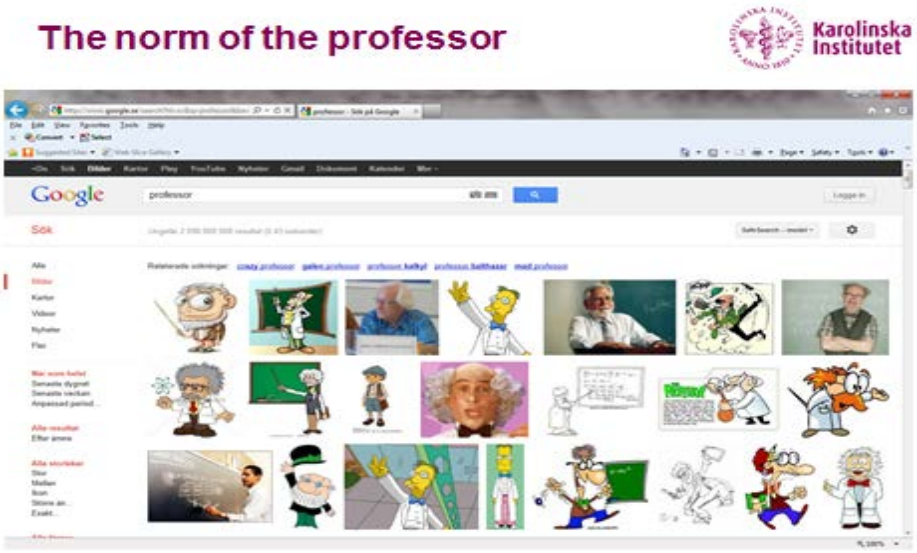


Article on harassment in the workplace. The picture may, reinforce a view of harassment as a "women's problem" and not as a responsibility of men as well.. Health and stress are commonly associated with women in photographs. Issue: 2/ Year: 08.

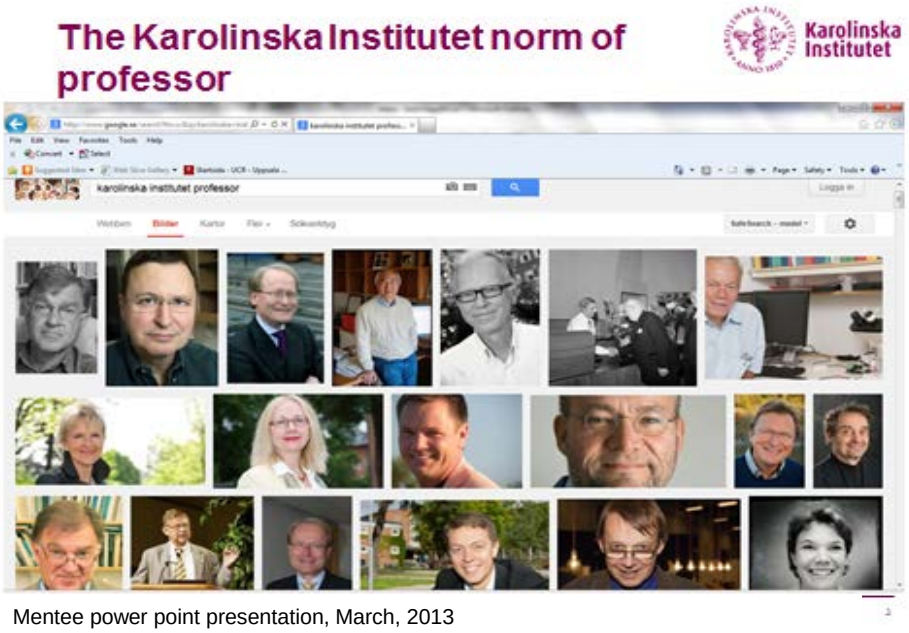
Is the ideal researcher ethnified and gendered?

Well - start by googling professor and click images and you'll see the ideal.
(Mentee power point presentation March 21, 2013)

Even though some aspects the public image of the white, male and sometimes nutty professor may somewhat diverge from ideals within academia – studies do confirm the gendered nature of the ideal researcher.



Mentee power point presentation, March, 2013



Mentee power point presentation, March, 2013

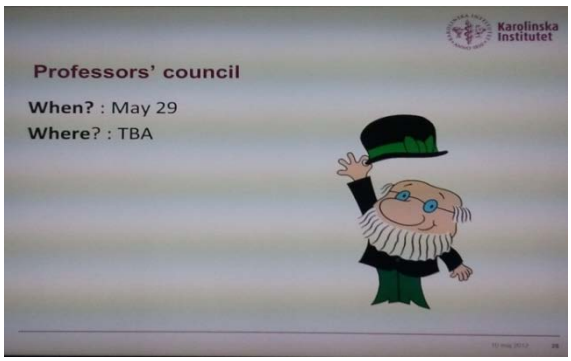
The ideal researcher at KI is a male with a medical degree performing 100% science. *(PhD-student at KI)*

A common reflection is that men and women prioritize differently regarding family/children vs work. This is not always true. *(postdoc at KI)*

In a study at University of Gothenburg there was a striking unanimity regarding what constitutes an ideal researcher.[83] Co-workers who conduct research are felt to be rewarded if they are highly competitive, persevering, goal oriented, and prioritize succeeding in research over all other areas in life. To show a high level of presence at work – way exceeding normal work hours – is considered a basic

qualification. Furthermore, the ideals are recognized as connected to conceptions of what men and masculinity are.[84] Presumptions about men and women in relation to the ideal researcher diverge. Women are presumed to prioritize family obligations, which distance women from the position of the ideal researcher even when they do emulate the ideal.[85] The above mentioned study at the University of Gothenburg concluded that what currently constitutes the ideal researcher was questioned by both younger women and men, whereas senior academics embrace it to a larger extent.[86]

Neither men nor women PhD-students are very enthusiastic about entering a career path under the above mentioned conditions. Especially young women emphasize the discrepancy between themselves and the ideal researcher. Furthermore, they express more strongly than the men unwillingness to adapt to the ideal.[87] One mentee reflects on the issue: "It seems to be very hard to combine a research career with a life, especially family life."



Mentee power point presentation, June 2012.
Example from KI.

A gendered and ethnified grim culture

The academic culture has been described as harsh and tough at KI as well as at other universities.[88] One mentee describes "belittling" as "built into the system at KI". We have seen that the ideal researcher is masculine and that there is a patriarchal historical legacy in the academy. Furthermore, the socialization into becoming a researcher may sometimes be described as a masculine "rite de passage" – you need to go through a "steel bath" – in order to be fully accepted as a member of the research community. One postdoc describes the harshness and competitiveness:

From the very beginning when I started to work at KI I have been told that only the best survive and that if I don´t perform according to that I´m out. That I should be thankful that KI gives me the opportunity to do my PhD here. It´s always all about what I can do for KI and why they should hire me. Do I get a lot of grants? Publish in high impact journals?

She describes how performance and success in research is connected to the individual, as if the individual is constituted of an isolated unit, who should be able to perform and compete under any circumstances. This view of the strong independent and, when needed, aggressive individual – who is "in control" is a highly gendered view of what constitutes necessary qualities for success in research and for researchers to be successful. As we have seen – research performance is, time and time again, dependent on both the individual and the environment (such as the group). To relate success in research only to a perceived isolated individual – with no interests outside the academy or other needs – is quite contrary to how facilitating factors for creative research is described by research in the field. For instance one factor mentioned is the nurturing environment, in which, criticism is meted out with sensitivity.[89]

The harshness – such as different forms of unequal treatment – may then constitute part of the everyday experience at KI of both women and men of Swedish and other nationalities. Professor Anders Gustafsson, Dean of Doctoral Education at KI, comments the large rate of reports of harassment and discrimination of doctoral students in the *Exit Poll*:

There's a generally rather harsh attitude at KI, which I think has also come out in our staff surveys. We need a change of culture. We're too accepting of or, blind to this kind of conduct. Compare it with the zero-tolerance shown to scientific fraud, which no one would ever be allowed to get away with. Imagine if we treated harassment just as importantly. [90]

Some women and individuals with another national background than Swedish are, in addition to the general harshness, experiencing unequal treatment and discrimination based on their gender and/or ethnicity.

In a recent study at the University of Gothenburg women were perceived as being treated with more skepticism than men, as receiving more negative criticism and less speaking time at meetings.[91] Mentees in the KI-project have observed women

PhD-students having their work "cut to pieces" by supervisors or other seniors. Sometimes with the intent to "test" if you are able to receive "critique" and sometimes due to other reasons such as power struggles between senior researchers.

Women's experiences of above mentioned treatments may partly explain why men dominate the speaking space at many conferences. A PhD-student describes how men dominate speaking time at conferences even when women are in a clear majority:

At the end of every lecture a question session ensued. Although the majority of the auditorium consisted of women, about 90 % of the questions were from men. One man asked questions after every session.

At another conference, where the quoted PhD- student above observed speaking space, the result was that men talked twice as much, although women outnumbered the men 4:1. In this case both the status and age were involved as most of the men were medical doctors and most of the women were nurses. It is evident that there is a need to have someone chairing meetings like this, someone who encourages all present to participate.

Who and what is excellent?

In an evaluation of management structures of KI – organization and culture – the evaluators point out KI culture as one of the areas in need of change.[92] KI is described as a university with elitist characteristics. This is perceived by the evaluators as good in the sense that KI has a very strong ”trade mark”.

It´s barely time for doing "well thought through" research where there is time to sit down and think about your results or formulate new hypotheses. I don´t understand how this goes hand in hand with doing excellent research. To be able to compete I have to work 24/7. (postdoc at KI)

Furthermore, they think KI staff may regard it as a privilege to work in the organization. However, they do see down sides, such as a culture which sometimes is characterized by a lack of generosity and substantial differences in status between research groups and between education and research.

Nilsson describes a self-image and thought style of *excellence* at KI – of being "special" – with connotations to nobility which contributes to obscuring power structures and to a culture of silence.[93] The image of excellence is an abstraction which is not recognized in the day to day activities of people in the organization. Despite this, the image creates a wish to be part of the imagined "excellence". One consequence is that it is not regarded as proper behavior to be openly critical of, for instance, work conditions and if you are, you may be subjected to reprisals.[94]

Furthermore, excellence seems to be a quality associated with men. A study commissioned by the *Delegation for Gender Equality in Higher Education*, carried out by professor Agnes Wold, professor Ulf Sandström and PhD Birgitta Jordansson *Hans excellens: om miljardsatsningarna på starka forskningsmiljöer* the authors show how political initiatives on excellence and strong research environments have had a strikingly negative effect on gender equality. A low estimate is that one billion Swedish crowns have been reallocated from women to men.

In a study of gender equality in a selection of the *Swedish Research Council's* evaluation panel – differences regarding how women and men and their applications were evaluated were observed. In one panel: "several of the male applicants who were proposed to receive funding were described as "excellent", which was not used for a single woman in the same panel."[95] The gendering of excellence has been studied in a comparative international perspective as well. Liisa Husu and Paula Koskinen who conducted the study argue: "A central challenge for gender-sensitive science and research policy is how to combine the promotion of scientific excellence with the promotion of gender equality."[96]

Exclusionary interaction

The second theme which has been assessed in the project is based on Joan Acker's theory of gendered processes in organizations. Acker labels this process *Interaction between individuals.* Liisa Husu's dissertation on discrimination of academic women in Finland has been used as inspiration to investigate different forms of unequal treatment and discrimination at KI.[97]

Ethnic segregation

Mentees have observed segregation between different nationalities at KI. It is well known that networks are important for academic careers, consequently segregation may be an obstacle for women and men of other nationalities than Swedish in their aiming at an academic career.

I observed that people have organized their ethnic or nationality groups in KI. This is very much visible when you see them sitting, eating together and chatting in their language. It seems very difficult for the person of different ethnicity/nationality to join other groups, e.g. it is almost impossible for me to enter into Chinese or Swedish group. Once I noticed my friend from a non-European country sitting and having lunch alone. When asking him why he doesn't join the others who were having their lunch at another table, he said that he is not comfortable sitting there with them since people will be stressed because of his presence and stop talking freely.

Isolation

A woman PhD-student at KI with a "mixed" national background describes how she is isolated from the rest of the PhD-group and thus is given no positive attention in a very important academic setting:

I feel like I don't belong in my supervisor's group. Every time there is a meeting I'm alone and I don't have any company to talk to. It doesn't seem like I'm counted as a member of the group since I was not given a copy of a number of dissertations by members of the group.

Homosociality

In research on gender relations in organizations, *homosociality is* a central concept. It has been used in order to explain why men still constitute a majority in top leadership positions. The concept describes how men tend to orient themselves towards other men due to a perceived "sameness" – the first selection mechanism is a perceived sameness due to biological sex and the second is due to socio-economic and cultural "sameness".

Homosocial processes of interaction may therefore contribute to the exclusion and marginalization of women and of those men who are not perceived as similar to men in power. An informal power structure is formed and upheld, whose members are in a position to influence outcomes of different processes and decisions as they have access to important contacts, information and so forth. [98]

Why is it difficult to find out about all the different employments at KI? (Mentee)

Being in this hierarchical structure is easier if you have parents/family in research positions. (Mentee)

In a recent study at the University of Gothenburg the interviewees perceived the existence of a homosocial structure in which men in high positions chose men who resemble themselves as their "crown princes".[99] Wahl et. al. argues that competence and what is understood as academic merit is constructed from the stand point of an academic culture in which men orient themselves in relation to other men and acknowledge and affirm each other as well.[100] Mentees have made observations of such networks at KI which have been described in terms like "inbreeding" and that they promote nepotism.[101]

In a coming study in which women at KI are interviewed on the subject of the male dominance of final candidates in the recent election of a new Dean of research at KI, interviewees express similar issues of unclear selection processes and criteria for who is asked to be a candidate. The women also question the assumption that women turn down offers to candidate.[102]

Hostility

Some of the most blatant forms of unequal treatment observed at KI have been in relation to women and men with other national backgrounds than Swedish.[103] One postdoc experienced very hostile treatment of her and a PhD student from a non-European country by a Swedish academic:

I experienced this incident at KI, which I never reported. A PhD candidate from a non-European country joined my working group and I took him to the common coffee/tee room to show the coffee machines. Because of the malfunctioning of the machine, the water started oozing out of it after he took the coffee, which he did not notice. He then joined the table where I was sitting with two other friends. One of the friends is from

another non-European country, another was Swedish with origin from a non-European country – thus all of us did not have "Swedish" appearance and we were talking in English. Looking at the water at the floor, a Swedish woman having 'fika' with another male colleague thought it was my fault and the fault of the non-European PhD candidate, yelled at us with derogatory remarks and ordering us to go and clean the floor. All that she said was in Swedish, thinking that being non-Swedish, we will not understand. Since this incident happened in my early months of joining KI, when I had no Swedish skills, I could not understand what she was saying. However, one of my friends who was Swedish (with a non-European origin) listened to all her remarks and replied in Swedish that if she has the courage then she should say in English as they (we) are non-Swedish. He translated her remarks to me, which goes something like "The people from such undeveloped countries come to work here and don't even know how to operate a coffee machine and I don't know who invites them here". On getting a reply in Swedish from my friend, she realized that her remarks had been understood and she said something really bad. Realizing that might create big problem for her, her male colleague came to us to give consolation. This was the bad incident in my early days at KI which I will never forget for the rest of my life.

"Invisibility"

The following example illustrates how women sometimes are made "invisible" in relation to men colleagues and by men colleagues:

I was invited as an expert together with three other researchers to a meeting with some politicians. The other researchers were two male professors and a female professor. The meeting was scheduled to two hours and all researchers were asked to bring a presentation. No information was given regarding the time for each presentation. The organizer, a professor emeritus, asked the two male professors to start with their presentations. The first took his opportunity to argue for his idea of how the politicians should work with this specific question. He spoke about 35-40 minutes of the total time. The second professor continued and talked about his work for about the same time (35-40 minutes). When he finished his speech it was about 25 minutes left of the meeting. That was the time that I should share with the female professor for our contributions. The plan was also to have some time left for discussions in the end of the meeting. I took about 10 minutes of the remaining 25 minutes for my presentation and I shortened it to give time for the female professor. It was interesting to see that the two former presenters took as much time as they could without even thinking of the others to come. They didn´t even comment on the fact that we barely had no time to present our work.

It was interesting to see that the two former presenters took as much time as they could without even thinking of the others to come.
(PhD-student at KI)

One PhD-student has observed cases when professors are giving important talk opportunities to men students/postdocs simply because they appear to believe that men could do a better job than women.

Belittling and lack of encouragement

Belittling is described by one mentee as "built in to the system" at KI. Senior men colleagues are observed to sometimes belittling and objectifying women colleagues through for example commenting on their looks, inviting them to lunch (rather than encouraging their scientific work) and so forth. One mentee comments:

Women do not want comments on their looks, but on the scientific work (for instance during a presentation).

A doctoral student describes belittling at her work place:

My work place is full of Nice Guys, Swedish and of the age 45-55 on high positions. They are friendly and appreciative of the type "you're clever" (Sw. "vad duktig du är") or "you're hair looks nice" (Sw. "vad fin du är i håret").

Comments like "good girl" with a patronizing voice from men in senior positions are common according to mentees. In a study at KTH there are similar observations of how junior women researchers are called "able" (Sw. duktig) whereas the same term is not used about men junior researchers.[104] – As if they are surprised and have to praise the women.

He seriously considered quitting his PhD studies. *(PhD-student at KI)*

Mentees relate many observations of lack of encouragement from senior colleagues. Unsupportive behavior may in the long run discourage talented students and postdocs to pursue a research career in favor of dropping out from KI.

A PhD- student was very discouraged by a meeting he had with his two male supervisors. They were discussing some aspects of his PhD project and during the whole meeting one of the supervisors was not looking at the student and was speaking above his head. The student felt that he was treated with disrespect and asked the supervisor to look at him when talking to him. After the meeting the supervisor was very upset and took the student aside and told him that "this is not the way to speak to one's supervisor". He also mentioned something about different cultures (the student has not lived his whole life in Sweden but considers himself perfectly Swedish). This whole situation made the student very uneasy and with a feeling of lack of trust. He seriously considered quitting his PhD studies or at least changing supervisor. This is not the only reason but rather the straw that broke the camel's back (Sw. "droppen som fick bägaren att rinna över").

The status difference at KI between researchers and PhD- students who have- or don't have a medical doctor´s degree has been described elsewhere[105] and is also

observed in this program. One postdoc describes a situation when she was belittled because of not being a medical doctor/student:

In the beginning of my PhD-education at a group meeting (a specific topic) was discussed. As this was new to me I asked about the pathways but got the answer from my female medical supervisor that I shouldn't care (Sw. du behöver inte bry ditt huvud med detta) for this was too difficult for me (not being a medical student and also therefore not needing to learn). I felt I needed to learn and therefore I experienced this as very patronizing of her, but I was too inexperienced to know what to expect- to know if she would discuss this with me later on or not. Now I know she didn't.

Jokes

Jokes about Chinese and Indian colleagues are observed to be common at KI. Jokes with sexual undertones directed at women have been observed as well. Jokes are often effective abusive devices as they are difficult to counter for those targeted.[106] One mentee describes how the person who confronts "the joker" risks being ridiculed through comments like "It's just a joke". Jokes are perceived by mentees as to "difficult to confront as you are dependent on your supervisor or Principal Investigator (PI). Jokes make you adapt and adjust to norms you are not really supporting."

Jokes make you adapt and adjust to norms you are not really supporting (PhD-student)

A male medical doctor and researcher invites women scientists to lunches and they can´t say no. After an experiment he suggests lunch by using his senior position. Offering a chance to be in the publication list instead of lunch? A behavioral pattern which is difficult to break. (PhD-student at KI)

The objectification and sexualization of women

Paying attention to women's physical attractiveness instead of her professional performance is a familiar phenomenon.[107]

Sometimes the objectification of women is more explicit than commenting on a nice hairdo or inviting women colleagues to lunch instead of giving support to their research careers. A woman PhD-student describes the shock of being judged by her looks:

I was having a pleasant conversation with a distinguished Professor X during a conference break. Suddenly Professor X saw Professor Y (another very distinguished persona, from KI). He waved to him inviting him to join the conversation: "You should meet Kristina, she is a very promising young researcher". Professor Y smiled from a distance before disappearing in the crowd: "Well, I don't know that, but I can see that she is very good looking". I was so shocked that I couldn't utter a word. I don't remember if we both ever commented on that or continued with the conversation. If my

self-esteem was weak, I might start questioning the agenda of Professor X, but fortunately I didn't have to.

The (hetero)sexualization may take physical forms. A PhD-student relates a situation in which her research group leader intentionally touches her hip:

I hope that I'll find words and strengths to say something when it happens.
(Phd-student at KI)

In my case it happened last week, the research group leader touched my hip and I froze immediately. I wish that everyone would start thinking 'would I do the same if this person was older/younger/man/gay/asian' - whatever - but we need to get into the minds of these people in power in order for them to actually start reflecting on their behavior. As for the consequences. Well - I will try to never stand close to him. And I hope that I'll find words and strengths to say something when it happens.

As in the previous example it is evident how profound the effects may be for the woman who is inappropriately sexualized. It is emotionally harmful and has other serious consequences such as, for example, all the energy which the affected woman in the last example needs to put into not getting too close to the research group leader again, worrying about if it will happen again and how to deal with that. Also she may have to worry about if something worse may happen. All of this takes time and energy away from her work.

A PhD-student relates an instance when a supervisor – who is otherwise quite supportive – publicly makes a joke with sexual connotations about them going to a conference together.

The objectification and sexualization of women may be analyzed as parts of a continuum of sexual violence against women. The British sociologist Liz Kelly defines sexual violence against women as: "...any physical, visual, verbal or sexual act that is experienced by the woman or girl, at the time or later, as a threat, invasion or assault that has the effect of hurting her or degrading her and/or takes away her ability to control intimate contact".[108] To analyze sexual violence against women as a continuum helps to discern the connection between "extreme" forms and more "normal" forms of violence against women, as well as seeing them as parts of the structural gender inequalities in our society. It is also crucial to focus on the reactions of the target of those approaches, not on the intention of the perpetrator.

Political scientist Maria Wendt Höjer has, in her dissertation, pointed out that women to a large extent live with a latent fear and threat of being sexually assaulted. This fear decreases women's space for action and makes them alert to the behavior of men. A consequence is that even what may seem as a "trivial" sign or episode may actualize women's vulnerability to sexual violence. In the words of Wendt Höjer:

To be objectified is degrading, and also very frightening, as becoming a thing inevitably means to become bodily vulnerable. This line of reasoning makes it possible to understand the strong feelings of uneasiness which comes with experiencing objectification and sexualization. Seemingly a trivial and innocent episode - a word, a glance or a gesture may suffice - elucidates the risk of physical assault. [109]

Some senior men researchers' judging women by their looks may generate the effect of "rewarding" colleagues/juniors when they find them attractive. One woman researcher at KI means that she, with increasing age, is no longer confronted as much as previously by men colleagues objectifying her, but that she now has to protect younger women colleagues:

As time is adding years to my age and merits to my CV, the situations become different. Now I have tactfully to protect my younger team members from situations like this (objectification). I remember once, when we were scheduling a working dinner concerning a specific project - one of my international colleagues insisted in inviting my young colleague (who was not involved in that project). Another international colleague emailed her directly proposing frank sexual invitations. What was interesting in the whole scenario was, when she was about to be employed, she was chosen by a senior researcher at KI over somebody else who was more experienced.

Another international colleague emailed her directly proposing frank sexual invitations. *(postdoc at KI)*

In one related case it is a fellow PhD-student (Y) who was the offender. The abusive student started with the harassment of X when he arrived abroad to the project (which they both worked with):

When meeting Y he claims to be very happy to see her, he starts to comment on her looks in a way that he has never done before and wants to take her out, tells her that he would like for the two of them to "have some fun together in the evening".[110] *X feels very uncomfortable with the suggestion and tries her level best to get out of the situation. After some time Y becomes hostile towards her and gives her the cold shoulder. X is blaming herself for the situation and thinks she has been doing something wrong. As months pass the abused PhD-student loses weight and get depressed. She seeks help from her supervisor who tells her "it will probably be fine".*

The example conveys how victims of sexualization, harassment and discrimination often feel that they themselves are to blame. This self-blame is not very strange when looking into different aspects of the situation.[111] One aspect is the cultural history of "blaming the victim", even by the judicial system, e.g. in sexually related offences

through questioning how the woman was dressed at the time of the crime.[112] The example makes clear the need for supervisors to be informed and prepared to deal with these kinds of situations.

Attractiveness seems to be mysteriously correlated to ability to guarantee a safe flight or to conduct high quality research. *(postdoc at KI)*

One researcher describes the complexity of balancing in the academic landscape where men's sexualization of women plays a role:

> *What worries me is the ongoing but quite subtle objectification of women based on their looks in a research setting. In many labs the situation looks similar to plane crews: attractive women are overrepresented. Attractiveness seems to be mysteriously correlated to ability to guarantee a safe flight or to conduct high quality research. I could list many examples of situations when positive affirmation based on attractiveness is causing problems. They are often very subtle and difficult to deal with in a correct, diplomatic way. It requires competence to tackle the situation elegantly so, for example, your international colleague won't lose face. But of course the primary goal is to ensure that my female colleagues are not discriminated and belittled and that staff working on our project is involved because of the competence and not because of unspoken relations or perceived attractiveness. It will be interesting to see if the new requirements to make the recruitment process more transparent at KI will result in any change. Personally, in case of an emergency I prefer to have an experienced flight attendant, other qualities are secondary.*

The sexualization and objectification of women thus undermines the credibility of women pursuing academic careers. *(Mentee)*

Women in academia are walking a thin line when sexualized by men in senior positions. A consequence of women being judged and treated in relation to their perceived attractiveness is that they are questioned or joked about when receiving positions or aiming at an academic career. One PhD student comments: "In everyday work, it is quite frequent to hear jokes about how easy it is for women to get doctoral degrees, resources, help, etc."

One day I was wearing a short skirt and a male colleague commented: "I cannot focus/work when you wear that short skirt". I never wore that skirt again... *(PhD-student at KI)*

Another consequence is that women adjust their clothing in order to be taken seriously and in order not to be sexualized. This adjustment of appearance sometimes is made in relation to a perceived norm which says that women should be – not too attractive and not too unattractive (Sw. "lagom attraktiva") - in order to pass. According to research from the perspective of *objectification theory* within psychology, habitual monitoring of one's body together with decreased

productivity may be consequences for women and girls in a culture that sexually objectifies the female body in the work place.[113] Mentees of the program confirm such observations: ”Objectification of women is always present, you think of how you dress every day and what signals this sends out. This leads to a strange shift of focus from what you do to how you look.” This conclusion sums up the devastating effect objectification may have on women not being allowed to concentrate on their work without distractions.

Consequences and coping strategies

Over a long time span, gender discrimination was, in Husus' research, linked to depression, anxiety, mental fatigue, insomnia, in the worst cases panic disorders, burnout and even suicide attempts.[114] Gender discrimination also influenced how academic women assessed their future opportunities. Furthermore, such experiences were negatively influencing wellbeing and *work ability.*

Women PhD-students are overrepresented among these taking long sick-leaves and Eva Källhammer (2008) has, in a study, concluded that there is a correlation between men's and women's work conditions, (non)health and *career possibilities.*[115]

Discrimination has been shown to be strongly correlated with bad health [116] and the effects of everyday racism also should not be underestimated, with negative health consequences for the individuals affected.[117]

A cumulative effect that breaks you down if it happens over and over again. (Mentee)

The observations of the mentees in this program confirm how experiences of unequal treatment and discrimination may have profound negative effects for the exposed individual. In addition these obstacles prevent such persons from doing their very best at work. *Hence KI is losing talent, innovative and creative work input.*

One PhD-student who had experienced a situation with a combined racist and sexist treatment described the event as a personal trauma. As has been mentioned before, more subtle forms of discrimination observed by mentees may have

serious cumulative effects over time. Feelings of anger and irritation are mentioned as immediate responses to discrimination and unequal treatment. One mentee describes the effect of: "*Silent mobbing* based on ethnicity – invisibility by certain groups or individuals. A cumulative effect that breaks you down if it happens over and over again."

Seemingly "trivial" singular events may have serious consequences for the person affected. Such negative effects of objectification and sexualization have been observed at KI. It is evident from the observations in this program, which confirms Husu's findings, that processing experiences and events of unequal treatment and discrimination *takes time and energy which could have been used in research or other activities*.

It's subtle and difficult to define. More like a feeling. You feel bad and it is reflected in your decreasing self-confidence. It brings you down and shifts your focus, Instead of paying attention to your research. You become inefficient in your work. What did I do wrong? /.../ Self-blame... (PHD-student at KI)

Not fitting the norm of, for example the (masculine, white) ideal researcher, is described by one mentee as having the effect of making you feel inferior and as a consequence you are also ignored. Neither situation enhances creativity and ability to work.

The examples and citations in this report are used as illustrations of *patterns* of unequal treatment and discrimination which mentees have observed. The patterns are confirmed by previous studies at KI as well as by studies of other academic contexts.[118] Previous research has pointed out that patterns of discrimination may sometimes take time for the affected individual to acknowledge.[119] It may only be later in one's career that you are able to connect previous experiences as unequal treatment based on gender, ethnicity etc. Another path to recognize patterns of discrimination and unequal treatment is education about such structures and to have the opportunity to discuss experiences and observations in a setting which does not dismiss or minimize your experiences and observations. All too often the academic context does not provide any including and accepting space - which makes it hard for those affected to have their experiences validated.[120] This is also the case in society in general when it comes to acknowledging experiences of,

e.g. sexual violence (such as sexual harassment).[121] Research has pointed out how women who are exposed to sexual violence as a coping strategy tend to minimize and downplay the significance of their experiences.[122] One reason for women's minimizing strategy, according to sociologist Liz Kelly, is to avoid getting abused again through the ridicule she risks by making the violence/harassment public.[123]

One effect of being situated in a work place in which co-workers and management do not acknowledge inequalities – is that those affected by unequal treatment and discrimination may start to question themselves and their experiences through, for example, self-blame.

Coping strategies

Husu has divided the coping strategies she found among academic women into two categories: acting and reflection strategies. Acting strategies are divided into three groups: personal, interactional and organizational strategies. Even though coping strategies have not been focused within this project several of the above mentioned strategies have been observed. Examples of personal strategies such as conscious monitoring of one's body and behavior, choosing certain clothing and make-up[124] are discussed under the heading *The objectification and sexualization of women.*

Discouraging comments or forms of interactions leading to low self-esteem and not speaking up at meetings etc, leading to problems of launching your research ideas. (Mentee analysis)

Working harder is mentioned as a coping strategy as well as adapting to the "glass ceiling" in order to survive, and that the structure "moves inside your head". This may be interpreted as women lowering their ambitions and/or accepting the view that (some) men are more competent than they are when this, in fact, not is the case. Furthermore, mentees have observed women who leave academia as a result of the unequal treatment they have experienced. Husu discusses the coping strategy of leaving academia in relation to the women in her study and observes

that some of these women are highly gifted and successful women that academia has lost.

One postdoc at KI with another national background than Swedish, frustrated about the unequal treatment he experienced, relates how he was given the advice by a co-worker of a non-Swedish background: Never to compare himself with Swedes but only with non-Swedes.

Mentees have described how lack of encouragement may lead to a vicious circle: "Discouraging comments or forms of interaction leading to low self-esteem and not speaking up at meetings etc, leading to problems of launching your research ideas."

At first we try to deliver – but then we just become quiet. Almost shy. *(Mentee)*

The following quotes from three mentees illustrate how they recognize each other's observations of unequal treatment and discrimination at KI – and what they think may be some of its consequences.

They also relate a couple of coping strategies used:

1. *Some I could recognize especially lack of encouragement and isolation, or rather segregation. I think this would lead to lowered productivity and self-esteem.*

2. *Yes - I must say I did recognize many of the examples. The consequence is that it shuts us up. Or - in the beginning, it makes us as students work harder. We try our level best to perform in order for 'them' to see our competence - to give credit for the reasons they took us onboard in the first place. Suffering from the 'clever girl syndrom´(Sw.´duktig flicka syndromet') - which I guess most of us are - it is difficult to navigate through this. In my case it made me inactive. I was not sure of what to do, I felt insecure and started questioning myself to an extent where it was not healthy. So, I guess what I mean is that at first we try to deliver - but then we just become quiet. Almost shy.*

3. *I do recognize some of the situations. When I was a PhD student I both experienced and saw treatments of other students that were not okay. On the other hand, our experiences are nothing compared with stories that we heard from other students which was something we used to joke about. I have had my ups and downs when it comes to staying in Academia. One of*

my colleagues who hated her years as a PhD student at KI defended her dissertation at the end of last year. She is so happy that it is finally over and she will never work at KI ever again. She says that she would rather do something outside the academy than working with research at KI.

Master suppression techniques		
Ruler technique	**Counter strategy**	**Validation technique**
Invisibilizing	Taking up space	Visibilizing
Ridiculing	Questioning	Respecting
Withholding information	Cards on the table	Informing
Damn you if you do/damn you if you don't	Altering pattern	Reward
Guilt and shame	Intellectualization	Setting reasonable standards

Berit Ås (1978) has developed the concept "master suppression techniques" to understand what techniques are used to suppress others. In an article *Validation techniques and counter strategies- methods for dealing with power structures and changing social climates* the authors Amnéus et.al. (2004) have suggested counter strategies to suppression techniques and validation techniques. These are explained in the article together with Ås' description of ruler techniques.

Production of divisions

The third theme of the assessment in the project is based on one of the gendered processes in organizations that Joan Acker has labeled *Production of divisions*.

Division of labor

The division of labor in academia may lead to women having more duties of less value as merits when applying for research positions, than men have:

Two mentees comment on the division of labor at KI:

1. *Differences in division of labor is quite evident, and this leads to female researchers having less time for their own work due to higher common lab work-load.*
2. *As a young woman and scientist it makes me bitter - are there no female role models available? Why is that? And then you start thinking that 'maybe this is not for me'. It discourages me to meet women in their late 50ties who have been busy administering courses (not only teaching, but being responsible for courses) and that now look back and regret that they didn't do research. Now, their publication list is old and there is just no way they can compete with seniors their age. So, when I am now being offered a postdoc position I know that I have to make sure to discuss what it implies. So that you won't meet a bitter administrator/teacher 20 yrs down the road.*

Male colleagues at the same level as women ask them to perform more of secretary tasks. It makes you angry and fed up. (PhD-student at KI)

A PhD-student has made observations on divisions of labor on the basis of gender and nationality at her lab at KI:

The basis for the analysis is our list of responsibilities regarding the common lab work, e.g. being responsible for a certain room or an apparatus. We are about equal numbers of women and men, and slightly more Swedes than women and men of other nationalities in my lab.
Looking at total amount of responsibilities in the lab, women have an average 4.3 duties and males 3. The corresponding quota for foreign vs. Swedish members are equal, 3.7 duties/person.

When separating the lab responsibilities into different areas, the numbers gets small and hard to draw any conclusions from. But anyway, it seems that being woman results in more cleaning duties and ordering duties, whereas being a man results in a slightly higher responsibility for registers. There are no dramatic differences regarding the type of duties between foreign and Swedish group members.

I am not sure there are any conclusions to be drawn from this numeric feminist exercise; the numbers are small and so are the differences. Despite this, what we do see is that women get more responsibility for the everyday, common labor, and especially so regarding cleaning duties. This point towards the gender stereotypes having some influence over division of labor in our lab.

Women PhD-students and postdocs have experienced men colleagues treating them as secretaries:

Male colleagues at the same level as women ask them to perform more of secretary tasks. It makes you angry and fed up. A pattern difficult to break and are these men aware of what they are doing? Why is it difficult to show respect? Is it because you are a male, in a certain age, more senior, lazy? Are male researchers with a medical degree more worth than other researchers?

Unequal pay and allocation of resources

The two women postdocs learned that exceptions to this rule were not impossible at all. *(Phd-student at KI)*

Unequal pay is perhaps one form of gender discrimination which has attracted the most attention. As mentioned before, unequal pay has been observed to occur in relation to women and men of other nationalities/ethnicities than Swedish. One example is reported regarding gender and unequal pay:

Two women postdocs were employed at the same time, in the same manner, without knowing of each other. Both came from another university and had a similar employment background, and similar postdoc salaries. Both women tried to get at least the same salary as they had at the prior university, and was supported by their PI for this. However, the salary negotiation was held with the head of department and he refused. He claimed that it was impossible because the starting salary for postdocs was fixed. Therefore, both women postdocs had to decrease their salary when starting their position.

Later on, during a faculty meeting at the department, the two women postdocs learned that exceptions to this rule were not impossible at all. In fact, the prefect said that sometimes a salary could be higher if the person employed came from another university with other salaries, usually a technical university. And usually when coming from a technical university, the postdoc is a man. In this case it was very obvious that a certain group of postdocs within the department had gained from this exception – all men. Moreover, the two women postdocs also learned that their salary, even after more than a year's employment including a raise, was still not more than what every newly-employed postdoc was offered as starting salary.

One observation was reported of a man PhD-student from a non-European country (X) was continuously allocated fewer resources than his fellow Swedish woman PhD-student (Y) during the years of his PhD-studies. He thinks the reason for this is twofold. Firstly, he did not know the rules and regulations as well as his Swedish colleague and secondly the supervisor did not treat them equally:

X and Y started their PhD studies at the same time and in the same lab – and they defended their theses very close in time. During the 5 years while they were students there were clear differences between how they were treated. A few examples:

1) X got a second hand computer from his boss when he bought a new computer for himself but Y checked a website and ordered a modern laptop with a lot of accessories.

2) Y attended a conference in the US and brought all her invoices to their boss and didn't apply for a travel grant. X attended two European conferences always applying for money from different resources.

3) Y went to USA for several months during her studies and worked in another lab with new techniques and X worked the whole 5 years in the lab.

4) Y refused to work in different projects and clearly told their supervisor that she will work only on her project and nothing more but X worked on several projects not related to his project.

Bias in selection processes

Research on processes of research evaluation shows that the constitution of the recruitment group as well as of who are appointed as experts, have a profound effect on the final result of the recruitment process.[125] Especially at the final stage of selection, when the remaining candidates are equally strong, the evaluator's personal opinions easily become decisive.[126]

In a recent randomized double-blind study (n 127) in the United States, science faculty from research-intensive universities rated the application of a student – who was randomly assigned either a male or female name – for a laboratory manager position. The man applicant was rated significantly more competent and employable than the (identical) woman applicant. These participants also selected a higher starting salary and offered more career mentoring to the man applicant. The gender of the faculty participants (who rated applicants) did not affect responses,[127] which can be interpreted as a sign of a 'common culture'.

Another example of how gender bias may influence scientific selection is the results of the introduction (2001) of double-blind review in the *Journal of Behavioral Ecology* – "a significant increase female first-authored papers, a pattern not observed in a very similar journal that provides reviewers with author information". No negative effects could be identified, suggesting that double-blind review should be considered by other journals.[128]

In a study of gender equality in a selection of the Swedish Research Council's evaluation panels – differences regarding how women and men and their applications were evaluated were observed.[129] As an example:

… for men put forward to receive funding, recurrent descriptions were "well-known", "respected", and "established". Others were "a group that does well", "a group at the forefront", "a rising star", and "I always liked that group's work". These descriptions were not used to the same extent for women who were proposed to receive grants. Instead, for women terms like "good"/"strong"/"solid track record" and "high novelty" were more frequent. In another panel several of the male applicants who were proposed to receive funding were described as "excellent", which was not used for a single woman in the same panel. Women suggested to be given grants were more often described as "established" or as having "a long track record". [130]

Furthermore, independence/dependence and parental leave were discussed to a larger extent in relation to women than to men. The study has produced recommendations which KI may apply to decrease the risk for bias in selection/recruitment processes.[131]

Examples from KI

A PhD-student who was taking part of a discussion of who should be employed for a position in a project at KI, reflects on how arguments used in relation to a woman candidate would never have been used for a man candidate:

'She has always been so negative'; 'she is in a phase of life where things are hard and difficult'. (professors at KI)

The Swedish coordinating team in a large international study with researchers from six different settings consists of two Swedish male professors, one male Swedish associate professor, a Swedish female associate professor, a Swedish male postdoc and a Swedish female PhD-student.

The research group is planning to apply for further funding and the PhD-student who is responsible for writing applications is advocating taking the Swedish female associate professor on board as a part of the team due to her skills within the research area. The PhD-student has also come to get to know the female associate professor and knows that she is very interested in participating as she feels that she is always being 'given' much education and that she would like to spend the rest of her academic career involved in research rather than teaching.

The discussion is held together with the two male professors and the male associate professor. They are reluctant. Very reluctant. They bring arguments like 'she has always been so negative', 'she is in a phase of life where things are hard and difficult'.
The PhD-student perceives that they are partly referring to her private life – she's about to reach 60 years of age, she's single and she does not have children.
When the PhD-student transfers their arguments to any of the others (men) she starts to laugh – it would be ridiculous! You would simply never hear arguments like someone claiming that it would be difficult for one of the male researchers to participate based on

the fact that the 'time in their (personal) life is not good'. But this 'being a woman' seems to be something different, other aspects are taken into consideration by the involved men, obviously being in agreement concerning excluding her from the proposal. When the PhD speaks her mind saying that all parties have had very strong opinions on the study - not only the woman they discuss and whom they refer to as negative – they back off and thank her for saying it – but what if she hasn't been there?

Another PhD-student has observed how women are questioned when promoted – sometimes with reference to their private lives:

Whenever a woman colleague gets promoted, there will be questions about her competence, and doubts about her capability to balance life and work, while this is not common for men. Being a woman is also related with incapability to handle stress.

Empirical studies show that gender equality in working life is higher in organizations with clear career paths and when qualifications are clearly formulated with no possibilities for negotiation.[132] Decreasing the space for informal recruitment should, therefore, be of benefit to women and other groups vulnerable to discrimination.

Imbalances of success rates

Gender imbalances in success rates of applicants for research grants have been demonstrated in, for example the Swedish Research Council where the largest imbalance is found in medicine and health sciences.[133]

In order to find out if there is reason for KI to review how research grants are allocated – from an equality perspective – the project has collected information about success rates for KID-grants, AT research grants, CSTP, KI Research Foundation and research-associate grants.[134]

From the perspective of Joan Acker's theory about gender processes in organizations – success rates may be analyzed as constituting an activity which may create segregation and inequality in the organization. In addition to the investigation of possible gender imbalances mentees have, regarding KID-grants, also assessed the success rate in relation to country/continent where the applicant received their undergraduate education.

Men have a greater success rate in receiving funding

During the period of 2011- 2013 women (supervisors) had a lower success rate (27%) for *KID* than did men (33%). During the period 2006-2009 (when students could apply together with their supervisor) students with an undergraduate education from Asia had a lower success rate than did students with an undergraduate education from Sweden.[135]

There is little information available regarding success rates for women and men from *Karolinska Institutet Foundations and Funds.* The only foundation with information of gender and success rate is the *KI Research Foundations* for 2011-2013. In 2013, 49% of applicants were women and 46% of those receiving funding were women. In 2012, 49 % of applicants were women and 43 % of those receiving funding were women.

Women have a significantly lower success rate than men regarding *CSTP* grants. In 2010, for instance, 41% of all applications (PhD-student) were from women and only 17% of all recipients of grants were women. During the period 2002-2012, 42% of applicants were women and 33% of those granted were women. In comparison, 58% of the applicants were men and 67% of those granted were men. *The Board of Doctoral Education* at KI has recently compiled a report on *CSTP* in which the evaluation group comments on the grave imbalance of success rates for women and men applicants. The report also shows that if the supervisor and student both are men, they have a greater chance to receive grants compared to if both are women. Regarding Research AT during the period 2010-2012, women had a success rate of 25% and men of 30%.[136]

In 2011, 52,3% of applicants to research-associates were women whereas only 14, 3% of those granted were women. In 2012, 49,7% of applicants of research-associate grants were women compared to 30% of those who received grants.[137] There is also a gender imbalance in the ranking lists with a large proportion of men at the top of the ranking lists.

Mentees also determined that no statistics based on gender for many foundations and endowments were available. Application forms also have different designs which make it more difficult to create the statistics.

KID 2006-2009

In which country/continent undergraduate education is carried out (student)

Proportion of assessed	**Total 2006-2009**
Sweden	69,0 %
Rest of Europe	16,7 %
Asia	10,5 %
North America	1,9 %
South America	0,6 %
Africa	1,1 %
Australia	0,1 %
Proportion of granted	**Total**
Sweden	70,7 %
Rest of Europe	20,1 %
Asia	5,4 %
North America	2,9 %
South America	0,2 %
Africa	0,0 %
Australia	0,5 %

The difference between total grant rate for students from Asia and Sweden were statistically significant (p<,001)
The difference between total grant rate for students from Sweden and other European countries were not statistically significant (p<,11)

KID 2011-2013 – gender of assessed and granted supervisors

	Women Assessed	Women Granted	Men Assessed	Men Granted	Total number of assessed applications
Spring 2011	84	28	104	28	188
Autumn 2011	93	24	89	36	182
Spring 2012	93	22	93	28	186
Autumn 2012	70	14	99	36	169
Spring 2013	70	22	83	28	153
Total	410 (47%)	110 (41%)	468 (53%)	156(59%)	878

Success rate men 2011-2013: 33%
Success rate women 2011-2013: 27%

CSTP 2010-2012 – gender of student and main supervisor

Student	Main Supervisor	Applications	Granted	Success rate
M	M	44	23	**52%**
W	M	24	9	**38%**
M	W	14	5	**36%**
W	W	22	4	**18%**
Total		104	41	**39%**

CSTP 2002-2012 – gender of student

Year	Proportion women applicants	Proportion men applicants	Proportion women granted	Proportion men granted
2002	29%	71%	50%	50%
2003	15%	85%	0%	100%
2004	42%	58%	33%	67%
2005	47%	53%	50%	50%
2006	50%	50%	44%	56%
2007	23%	77%	11%	89%
2008	50%	50%	40%	60%
2009	53%	47%	63%	38%
2010	41%	59%	17%	83%
2011	46%	54%	36%	64%
2012	44%	58%	14%	86%
Total	**42%**	**58%**	**33%**	**67%**

Success rate men 2002-2012: 35% (64 men out of 181 men applicants received grants)
Success rate women 2002-2012: 23% (31 women out of 133 women applicants received grants)

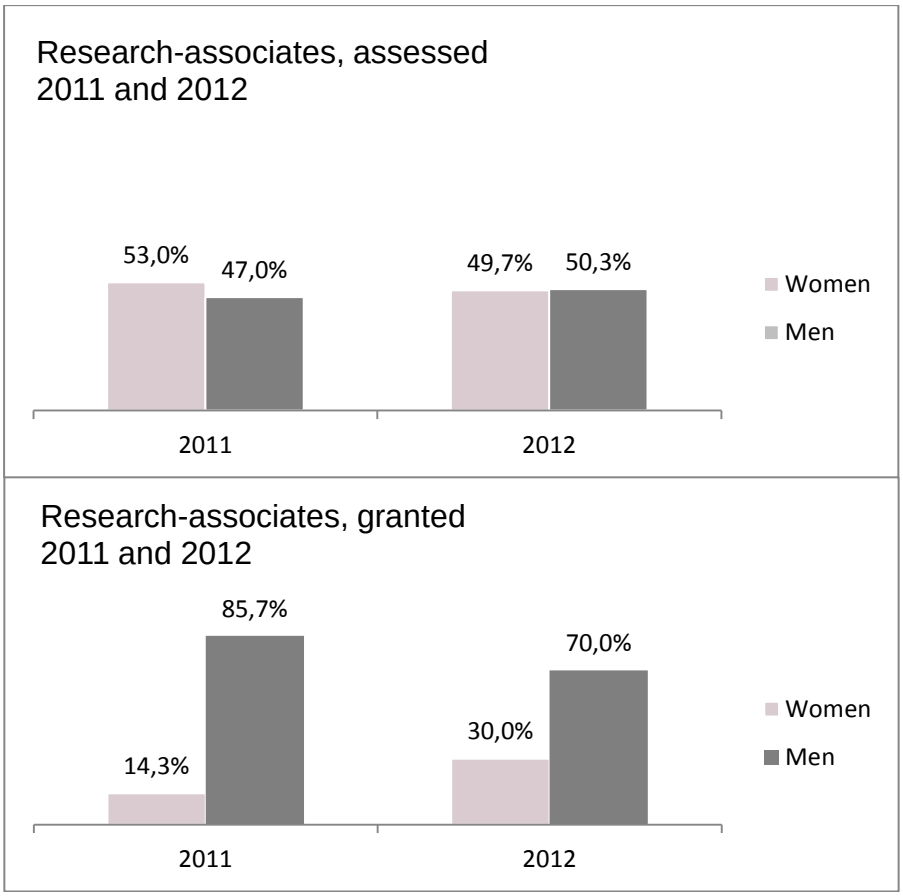
Research AT, 2010-2012 – gender of applicant

	Applicants	Women	Men	Recruited	Women	Men
2010	42	21	21	12	6	6
2011	43	22	21	12	5	7
2012	58	35	23	16	9	7
Total	**143**	**78**	**65**	**40**	**20**	**20**

Success rate women: 25%
Success rate men: 30%

KI Research Foundations – gender of applicant

Year	Total number of applications	Proportion women	Number accepted	Proportion of successful application with woman applicant
2008	1267	42%	963	?
2009	1307	43%	997	?
2010	1491	47%	1033	?
2011	1268	48%	837	45%
2012	1571	49%	749	43%
2013	1361	49%	747	46%



Research-associates 2011 gender, ranking

Ranking	Gender
1	M
2	M
3	M
4	M
5	M
6	W

Research-associates 2012 gender, ranking

Ranking	Gender
1	M
2	M
3	M
4	M
5	M
6	M
7	M
8	M
9	W
10	W
11	W
12	M
13	W
14	M
15	M
16	M
17	M
18	W
19	W
20	M

Proposals for action

Necessary conditions

In order to succeed with equal opportunities certain conditions need to be met – conditions that have been identified through mentee observations as well as in available studies in the field. All too often, measures taken have the form of disparate activities and short term projects and not a perspective which permeates the core activities of the organization.

KI has high ambitions in the field of equal opportunities. As an example the current *Action plan for equal treatment* states that equal opportunities are pivotal for the quality of research and education. Nevertheless, KI initiated external evaluations of the quality of research and of organizational structures such as the ERA – evaluation and *Att styra KI - organisation och kultur (the so called Bexell evaluation)* do not take equal opportunities and gender equality into consideration. Furthermore, there has been a considerable cut down on personnel resources working with equal opportunities. The recent elections of Dean of Research and of Vice-Chancellor, when only men were final candidates – illustrates the importance of having a gender perspective together with an equal opportunities perspective as part of all important and central decisions and processes at KI. The necessary conditions for success which Mentor4Equality has identified are:

- A clear standpoint from management and a continuous engagement for the importance of equal opportunities and gender equality.

- Integration of a gender- and equal opportunities perspectives in all central decisions and processes when possible.

- Increased resources – especially personnel qualified in the knowledge field of equal opportunities. It is not possible to work proactively with current personnel resources.

- There is a need for clarifying why the work for equal opportunities is pivotal for KI as an organization and for its core activities.

- The structural nature of discrimination which is of relevance for the whole KI as an organization has to be communicated – unequal treatment and discrimination is not a "women's problem" or a problem on the level of the individual. It is an institutional problem.

- Research in other fields than medicine needs to be recognized when implementing procedures to improve equal opportunities – such as gender research and research on other power structures in the social sciences. Measures taken by KI should be based on research and available knowledge in the field.

- An increased level of awareness and knowledge among researchers, students, doctoral students and other co-workers – is needed.

- Creating opinion for equal opportunities questions among doctoral students and researchers.

- Follow-up and evaluation of measures taken to advance equal opportunities.

Mentor4Equality has developed suggestions of measures that would be useful in order to increase the chance of success in advancing equal opportunities.

Proposals for action:

1. Integrate a gender- and equal opportunities perspective in all relevant decisions, activities and processes. This aim may be clearly stated in the new strategy document of KI. KI should aim at integrating a gender- and equal opportunities perspective in all relevant decisions, activities and central processes in the organization. For example, internal management and control (Sw. *Intern styrning och kontroll*), recruitment, funding of research and PhD-studies/projects, career development work, quality issues, internal and external evaluations and measures taken to improve the work environment.

2. Develop guidelines for integrating a gender and equal opportunities perspective in activities, processes and decisions.

3. The development of indicators and statistics. This is needed to be able to monitor and evaluate the advancement of equal opportunities.

4. Employ a gender researcher who may support management of KI to implement the above suggestions:

    - Integrate a gender- and equal opportunities perspective in central processes and decisions in the organization.
    - Develop guidelines for the integration of gender- and equal opportunities perspectives.
    - Develop indicators in order to monitor and evaluate the success of equal opportunities efforts.

5. Educate management of their responsibilities. All personnel in leading positions at different levels in the organization should be educated about their obligations in the equal opportunities field.

6. Information and education of staff and students. All staff should receive information about their rights and obligations and what KI does to ensure that their rights are not compromised.

7. Transparence and standardization. Transparence and standardization (as opposed to closed and informal processes) should permeate all processes (related to for example, recruitment, the allocation and distribution of resources (such as funding to departments and how resources are distributed among doctoral students and staff, e.g. access to computers and funding to attend conferences) and allocation of chores (such as that performed by doctoral students in departments).

8. Increase the status of equal opportunities. The position of *equal opportunities ombud* at departments should be evaluated and made a merit.

9. Support a network for equal opportunities. A network for equal opportunities is to be started by participants of Mentor4Equality. The network will be open to doctoral students and researchers at KI. The network may increase the level of knowledge in the field, the sharing of experiences, career networking and may function as an *opinion forming* unit as well.

Symbols and images

The aim of suggestions for measures in the field of symbols and images is to increase diversity and equality at KI.

Proposals for action:

1. Change the image of the ideal researcher. Management, teachers and supervisors at all levels should actively work to change the image of the gendered traditional ideal researcher – someone who should be prepared give up every aspect of an ordinary life in order to become a successful researcher. This image is detrimental for keeping promising junior researchers in the organization – both women and men – who, for instance, would like to combine a gender equal family life with research.

2. Create a "Wall of fame/wall of the year" at a central place. Successful teachers, researchers, research grant recipients and students may be presented. A diversity and equality perspective should be applied in this selection process.

3. Name buildings and venues after women researchers. New buildings and venues should be named after women researchers. In addition women now represented should have more space. For instance, install a large statue of the first woman professor at KI, Nanna Svartz.

4. Increase the gender balance – or make gender neutral – art, images, photographs etc in public spaces, such as lecture halls, corridors etc.

5. Apply a gender- and diversity perspective when producing texts and images in *KI-bladet*. Are- for instance - women and men presented in different ways? Is there a gender- and ethnicity balance when successful researchers are presented?

6. Apply a gender- and diversity perspective in presentations of KI on the internet and in printed material.

7. Assess how researchers are presented both regarding text and photographs. Apply a gender- and diversity perspective. Are men who are research group leaders to a larger extent alone on the photograph than women research group leaders e.g.?

Exclusionary interaction

The aim of the measures is that all co-workers and students should be able to feel they are valued and that their competence is recognized.

Proposals for action:

1. Make management courses mandatory for all staff and researchers in leading positions.

2. Create incitement for leaders in research. Create incitement to make work for gender equality and equal opportunities attractive. For example give economic incitements and make such work a merit.

3. Highlight good practice at KI.

4. Develop a code of conduct for staff.

5. Education and workshops on gender equality and equal opportunities. Make courses on gender equality and equal opportunities mandatory on all levels in the organization – from student level to research assistants, professors, deans, vice-chancellor, and representatives of the three management boards at KI. Use gender research and other research on related power structures.

6. Integrate a gender- and equal opportunities perspective in courses and programs. Integrate a gender- and equal opportunities perspective in all education and courses when possible. Include in, e.g. supervisor education, the doctoral students' introduction course and management courses in addition to courses on departmental levels.

7. Education in facilitation of meetings and inclusion. Provide courses that include practice in how to listen, how to include, to provide space and recognition to staff and co-workers etc

8. Follow up those who quit their doctoral education. Who drops out and why?

9. Evaluate equal opportunities. For instance by giving special attention equal opportunities issues in surveys on work environment. Include postdocs, doctoral students funded by doctoral grants (Sw. *utbildningsbidrag*) and postdocs funded by scholarships (Sw.*stipendier*).

10. Information on the right to change supervisor. All doctoral students should know about their right to change supervisor.

11. Information in English. Language barriers are hindering to KI staff, information in the form of e-mails etc., and meeting minutes should be made available in English to a larger extent than currently. In addition, translate more articles in *KI-bladet*.

Production of divisions

Proposals for action:

1. Conduct an in-depth study of imbalances of success rates regarding different forms of funding for doctoral students and researchers at KI. The study of gender equality in a selection of the Swedish Research Council's evaluation panels could function as a model for a study at KI.[138] The study should be conducted by a gender researcher who could also suggest measures KI may take in order to decrease the risk of bias in selection processes – such as recruitments and research grants.

2. Statistics broken down by gender. Develop and implement a strategy to follow up all forms of funding of researchers and PhD-students. Give statistics broken down by gender on the forms of funding that currently lacks such information.

3. Develop mentorship programs. Develop already existing mentor program for doctoral students. Implement new programs for junior researchers.

4. Role models. Promote and "advertise" successful women researchers. The management of KI may, for instance promote them by giving them recognition at public events.

5. Improve economic stability. Improve the economic stability of employment and prolong the postdoc position to at least three years.

6. Expand the group from which to select talented researchers. Do not exclusively select talent at the undergraduate level of degrees. Give late bloomers a chance.

7. No age limit for postdocs.

8. Adjust research conditions to parenthood. Adjust time for meetings, conferences etc. to parent's needs. Encourage men to take parental leave.

9. Develop alternative career paths. For instance, special competence, administrative work during doctoral studies, pedagogical skills and project work should also count. Each new grant application should be evaluated on its own merits regardless of previously received grants.

10. Introduce "seed grants". Introduce "seed grants" for individuals who have not had the chance to do research for some time. Should be available for full time research.

11. Make it possible to do postdocs for shorter periods of time. The opportunity to do shorter postdoc periods abroad may facilitate for parents to pursue a career in research. Encourage both women and men to take such positions.

12. Recruitment and allocation of research grants.
    - All qualification profiles and recruitment processes need to be clearly specified and transparent in order to avoid bias in the selection process. Transparency and clarity also enable applicants to determine if discrimination or other irrelevant judgments have taken place.
    - All doctoral positions should be announced and applied for in competition with others.
    - Standardize the application forms in order to make it possible to follow up from a gender- and equal opportunities perspective. To check on imbalances in success rates.
    - Evaluate the recruitment process for women professors. What may KI do in order to enhance the number of women as professors and in other top positions? Is it possible, for instance to recruit two or more women instead of only one woman in a male dominated workplace. Women who have declined to be candidates – for instance to the position of Vice-Chancellor – should be given another opportunity in the next election – ask them again!
    - Evaluate nomination procedures and selection processes for grants from a gender and equal opportunities perspective.
    - Minimize risks for bias in selection processes: Education expert panels, search committees etc. should have guidelines about structural inequalities regarding gender and ethnicity.
    - Always suggest one woman and one man candidate for each position/job/nomination/funding etc.
    - Do not allow sexist comments about women in top positions.

Proposal for action:
Developing the mentor program for PhD students:

- Karolinska Institutet has implemented a mentorship program that has the potential of giving much help to PhD-students. We believe the initiative does require more attention and recognition, promoting the status of the initiative. Hence, we suggest that a certificate for both mentor and mentee should be awarded at the end of a mentorship.
- Make a website/registry with available mentors, what they can offer and what kind of mentorship they are interested in. This registry can be used by students looking for mentors.
- It is imperative that the mentor is chosen by the student, and not vice versa. The student should actively choose a mentor, who is not too involved in the working group of the student or with the supervisors; the mentor should always be on the side of the mentee and there should be room to build mutual trust
- The attitude towards the current mentor program for PhD-students needs to change from ”a must”, ”just on paper”, to a real and significant opportunity for the individual student.
- It should not be mandatory to have a mentor at registration, as an active choice is very difficult in practice. Instead it should be mandatory to select a mentor within the first half year or year.
- Alternatively, mandatory at registration but possibility to add an official mentor if the first one is not working out.
- Information about the mentors should be included in the mandatory PhD-course.
- Guidelines should be given on how to find a mentor, e.g. a teacher you liked, or someone you admire in you field, or someone working in an industry you are interested in.
- The purpose of the mentorship and what is expected from the mentor needs to be clear and formalized.
- A short course (preferably web based) for mentors, so they know what their role is, should be available. Or, once a year an open lecture. Or video-lecture (like YouTube) and a pamphlet general rules.
- Specify the criteria for becoming a mentor? Is it a PhD?
- Group mentorships, with groups of 4-10 mentees for one mentor, could be an alternative that might work for some people.
- Expanding the networks: Possibility of mentor/mentee to participate in other organized mentor programs at KI with occasional courses if they have common interests, such as gender equality, entrepreneurship, industry, clinical work (like some PhD courses are part of a general program).
- A common mentor website for KI
- Interactions with industry and other universities on mentoring, and creating greater networks through the PhD students.
- This program needs to be managed by someone with general knowledge of mentorship programs.

Resources

There has been a cut down on recourses in the form of staff with qualifications in the equal opportunities field. As a consequence, KI top management prioritized equal opportunities at the same time as there has been a significant reduction on professional staff. There is a need for dissemination of the knowledge produced in Mentor4Equality – such as this discussion material – as well as for monitoring and implementing proposals for action. Much of this work needs expert knowledge in the field of gender- and equal opportunities.

One of the main proposals from Mentor4Equality is to develop a mentor programs for junior researchers and doctoral students. It is suggested that *Career service* at KI is responsible for that. If the above is to be realized KI need to increase resources, especially regarding the number of staff.

Proposals for action:

1. Employ one more person on full time with expert knowledge in the field. This is pivotal in advancing equal opportunities at KI and to implement suggestions and knowledge produced in Mentor4Equality.
2. *Career service* needs one more person in order to support the network for equal opportunities resulting from the project and to develop mentor programs for doctoral students and junior researchers.

Summary of the Mentor4Equality assessment

The purpose of the project Mentor4Equality – a one year mentorship program – which has been financed by the *Delegation for Gender Equality in Higher Education*, is to explore what hinders gender equality in research careers and propose measures that KI may take. This summary only describes the exploration of various forms of unequal conditions – the proposals for action are presented elsewhere in the discussion material. The scope of the inquiry has been widened to include ethnicity, as several of the participants are of other nationalities than Swedish. The assessment conducted by the mentees, 16 PhD-students and postdocs, takes as one of its starting points that KI may learn from its doctoral students and postdocs. They are at a stage in their careers in which they have to make decisions about whether they will pursue a career in research or not. The exploration has been conducted through reading research and other studies in the field, through observations at KI, and through discussions with invited researchers and mentors from KI as well as other universities and organizations. The examples given in the assessment should primarily be seen as *educational examples* that – together with research in the field – may be used in order to raise awareness and increase the level of knowledge about different forms of unequal treatment and discrimination. The forms of unequal treatment and discrimination described in the project are not unique to KI, but has previously been described in research in other academic settings as well.

As inspiration for the themes of exploration, sociologist Liisa Husu's (2001) research on academic women in Finland and sociologist Joan Acker's (1999) theory on gendered processes in organizations have been used. The three themes explored, inspired by Acker's theory, are:

- *Production of divisions* (has been explored primarily by studying success rates of different forms of funding applications).
- *Culture, symbols and images* (primarily explored by studying "KI-bladet", art in public spaces at KI, research and discussions about academic culture).
- *Interaction between individuals* (primarily explored by observations of different forms of explicit and subtle forms of unequal treatment and discrimination)

Husu uses the concepts *gender discrimination* and *hidden discrimination* in order to separate explicit from more subtle forms of unequal treatment and discrimination. Mentees were free to use the mentioned concepts in order to study unequal treatment and discrimination based on other grounds than gender, such as ethnicity, age etc. Subtle as well as more explicit forms of unequal treatment and discrimination of women such as belittling, ignoring, gendered division of labor, objectification and sexualization have been observed by mentees. For instance, belittling comments like "honey" (Sw. *lilla gumman*) and “how clever you are" (Sw. *vad duktig du är*) are sometimes used in relation to women colleagues at KI, and so are comments on women's appearance.

Among other observations are comments and jokes with sexual undertones as well as more overt forms of harassment. Women PhD-students and postdocs are sometimes treated as secretaries both by senior men researchers and by men academic colleagues. Other forms of division of labor have also been observed, such as women having more teaching duties and common every day labor, for example, cleaning duties in the lab. Women and men are being judged differently due to gender norms in similar careers at KI. As an example, a woman pursuing a career in research at KI is easily labeled a “bitch” for the same behavior considered “normal” for men.

In addition, unequal treatment and discrimination of men and women of other national/ethnic backgrounds than Swedish have been observed. For instance, derogatory jokes about Chinese and Indian co-workers. Sometimes more blatant forms of unequal treatment and discrimination such as hostile behavior are reported. Co-workers with non-European backgrounds have been observed to work longer hours than Swedes and for less pay. Unequal allocation of resources such as giving older computers to non-European co-workers, white Swedes get more modern models.

Some of the consequences of unequal treatment and discrimination which mentees have observed in the investigated groups are decreasing job performance, self-blame and health problems such as depression. It is evident that unequal treatment and discrimination consumes a lot of energy for the exposed individuals

in order to process their experience on top of a demanding career. For instance, women who have been sexualized may worry about it happening again and try to avoid situations in which they risk being sexualized. Furthermore, individuals prevented this way from concentrating more exclusively on their research and new discoveries are a loss for KI itself and science.

Coping strategies have not been focused in this project but nevertheless, there have been observations of such strategies. A non-European PhD-student at KI was advised by another person with a non-Swedish background not to compare himself to Swedes in order not to get frustrated by inequalities. Conscious monitoring of one's body and one's behavior, choosing certain clothing and make-up are used as strategies by women in order to be taken seriously and not distracted from work by being sexualized. Working harder is mentioned as a coping strategy as well as adapting to the normative conditions in order to survive. There have been observations of women by mentees, who leave academia as a result of the treatment they have experienced.

National and international research on academic culture has pointed out a gap, or a tension, between the dominant male and hierarchical culture of academia on the one hand, and its self-image of constituting a gender neutral space – a culture without culture – in which objectivity and meritocracy rules on the other. Mentee observations confirm that KI does have both a hierarchical structure and culture which work to exclude women and minority groups such as men and women with non-European backgrounds. Words like *networks promote nepotism* and *inbreeding* have been used by staff at KI to describe some of these relations at KI. Men support and relate to other men in homosocial networks which exclude women and other men who don't fit the norm – as well as women and also men of minority groups.

Another obstacle for equal opportunities in research careers is the research ideal. The (masculine) traditional ideal researcher prioritizes research over all other obligations in life and is willing to work almost “around the clock” around the year. This ideal makes it hard for both women and those men – who would like to share family life equally – to combine family and children with a research career.

The research ideal has more negative consequences for women in that they are perceived as more distant from the norm due to its gendered connotations. Furthermore, women are perceived and expected to prioritize differently than men regarding the importance of research in relation to family obligations, even when that is not the case. Mentor4Equality as well as other studies have identified the risk that KI and the academy in general *risk losing talented and upcoming researchers* due to discrimination and other irrelevant reasons such as for instance, traditional norms of what it takes to become a researcher. Men and women in doctoral studies are many times, not prepared to give up every aspect of an ordinary life in order to live up to the traditional norm of the ideal researcher.

Gender norms and meanings expressed in symbols and images at KI – such as photographs in *KI-bladet* – were also explored in the project. Women are for instance more often than men portrayed posing and with no direct relation to their professional role, whereas men more often than women have active, central positions in photographs. *Women are seen, first and foremost as women/their gender* (for instance by emphasizing their looks/sexual attractiveness and supportive role to men) – *and only secondarily as professionals/researchers*. Men, on the other hand, are first and foremost seen as professionals/researchers, while women are reduced to their gender. This is a recurrent theme in observations of unequal treatment and discrimination within the project.

Existing studies demonstrate how gender bias influences recruitment and allocation of resources. Hence, mentees have investigated if this may be the case for allocation of funds at KI. The results obtained showed greater success rates for men than for women. Furthermore, individuals with an undergraduate degree from Sweden had a greater success rate in receiving KID funds than did those with an undergraduate degree from Asia.

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Footnotes

[1] Acker (2006:441) defines inequality regimes as "Inequality regimes are the interlocked practices and processes that result in continuing inequalities in all work organizations". The term *interdependent* is used here, in addition to *interlocked*, to emphasize that these processes, many times, are difficult to separate analytically as well as empirically. See under "Intersecting power structures".
[2] The definition is based on the definition of ethnicity in *The Swedish Discrimination Act*: "Ethnicity: national or ethnic origin, skin color or other similar circumstance". The term *ethnicity* rather than "*race"* is used in the discussion material as *ethnicity* is the term used in the *Swedish Discrimination Act.*
[3] Hylland Eriksen, 1993:68.
4 Acker, 1992:250.
[5] Acker, 1992 :251-255.
[6] The word "interacting" here does not reflect professional interaction that is related to work.
[7] See for example Mählk 2003 and SOU 2011:1.
[8] See for example SOU 2006:40.
[9] As well as the perception of the interaction and procedures.
[10] http://www.manskligarattigheter.se/en
[11] The mentees of Mentor4Equality have argued that in order to succeed in advancing equality at KI, one needs to stress the positive outcomes of working for equal opportunities – rather than only dwell on the detrimental consequences of unequal structures.
[12] See for example Husu (2001). Mentor4Equality has also identified the risk of losing upcoming researchers through discrimination. See also Jessica Lober: *The Chemistry PhD: the impact of women's retention.* Centre for women in SET and Royal Society of Chemistry.
Curt Rice: *Why women leave academia and why universities should be worried ?* *Why women leave academia*.
[13] Hemlin, et.al. 2008.
[14] To operationalize the concept "major discovery" Hollingsworth (2002) draws on criteria the scientific community has created to recognize major discoveries, such as discoveries which led to either winning- or near winning of a major prize.
[15] Hollingsworth 2002:64.
[16] The status differences of scientific fields at KI may be exemplified by a comment by a senior researcher at KI, who was advising the project leader of Mentor4Equality that it was pivotal in getting recognition for the project that the number of mentees conducting the assessment should not be "too many" from a number of low status departments. He also mentioned that some of these departments were sometimes called bitch-departments.(Sw."kärring institutioner").
[17] The departments represented in the project are: Department of Biosciences and Nutrition (BioNut) , Department of Clinicial Neuroscience (CNS), Department of Biochemistry an d Biophysics (MBB), Department of Medical Epidemiology and Biostatistics (MEB), Department of Medicine , Solna (MedS), Department of Laboratory Medicine (LABMED), Department of Medicine, Huddinge (MedH); Department of Molecular Medicine and Surgery (MMK), Department of Neurobiology, Care Sciences and Society (NVS), Department of Oncology-Pathology (OnkPat), Department of Women's and Children's Health (KBH), Institute of Environmental Medicine (IMM), Department of Public Health Sciences (PHS).
[18] See definition in *Terminology.*
[19] In addition to lectures and seminars led by researchers in the field of gender and organization, mentors and mentees have received literature: "Gender. In World Perspective" (2009) by Raewyn Connell and the dissertation "Sexism, Support and Survival in Academia Academic Women and Hidden Discrimination in Finland" (2001) by Liisa Husu and "Innovative or conservative excellence?" (2007) by Angela Nilsson.
[20] Husu, 2001:52.
[21] Mills 1996:321.
[22] Acker 1994.

[23] Husu, (2001:7), refers to Benocraitis' and Feagin's (1995: 38-58) definition.
[24] *Annual statistics on higher education in Sweden 2013*, Swedish higher education authority.
[25] Ibid.
[26] *Mångfald i högskolan Reflektioner och förslag om social och etnisk mångfald i högskolan.* (SOU 2000:47).
[27] Ibid.
[28] Integrationsverkets rapport 2007:5.
[29] "Högskolan en internationell miljö: nästan var fjärde forskare/lärare född i annat land än Sverige". *Sveriges universitetslärarförbunds medlemstidning*. 2012:6. p. 6-7.
[30] Mählck 2012:42. Countries like USA, Great Britain and South Africa are collecting statistics on country of birth, "race" and self-categorization of "race" in order to be able to follow up and monitor the politics on higher education. Paula Mählck (2012:42ff) discusses how the relative "silence" on national background and "race" in studies and statistics on higher education institutions in Sweden (compared to studies and statistics on gender relations in higher education) may be related to anti-racist intentions. However, this official anti-racist politics pre-supposes a post- racist society in which discrimination on the basis on color of the skin has been made irrelevant. The relative silence on nationality and ethnicity in statistics and studies on higher education institutions may be grounded in similar anti-discriminatory intentions and to presuppositions of a society/higher education in which ethnicity and nationality has been made irrelevant in relation to the opportunities of pursuing a research career
[31] Stephen Saxonberg and Lena Sawyer 2006.
[32] *Forskningsöversikt om rekrytering i arbetslivet. Forskning som publicerats vid svenska universitet och högskolor sedan år 2000.* Stockholm: Oxford research 2012.
[33] *Statistikens roll i arbetet mot diskriminering – en fråga om strategi och trovärdighet.* Slutrapport avseende regeringsuppdraget om en förstudie om metoder för undersökningar om befolkningens sammansättning och levnadsförhållanden (A2011/4415/DISK). Diskrimineringsombudsmannen.
[34] SOU 2011:1. *Svart på vitt – om jämställdhet i akademin.*
[35] *Universitet & högskolor. Högskoleverkets årsrapport 2009.*
[36] *Universitet & högskolor. Högskoleverkets rapport 2012.*
[37] SOU 2011:1. *Svart på vitt – om jämställdhet i akademin*.
[38] Mona Eliasson 2004.
[39] Rickard Danell & Mikael Hjerm, 2013.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Acker 2006.
[42] The studies *Broadened Perspectives in Education* (Sw. *Vidgade perspektiv i utbildningen,* 2006) and *Innovative or conservative excellence?* (Sw. *Innovativ eller konservativ excellens?*) (Nilsson: 2007) both describe inequalities based on for example sex/gender and ethnicity. These studies are referred to in the text of the discussion material when relevant. The *AHA survey* and *Exit Poll* are presented in this passage.
[43] Medarbetarundersokningar-Internwebben KI
[44] See for example Husu 2001.
[45]Dnr: 3-276/2013
[46] Many doctoral students have suffered harassment KI bladet - internwebben
[47]Sörlin Ann. 2011. The register study comprised of 1 097 202 individuals, based on public registers and includes information on workplace, income, sickness absence, full-time/part-time work, level of education, parental leave and temporary parental leave. A gender equality measurement, the Organizational Gender Gap Index or OGGI, was constructed and 123 companies in two sectors were ranked using the index. Employees in 21 of the most and least gender-equal companies were invited to participate in a survey.
[48] See for example, SOU 2011:1. *Svart på vitt – om jämställdhet i akademin*.
[49] Hirdman, 2001.
[50] See: *Broadened Perspectives in Education* (2006) (Sw. *Vidgade perspektiv i utbildningen*) and *Innovative or conservative excellence?* (2007) (Sw. *Innovativ eller konservativ excellens*?).
[51] The concept was developed by Philomena Essed. See for example, Essed 1991.
[52] SOU 2006:40. *Uteslutningsmekanismer och etnisk reproduktion inom Akademin*.

[53] Paulina de los Reyes (2007) *Att segla i motvind. En kvalitativ undersökning om strukturell diskriminering och vardagsrasism inom universitetsvärlden i Sverige.*
[54] de los Reyes uses an intersectional perspective to analyze how different power structures based on gender, ethnicity, sexuality and class works simultaneously and create unequal conditions (2007: 4-11). Discrimination is understood as a gendered practice. Ethnic stereotypes "exoticizes" a gendered other. "Exotization" of "the other" is a form of objectification which often has strong sexual connotations. de los Reyes questions if it is possible to differentiate between discriminatory acts as grounded in ethnicity or gender. This because it is not possible to isolate the concepts from each other as gender is always (in the interviews in del los Reyes empirical material) exist simultaneously with perceptions of ethnicity and also because it renders invisible the women whose exposedness is created in the intersection of gender and ethnicity (ibid: 48-50).
[55] Fazihashemis, 2002.
[56] Ehn, 2001 & Daun 1998 referred in Saxonberg and Sawyer 2006.
[57] See for example Husu, (2001) and Högskoleverket (2005).
[58] The terms hidden discrimination and overt discrimination are used as analytical categories but there is no clear line between what forms of discrimination should be considered overt or hidden. One joke could, for example, be overtly racist whilst another joke is more subtly racist.
[59] Mählk, 2003 referred to in Amnéus et.al. 2004.
[60] Moss Kanter, 1977:986.
[61] Moss Kanter, 1977:974-975.
[62] *Inventera kopplingen mellan kön och faktisk arbetssituation inom fakulteten.* Kungliga tekniska högskolan.
[63]Bourdieu, 1986:246.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Essed, Philomena & Goldberg, David Theo (2002) referred to in Saxonberg and Sawyer (2006)
[66] Essed and Goldberg (2002) and Bourdieu (1988).
[67] Ibid.
[68] Mattson Tina. 2010.
[69] Even though men may be excluded by women in women dominated work places, research also points out that men in women dominated occupations are overrepresented in top positions in contrast to how women in man dominated work places are underrepresented in top positions. The explanation lies in the structural inequality between men and women in our society which both men and women contribute to preserving.
[70] Ramon Grasfoguels & Chloe Geroas, 2007. p. 92.
[71] Tobias Hübinette & Catrin Lundström, 2011.
[72] At the *6th European Conference on Gender Equality in Higher Education, Stockholm*, augusti 2009, Maud Eduards spoke about "Feminist Interventions, Gender Equality and Academic Resistance – A Swedish Political History".
[73] For a description of how mentees have worked with this theme see under *The Assessment*
[74] Wahl et. al. 2008. *Motstånd och fantasi. Historien om F.* p 17, 119.
[75] Hearn. Jeff. 2005.
[76] *Svart på vitt. Om jämställdhet i akademin*. 2011. Delegationen för jämställdhet i högskolan.
[77] Thörnqvist, M. 2006. See also. Wennerås, C.,Wold, A. 1997. Wahl, A. et.al. 2008. Eduards, M. 2007.
[78] Mählck, P. 2004.
[79] Wahl et al 2008. p. 80, 91, 122.
[80] Nilsson. A. 2007.
[81] Eduards, Maud 2007.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Berg Christina et. al. 2012. p. 62.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.
[88] See for example, Nilsson, A. 2007. Berg Christina et al. 2012.
[89] See under *What factors facilitates a creative research environment?*

[90] many-doctoral-students-has-suffered-harassment
[91] Bergh Christina et al. 2012. p. 89
[92] Göran Bexell, Marita Hilliges & Leif Lindfors. 2009. *Att styra KI – organisation och kultur*. Att styra KI
[93] Nilsson. A. 2007. p.7
[94] Ibid. p.8
[95] Andersson et. al. 2013.. See also Husu, L., & Koskinen, P. 2010.
[96] Husu, Liisa., & Koskinen, P. 2010.
[97] See under *The Assessment*
[98]Kanter, R. M. 1977/1993. Lindgren, G. 1999. *Klass, kön och kirurgi.* Stockholm: Liber, 1999.
[99] Bergh Christina. et al. 2012. p.88
[100] Wahl et al. 2008.
[101] This perception has been confirmed in studies like Wennerås and Wold 1997.
[102] Wohlin, Emma. Coming study by Karolinska Institutet on the views of women on how to get more women elected for top positions at KI.
[103] Several of the mentees were surprised and horrified of the examples of overt forms of unequal treatment of women and men of other ethnic/national background than Swedish which have been observed at KI.
[104] Kungliga tekniska högskolan. 2012.
[105]Nilsson Angela. 2007.
[106] Jokes as acts of unequal treatment at KI - both in relation to gender and ethnicity have been described before in "Broadened perspectives in education". 2005. Karolinska Institutet.
[107] Husu 2001, p. 150
[108] Kelly, Liz. 1988.
[109] Wendt Höjer 2002. p 32. *Rädslans politik. Våld och sexualitet i den svenska demokratin*. My translation from Swedish into English.
[110] The comment had a clear sexual undertone.
[111] Other structural aspects which contribute to self-blame are discussed under *Consequences and coping strategies* and *The normality of structural inequalities*.
[112] Jeffner, Stina. 1998. *Liksom våldtäkt typ*. Uppsala universitet.
[113] Se for example: Fredrickson B, Roberts T. 1997. And Quinn Diane M, et.al.2006.
[114] Husu, Liisa. 2001.
[115] Källhammer Eva, 2008, *Akademin som arbetsplats: hälsa, ohälsa och karriärmöjligheter ur ett genusperspektiv*, Luleå: Luleå tekniska universitet.
[116] Diskrimineringsombudsmannen. *Diskriminering ett hot mot folkhälsan*. Diskriminering ett hot mot folkhälsan
[117] Diskrimineringsombudsmannen. Etnisk diskriminering och rasism i vardagen
[118] It is not claimed that each situation described or cited in this report is an example of discrimination. As it is not always easy to discern if a certain act or situation is discrimination based on gender/ethnicity/etc or is more general workplace bullying or harassment it has been suggested that these phenomena should be analyzed together as violations in the workplace (Hearn and Parkin 2001).
[119] See, for example Husu 2001 and Bondestam and Carstensen 2004. Sylvia Benckert & Else-Marie Staberg (2000) have interviewed women physicists and chemists who first claim that they have not met any kind of resistance and then continues to relate different kinds of resistance they have encountered.
[120] Nilsson (2007), for example, found that many women academics at KI do recognize that their gender plays a role in the academic setting whereas the men interviewed did not recognize their gender as relevant. Considering the dominance of men in top positions at KI like professors and deans, the chances of women and other minority groups to get recognition for their experiences of discrimination is minimal. Other factors contribute to the difficulties of recognizing structural discrimination and unequal treatment. See *KI culture and academic culture* about meritocracy and the self-image of the academic world as objective and non-gendered.
[121] Sexual violence may be recognized on a general principal level at the same time as specific acts of sexual violence are redefined so that the victim's experience is invalidated. Also see for example, Jeffner 1997. *Liksom våldtäkt typ.*
[122] Kelly 1988: p 144,146.

[123] Ibid.
[124] Husu Liisa. 2001. p.206
[125] Gemzöe 2010; Weinestål, Häyrén A, Salminen-Karlsson, M 2010.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Moss-Racusina, Corinne A. et. al. 2012.
129 Budden, Amber E., et.al. 2012.
[129] Ahlqvist, Veronica, et.al. 2013.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] SOU 2011:1.
[133]Jämställdheten i Vetenskapsrådets forskningsstöd 2009–2010. VETENSKAPSRÅDETS LILLA RAPPORTSERIE, 6:2012. In 2013 women had, for the first time, a greater success rate than men.
[134] See under *The Assessment* for a description of the different forms of funding.
[135] The statistics has been compiled from (then) available data at the KI website:
[136] There was a great variation, though, of the success rates of men and women, when comparing each granting event. Mentee reflections on this discrepancy were that there may be a "compensation policy", as the variation seemed to follow a pattern in which one announcement with a high success rate of men applicants compared to women applicants was followed by one announcement with a high success rates of women applicants compared to men applicants. In the first announcement 2010, for instance, 10 women applied and one woman received a grant compared to 11 men applying and 5 receiving grants. In the second announcement in 2010, 11 women applied and 5 women received grants compared to 10 men applying and one man receiving a grant.
[137] The figures relate to those who applied and those who were selected to receive grants. As some of the selected persons to receive grants later declined -- the final proportion men and women recipients of grants are not the same as in the related figures.
[138] The *Swedish Research Council.* 2013.