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Embodiment: Exploring the Multidimensionality of the Body in Societies and Organizations

Embodiment: Die Multidimensionalität des Körpers und dessen Bedeutung in Organisationen und Gesellschaft

The WU Gender and Diversity Conference 2024
March 7 and 8

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Legal and Social Aspect of Workplace Sexual Harassment with Case Studies in Indonesia and Australia

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Abstract. Although more than half of female workers experienced sexual harassment in both Indonesia and Australia, data show that less than a fifth of these workers ever reported it. The fear of retaliation, victimization, trauma, unequal power dynamics, and difficulty in accessing legal aid are the underlying factors for not reporting the sexual violence. The question lies in whether the Indonesian and Australian legal systems can provide the victims with the support they need, as they may have to go through the obstacles. The issue is that while the Indonesian legal system excludes victims' testimony from the entire legal process, the Australian system is too complex for both employers and victims to understand and implement.

The methodology used in this paper is a comparative study of Indonesian and Australian legal case studies in both criminal and civil cases. These cases were used to understand the role of law (legal content), law enforcers (legal structure), and the victims' relationships to society, their families, and themselves (legal culture) in affecting the outcomes of the sexual harassment proceedings. While the law itself can affect whether the victims can obtain justice legally, the law enforcers and social stigma can also determine the legal outcomes and further traumatize the victims. Knowing the number of challenges the victims need to face to get justice in reporting sexual harassment, we recommend a more victim-focused legal system. The system should also put more pressure on employers' active roles in preventing sexual harassment rather than merely relying on victims' bravery to report. We also believe that writing clear definitions of sexual harassment terms in the legislation is necessary to minimize misinterpretation that can further harm the victims.

Keywords: *Sexual Harassment; Workplace Sexual Harassment; University Sexual Harassment; Sexual Violence; Gender-based Violence; Legal Aspect of Sexual Harassment*

1 Introduction

The International Labour Organization (ILO, 2024) mentioned that 1 out of 5 workers worldwide were exposed to workplace sexual harassment. In Indonesia, a survey conducted by Perempuan Mahardhika (2017), involving 773 female garment workers at Kawasan Berikat Nusantara (KBN) Cakung, showed that 56.5% of workers had experienced sexual harassment, but only 5.95% reported it. In Australia, 55% of female workers experienced sexual harassment (UN Women, 2018), but only 17% reported it (AHRC, 2021). Women worldwide cite fear of retaliation, victimization, and subsequent trauma as reasons for not reporting harassment (UN Women, 2018), while, for instance in Indonesia, women are also exposed to unequal power dynamics and have difficulty accessing legal aid (Perempuan Mahardhika, 2017).

While victimization in Australia is linked to preventing a \$3.8 billion productivity loss (AHRC, 2021), for Indonesian women, it stems from the stigma of being labelled as "bad women" (Yuniar, 2019). This is worsened by the fact that, in Indonesia, psychological evidence is not considered valid in court. According to the Indonesian Criminal Procedure Code, Article 184, valid evidence includes witness testimony, expert statements, letters, indications, and the defendant's testimony. Electronic information is included as evidence by the Electronic Information and Transaction Law, Article 5, but corroborative or circumstantial evidence and victims' testimonies are excluded from legal processes. This can hinder a victim's ability to seek justice, as workplace sexual harassment can cause lifelong psychological damage, such as systemic trauma, depression, and PTSD (Fitzgerald, 2017), yet these harms cannot be used to help them in seeking justice.

In Indonesia, legal remedies were previously limited, as sexual harassment terms were not recognized until 1991, when it was introduced by the late Dr. Sabaroedin and one of the authors (Katjasungkana) while handling Rani's case, which will be discussed further in this paper. Although the Sexual Discrimination Act 1984 (SD Act 1984) was introduced in Australia in 1984, the AHRC (2021) mentioned that their current sexual harassment-related legal system is still too complex for both victims and employers to navigate and, therefore, needs significant changes.

2 Methodology

This paper examines the importance of legal systems in supporting sexual harassment victims to encourage more women to move forward and seek justice. It also pursues understanding different ways to provide better protection to the victims. The methodology used in this paper is a comparative case study of sexual harassment cases in Indonesia and Australia, analyzing both criminal and civil cases to assess how each country's legal system influences outcomes.

This paper was written from two perspectives: a United Nations Representative to an NGO with UN ECOSOC Special Consultative Status and the Chair of the Indonesian Legal Aid Association for Women or LBH APIK (Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Asosiasi Perempuan Indonesia untuk Keadilan). The Indonesian case studies used in this paper are the original cases handled by Katjasungkana, one of the authors, during her work as a lawyer in Legal Aid Jakarta.

3 Case Study

3.1 Case study group 1: Criminal case studies

3.1.1 Indonesian Case Study

Rani (pseudonym) was a student at the IISIP (Institute of Social and Political Science Jakarta) who was also a divorcee. Together with her classmate Yani, she was offered night shift work by the university's Chancellor. After they started the job, the Chancellor frequently came in during the evening and invited Rani to his room. When Rani came in for the first time, he closed the door and pulled her into his arms, kissed and groped Rani's breasts and vagina forcefully. The following day, the Chancellor called Rani again and openly requested sexual intercourse. He also asked the university's office boy to bring in a mattress to his room. Rani denied his request, but the Chancellor continued to force the sexual intercourse on her regardless.

Rani sought legal assistance from Legal Aid Jakarta at the end of 1990. I (Katjasungkana) then accompanied her to Jakarta's regional police. Rani's report was corroborated by the pattern of sexual violence that Yani (the classmate who worked with her) and the Chancellor's domestic worker experienced. Rani's case triggered public controversies. Rani and I received intense bullying, victim-blaming questions, and physical harassment during the reporting process and during the trials from the institution's alumni and journalists. The aggression was particularly targeted at Rani's divorcee status and the gap in time between the incident and her report. Meanwhile, students of IISIP who believed in Rani also held a protest to demand the Chancellor's resignation from his position.

The Chancellor was then tried at the South Jakarta District Court. As a result of public pressure and the judge's attitude, which cornered the victim, the Court decided to find the Chancellor "not guilty of all charges because there is no sufficient and convincing evidence." This means the Court decided to ignore the testimony of three witnesses (Yani and another domestic worker who also experienced sexual violence, and the office boy who brought in the mattress). The Court also failed to accept the victim's testimony as evidence.

That is why, through LBH APIK, I fought to have Indonesian Domestic Violence Law no. 23 of 2004 Article 55 in place: "As a valid form of evidence, the victim's testimony alone is sufficient to prove that the defendant is guilty if accompanied by other valid evidence." Also based on many other cases, in 2017, LBH APIK Jakarta and MaPPI (Masyarakat Profesi Penilai Indonesia - Indonesian Judicial Monitoring Society) managed to convince the Indonesian Supreme Court to launch a Standard Operating Procedure for judges in handling gender-based violence and discrimination. However, the implementation of the standard procedure has never been documented as effective.

3.1.2 Australian Case Study (Hoyle v The Queen, 2018)

A 65-year-old business law lecturer at the University of Canberra invited five female students in late April 2015 to his room privately to discuss plagiarism in their assignments. The victims were identified as ZG, KA, TL, EO and UU.

Hoyle met with each of these students separately and asked for sexual favours to make the plagiarism issue disappear as follows:

1. On 20 April 2015, Hoyle showed online pornographic materials to ZG. Hoyle also requested to place his hands on her thighs.

2. He then moved to sexually harass KA three days later by holding her on the back and showing a kissing gesture.
3. To another female student named EO, he placed his hands on her thighs and briefly touched her upper arm.
4. Hoyle then also took sexual advantage of UU by touching her face, kissing her forehead, cheeks, and lips, and touching her breasts on different occasions.
5. On 29 April 2015, Hoyle touched TL on her breast and leg and reached her underwear by placing his hands under her skirt. He then pulled down TL's stockings and engaged in a digital penetration. Hoyle then removed his clothing and underwear and engaged in penile/vaginal intercourse with TL.

In April 2017, a jury found that Hoyle had committed eight sexual offences against his students, and they added two additional related charges. He was sentenced to a total of eight years imprisonment. Hoyle appealed each conviction, but his appeals were rejected.

3.2 Case study group 2: Civil case studies

3.2.1 Indonesian Case Study

Tari (pseudonym), a secretary of the Head of Branch of AG Bank's Jakarta, experienced sexual harassment from her supervisor, Tom (Head of Branch), on her first day of work. Tom attempted to hug and kiss her from behind when he called her to his room, but Tari resisted and escaped. The next day, he repeated the behaviour and later apologized by showering her with water and flowers on the following day. On the fourth day, Tom asked Tari to accompany him to an out-of-office meeting, which he diverted to a motel room in North Jakarta. There, Tom took off his clothes and attempted to undress Tari. Tari was hysterical and banged the room's door, which made Tom let her go.

With her shirt unbuttoned, Tari then reported the incident to the police station. According to Indonesian law, Tom should be charged based on Article 285 Criminal Code for attempted rape. However, on the same day, Tari's family pressured her to withdraw the police report to keep her job and continue providing for her family financially. Under the family's pressure, Tari pretended to agree in withdrawing the report and asked Tom to sign an apology statement. Tari stayed overnight at the police station to ask the officers to cancel the withdrawal agreement.

When I (Katjasungkana) obtained Tari's case files from the police station, I understood that the Order to Stop Investigation had long been issued and it was never withdrawn as Tari requested. A female police officer said, "She is a bad woman who dated someone else's husband" and "She acted like a prostitute and does not deserve a defense." I was surprised because at that time, I also represented a sex worker case, which the same police station refused to process for the same reason.

I then explained to Tari what her rights and options were, which was to use a pre-trial process to try the police officer for failing to pursue her case or to file a civil lawsuit by demanding compensation from Tom and AG Bank at the District Court. Tari chose the latter. Tom and AG Bank then offered Tari compensation equal to 3.5 years of her salary.

3.2.2 Australian Case Study (AHRC 2002)

Eleanor was a 15-year-old casual shop assistant in a suburban store in Australia, who worked on weekends and after school. Five months into her employment, the 32-year-old owner and manager of the store, Jeremy, asked Eleanor if she had a boyfriend and if she had had sex. He also showed

pornographic magazines to Eleanor and asked if they “turned her on.” Jeremy also kissed and touched Eleanor regularly. He continued sharing his sexual experiences with Eleanor, and exposed his genitalia to her. Jeremy also put his fingers into Eleanor’s vagina, asked her to suck his penis, and masturbated in front of her. He also frequently attempted to penetrate her after the store closing time.

Eleanor resigned and filed a formal complaint with Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) against Jeremy and the store, alleging sexual harassment and sex discrimination. This complaint was settled at conciliation, with Eleanor receiving \$17,000 for general damages.

4 Analysis

4.1 Case study group 1: Criminal case

Table 1 Analysis of Case Study Group 1

	Indonesian Case	Australian Case
Legal content	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Criminal Code Article 285 for anyone who forces women to have sexual intercourse outside of marriage (12 years imprisonment). 2. Criminal Code Article 294(2) for: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) anyone who commits obscene act to a pupil or minor under their care (7 years imprisonment). (2) the same punishment applies to: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. officials who did obscene acts to his or her subordinate that has been entrusted to him or her; ii. the executive, teacher, official of educational institution who commits any obscene act with a person admitted thereto. 	<p>ACT Crimes Act 1900 Section 54 about Sexual intercourse without consent (12-15 years imprisonment).</p>
Legal structure	<p>The judge found the defendant not guilty on all charges.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The jury found the defendant guilty on eight charges and two other charges. 2. The judge denied the defendant’s appeal.
Legal culture	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The case caught media attention resulted in the institution’s students intimidated the victim and her lawyer. 2. Further victim-blaming backlash by journalists who were the institution’s alumni. 3. 	<p>The case caught media attention, which highlighted the abuse of power by a professor to the students.</p>

Source: Author (2024)

Similarities in Case Studies Group 1:

1. The perpetrators were university professors/Chancellors.
2. Both cases involved sexual assaults and a pattern of repeated sexual violence toward other female students.
3. Both cases attracted media attention.

Differences in Case Studies Group 1:

1. The media stood against Rani but had Hoyle’s victims’ back.
2. In Hoyle’s case, the victim’s testimony was used as evidence to prosecute, but in Rani’s case, it was not.
3. In Hoyle’s case, Hoyle was found guilty and imprisoned for eight years, while Rani’s rapist walked free with only public shaming consequence.

If Rani’s case were tried in Australia, she would have a better chance of getting justice because:

1. In Australia, if her case did not find justice in the State system, she can still pursue it in the Federal court system, while this was not the case in Indonesia because of the centralized government system.
2. Rani’s voice would also be heard as she could make a Victim Impact Statement, and this could be presented as evidence to Australian courts.
3. Rani would also have a chance to bring a civil case against the institution (IISIP) because according to SD Act 1984 Section 106, the institution has the same liability as the person who committed the act unless they took all reasonable steps to prevent sexual harassment, which was not the case.

4.2 Case study group 2: Civil case

Table 2 Analysis of Case Study Group 2

	Indonesian Case	Australian Case
Legal content	Civil Code Article 1365 about party that commits illegal act is obliged to compensate. Criminal Code Article 294 on sexual harassment in the workplace could be used as the basis of criminal charge against the Chancellor. Article 285 on rape could be applied as well.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. SD Act 1984 Section 28B(1)(a) about employer/business owner harassing their employee. 2. SD Act 1984 Section 106 about vicarious liability.
Legal structure	The police did not pursue the report based on their gender bias and subjective opinions.	The victim was heard, and the civil case was solved without further victimization.
Legal culture	The victim’s family pressured her to withdraw the police report, and the victim was expected to go back to work with the harasser.	The victim resigned from work.

Source: Author (2024)

Similarities in Case Study Group 2:

1. The harassers were the employers of the victims.
2. Both cases involved sexual assaults and attempted rape.
3. Both cases were solved with civil lawsuits that provided monetary compensation.

Differences in Case Study Group 2:

1. Tari experienced victimization by police officers, but Eleanor did not face further victimization.
2. Tari was pressured to withdraw the report because of her family’s stigma and financial needs, but Eleanor was never pressured to withdraw her report.

3. Tari had to return to work with her perpetrator due to financial hardship, while Eleanor could choose to resign.

Though both victims received financial outcomes through the civil lawsuits, Tari had to experience further victimization by the police officers. Unfortunately, this behaviour of not being believed by police officers also happens in Australia (Ting et al., 2020). It shows that even if the legal content (law) in both Australia and Indonesia can be a legal remedy for the victim in equal manners, the legal structure and legal culture can cause further damage to the victim regardless of the country in which the victim lives.

Indonesia and Australia have tried to reform their legal content to being more victim-focused through measures such as the Indonesian Minister of Manpower's Regulation Number 88 of 2023 and the Australian Respect at Work Act 2022. These oblige public and private organizations and their labour unions to issue mandatory regulations to give employers an active duty in preventing workplace sexual harassment and victimization from occurring in their workplaces. In Australia, the breach of this legislation may subject businesses to compliance notices, enforceable undertakings, and monetary penalties. This gives victims more certainty that if they decide to report their sexual harassment experience, their companies will need to process their complaints fairly. Employees can now have a higher chance to have a workplace free of sexual harassment because employers must take all reasonable steps to provide it as required by the law.

Also, the Costs Protection Bill 2023 is proposed in Australia's Respect at Work Act 2022. This means that the court will not be able to order the victims to pay the legal cost of the harasser if they lose, unless the case is made vexatiously or if the victims have more power or financial resources than the harasser. This will result in more sexual harassment victims to report cases without the fear of retaliation.

5 Recommendation

The case studies show that the path for women to get justice for their sexual harassment experience is uneasy. In addition to legal retaliation and victimization, they may also encounter media backlash, degrading stigma, economic issues, and victim-blaming pressure through family and society. This might force women to stay silent and keep working with the perpetrator regardless of their discomfort. This is why reluctance to report sexual harassment should be seen as a multi-faceted problem that needs more comprehensive solutions.

While strong legislation is essential, it is equally important to ensure that legal enforcers, court staff, and the community support victims in seeking justice. Learning from Indonesia's case studies, we understand that patriarchal and gender bias can heavily affect the justice system. Therefore, addressing the underlying victim blaming and victimization cultures, and protection from legal retaliation are paramount. Employers must take proactive steps in eradicating workplace sexual harassment rather than solely relying on the victims' bravery to report through the system that may stand against them. Additionally, including a clear definition of sexual harassment terms in the legislation is also essential to minimize unnecessary misinterpretation of sexual acts that can harm the victims further.

Authors

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Nursyahbani Katjasungkana is a co-founder of APIK (Indonesian Legal Aid Association for Women) and currently serves as Chair of the Board of Directors, as well as Chair of the Board of Trustees of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation, a leading women's and human rights organization in Indonesia. She was the Commissioner of the National Commission on Violence Against Women (1998-2004) and the first Secretary General of the Indonesian Women's Coalition for Justice and Democracy (1998-2003). She was also a member of the World Bank Advisory Council on Gender and Development (2013-2015). She has extensive experience in training on feminist legal theory, including gender and sexual rights.

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The meaning of femininity and pregnancy in the context of the careers of female surgeons in Germany

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Abstract. Depending on the specialist area and hierarchical level, the proportion of women in German hospitals is falling or rising only slowly – in the field of surgery. In this context, women are in the minority and are confronted with predominantly male colleagues and male-dominated structures. Therefore, this article focuses on aspects of feminization in medicine and addresses the following research question: What influence do male-dominated structures within surgery have on the pregnancy of female physicians? What are the consequences of pregnancy on the career of female surgeons? This article analyses how women's careers in medicine are institutionally influenced due to the impact of legal regulations, some of which are interpreted very strictly or applied arbitrarily. Furthermore, training structures and part-time models do not offer women alternatives, impacting their career progression. The paper relies on semi-structured qualitative interview data from 2023, that are part of a dissertation project. The interview participants are surgeons in German hospitals and experts from various specialties. The current results so far show, that there are several adjustments that can and could be made here to enable women to stay in work, avoid having to extend their training period and counteract discrimination in the workplace within surgery.

Keywords: *Pregnancy; female physicians; gender stereotypes; career; feminization; risk assessment; maternity; surgery; hospital*

1 Introduction

The German healthcare system has been undergoing change for decades, not only because of new regulations, but above all because of structural changes. More and more young women are studying and later entering the world of medicine. It is not uncommon for them to encounter structures that are diametrically opposed to their ideas and aspirations - this is partly due to the fact that it remains a male-dominated field of work (Acker, 1992). The representation of women in management positions is disproportionately low, with only 5% of management roles held by women (Bühren & Wenzel, 2021). This has the potential to influence the progression of their careers. Furthermore, the ideal image of the successful and male doctor is ascribed certain roles and necessary skills, which in turn lead to power and influence, and thus to leadership positions. Therefore, women are disadvantaged because of their gender, specifically their ability to give birth. It is not uncommon for women to be prohibited from continuing their employment following the announcement of their pregnancy. This can have significant implications for their future career and 'female physicians experienced difficulties gaining access to career opportunities in their profession, even if they had no children' (Reimann & Alfermann, 2017). In this context, it would be beneficial to conduct further research to ascertain the impact of gender categorization on the career trajectory of female surgeons in Germany.

Other structural influences include demographic change, the shortage of medical specialists and the economization of medicine. A review of the literature reveals a predominant focus on a single aspect, such as generational change or feminization within the medical field (Elenga & Krishnaswamy 2023; Steiner-Hofbauer et al., 2023; Reimann & Alfermann, 2017; Ziegler et al., 2017). However, there is a paucity of research exploring the intersections between these aspects and the ways in which they influence each other, potentially giving rise to the observed phenomena. The objective of my research is to present a novel perspective on the factors that influence and impede the advancement of women in surgical professions. This article addresses the following research questions concerning aspects of femininity and pregnancy in surgery:

1. What influence do male-dominated structures within surgery have on the pregnancy of female physicians?
2. What are the consequences of pregnancy on the career of female surgeons?

Therefore, I collected data in 2023 through semi-structured interviews and analyzed these data according to the method proposed by Mayring (2015). This approach allowed for the recording and subsequent analysis of the personal experiences and views of female surgeons, in consideration of the multifaceted dimensions of feminization, economization, skills deficiencies, and generational transformation.

This paper starts with a brief overview of gender and its relation to the medical field. Thereafter, the methodology, the data basis, and the empirical findings are presented. The paper ends with a discussion and further conclusions for research and practice.

2 Medicine and Gender

Modern medicine as we know it today has been established since the 17th-18th centuries and can be described as a traditionally male field. Even the profession of nursing, which was offered and practiced by religious orders, was not initially a purely female profession and only became such due to societal negotiations. The basis for this was the gender-specific allocation of character traits, through which

women were ascribed qualities like sacrifice and selflessness (Wilkesmann, 2009). However, when considering the social perceptions of the medical profession and the idealized image of male physicians, masculine character traits are still emphasized, such as success, dominance, or assertiveness (Kaiser et al., 2012; Krell, 2008; Cornell, 1995). These traits are especially prevalent in male-dominated fields like surgery. Women are subject to a 'token status', as they are often the only woman in a team and are therefore a representation of their gender - which means that their appearance is noticed more quickly than that of their male colleagues (Krell, 2010, pp. 460) and they are exposed to a 'double disadvantage mechanism' (Krell, 2010, p.454). All in all, hospitals and medicine can be described as a traditionally 'male' field and as part of the 'gendered institutions' described by Joan Acker (Acker, 1992). Even though the number of female medical students has been increasing for several years (Figure 1) and is now higher than the proportion of male medical students.

As already mentioned, medicine is still a male-dominated field, which retains the same structures. Even though more women are entering surgery and orthopedics, they are socialized in a male-dominated field and must adapt to and follow male-dominated guidelines and framework conditions (Zindel & Wilkesmann, 2023). Despite the steady increase in female medical students and professionals, there is still a lack of female leadership positions, like directors. This may be due to prejudices against women held by managers (Geighardt-Knollmann, 2015). Furthermore, a considerable number of patients are unable to identify female physicians due to the perception that the medical profession is predominantly associated with males. The use of phrases such as "When is the doctor coming?" or "The doctor hasn't even been in yet today!" which explicitly refer to male doctors, is a common occurrence for women working in the medical field. Additionally, addressing junior physicians as the head physician in the presence of the female head or senior physician is also a common occurrence. This makes it clear that job-related gender stereotypes are omnipresent for women in the profession and ultimately have an impact on their careers. Their desire to pursue a career is often denied, and their intention to start a family and take a career break is assumed (Kaiser, 2012, p.19). As a result, many women work part-time to manage family and work: 39.3% in North Rhine-Westphalian hospitals in 2023 (2011: 31.1%). Even though a growing proportion of men are working part-time (2011: 7.7%, 2023: 16.8%) (Information und Technik Nordrhein-Westfalen, 2023), women still do most of the care work at home - the Gender Care Gap in 2022 is 44.3% (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2024). As a result, female doctors are under-represented in leadership positions: 13% female clinic directors and 37% female senior physicians (Deutscher Ärztinnenbund e.V., 2022) (Figure 2 and 3).

The proportion of women in surgery and orthopedics (these data were only available together) has increased by 6.2% in 14 years, but there is still a long way to go before we can speak of equal representation in management positions. With a male share of 84%, women are often unintentionally put in the spotlight in their professional life and are more likely to attract attention than their male colleagues. As a result, female surgeons sometimes have to work harder for recognition in the team; however, this is difficult because they are not allowed to behave in a way that contradicts female gender stereotypes, as this could lead to isolation (Kanter, 1977, pp. 210). Consequently, women find themselves in a constant conflict between 'doing gender' and 'undoing gender', whether in team conversations with patients or in their behavior as supervisors: 'Women's bodies – female sexuality, their ability to procreate and their pregnancy, breast-feeding, and childcare [...] - are suspect, stigmatized, and used as grounds for control and exclusion' (Acker, 1990, p. 152).

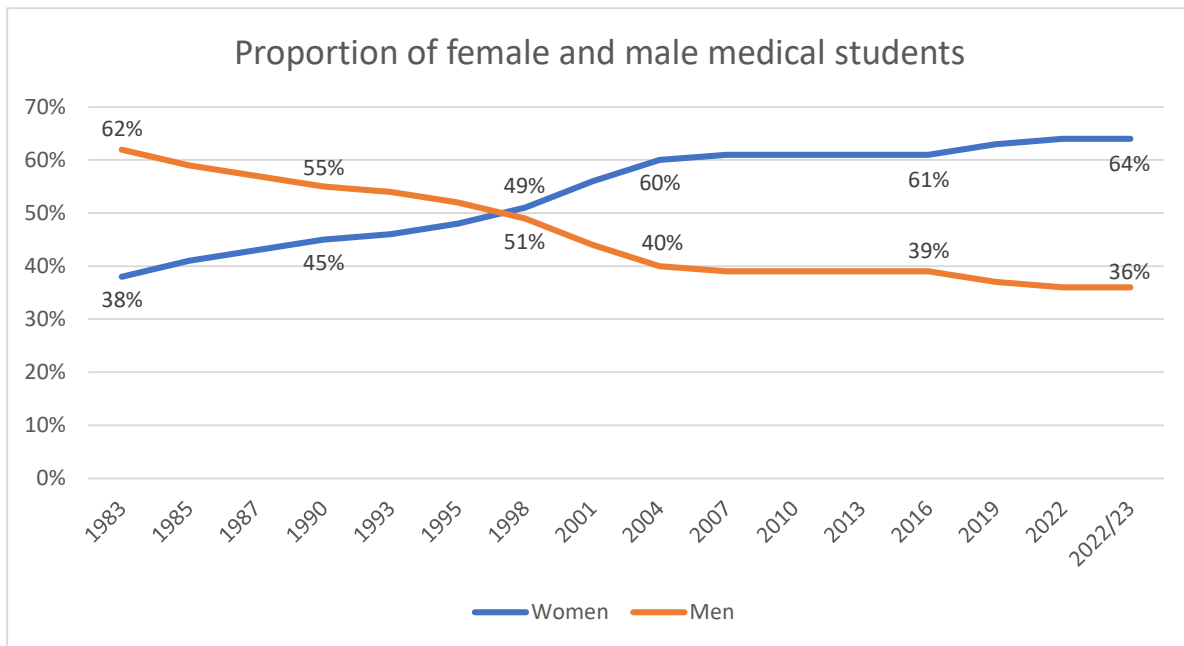


Figure 1: Proportion of female and male medical students. Source: Statista; own calculation and presentation.

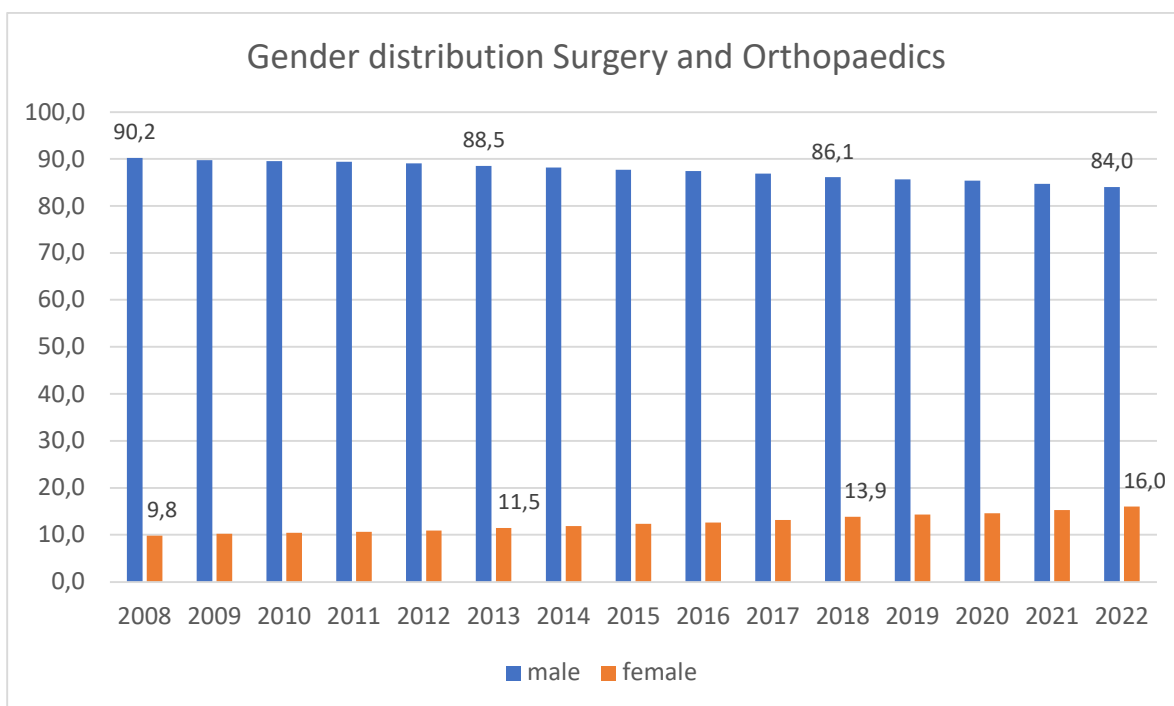


Figure 2: Gender distribution Surgery and Orthopaedics. Source: Statistical information from the Federal Register of Physician, National Association of Statutory Health Insurance Physicians; own presentation.

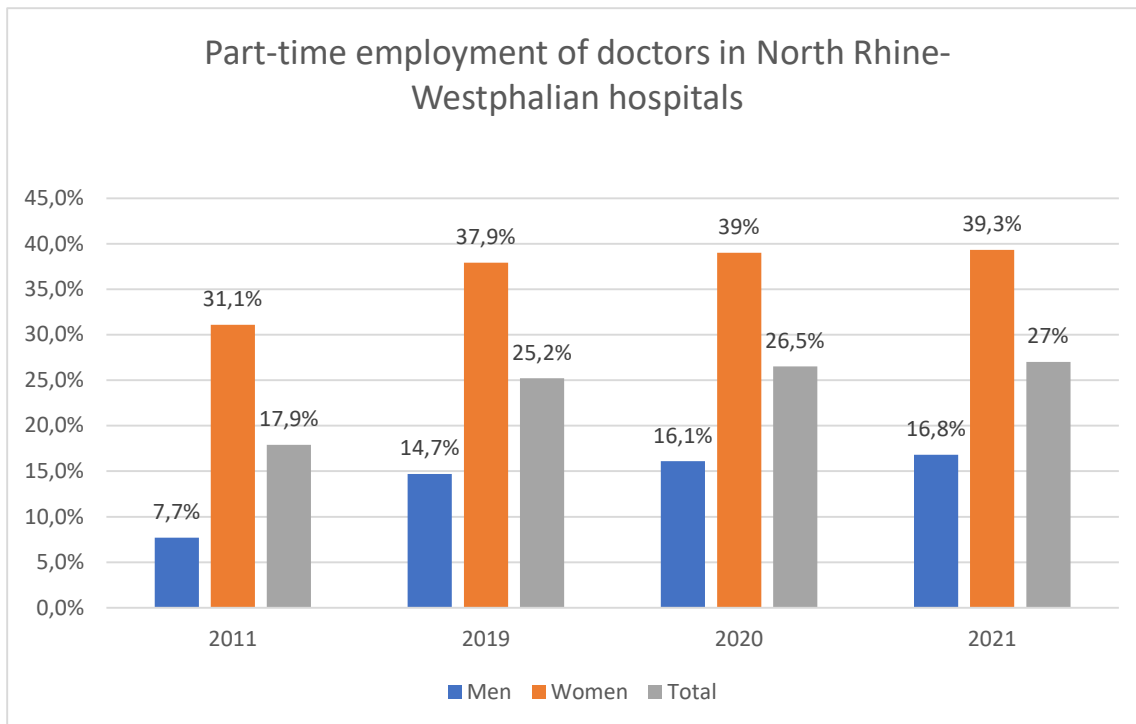


Figure 3: Part-time employment of doctors in North Rhine-Westphalian hospitals. Source: Statistical Information from Information and Technology North Rhine-Westphalia; own presentation.

3 Pregnancy and the impact on work

Every pregnant woman in Germany is subject to the Maternity Protection Act, which is intended to prevent any risk to the expectant mother and child in the workplace (Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend). In light of these considerations, it falls upon employers to prioritize the continued employment of pregnant women. While a ban on employment represents a last consequence, the challenge lies in identifying surgical procedures that could pose a risk to the woman and the unborn child. This entails avoiding or limiting procedures that entail prolonged periods of standing and physical exertion, as these can potentially lead to complications. The guidelines for pregnant women in surgery from the University Medical Center Schleswig-Holstein, which aim to present women with existing rights and opportunities, also consider emergency care, night and on-call duties, work in intensive care units, or wards with an increased risk of infection to be unsuitable. In addition, it is recommended that only elective surgery should be performed on pregnant women, and that their serological status for infectious diseases (e.g., hepatitis B, C, HIV, measles, mumps, rubella) should be known prior to surgery. In principle, operations without the use of X-ray technology or bone involvement and lasting a maximum of two hours are therefore possible for pregnant surgeons (Universitätsklinikum Schleswig-Holstein, 2022, pp. 8). This shows how difficult it is to implement these regulations, depending on the specialty, and what challenges they can pose for the workflow in clinics. If the above-mentioned issues and risks for pregnant women cannot be sufficiently eliminated, the employer is entitled to prohibit the woman from working or to transfer her to another area, even without her consent. Conversely, this has already led to some women having to do more work outside of the operating room:

'After three months, I reported the pregnancy. My head physician at the time was around 60 years old and I knew his attitude to pregnant women in surgery: they were no longer allowed in the operating room! That was the only restriction on my work, so

I had several jobs at the same time: ward care, the emergency department, ultrasound examinations, I was available for everything at all times. Those were exhausting months without the relative peace and quiet of surgery. After a few months, I went into premature labor and had to spend three weeks at home [...].’ (field report by Dr. Freia Minz, on OPidS)

According to a survey by the German Medical Association (Marburger Bund, 2022), such restrictions mean that women often only inform their employers of their pregnancy at a late(r) stage. The majority of women surveyed said that they did not announce their pregnancy until the 2nd or 3rd month, or even in the 4th or 5th month. Reasons for a later announcement included pregnancy-related illnesses, the application of maternity protection rules, or heavy workloads, which have increased in recent years. While 15% of women in the 2016/17 survey reported a high workload, this figure had risen to 29% by 2022. But why do they not tell their employers that they are pregnant if it is so important for the protection of the mother and child? In short, because these women fear social and professional disadvantages. Not only a ban on performing an operation, but also a general ban on working, or the fear of losing one's job and negative reactions from the team or from superiors can be the consequence, as has already been made clear above. The onset of pregnancy can therefore result in greater professional and personal losses for female surgeons than is the case in other workplaces. For example, female assistant physicians accumulate more than ten permitted days of absence (per tertial) during their practical year, which makes it more difficult for them to continue their medical work.

4 Methodology and data basis

To address the research questions, a qualitative interview methodology was selected as the primary data collection method. Central to the decision was the ability to gain insights into the individual experiences and perceptions of the physicians, allowing for the formulation of questions accordingly, and the ability to draw conclusions from 'smaller social unit[s] to larger social contexts' (Brüsemeister, 2000, p. 65) and a new perspective is presented regarding the attitudes and perceptions of the female participants in the study. Semi-structured interviews were chosen due to the fact that they permit the comparison of content, although this does not entirely preclude the possibility of thematic influence on the interviews. This is because certain aspects may be deemed irrelevant due to the question and therefore not addressed. Nevertheless, it offers a valuable framework for grasping the 'epistemological interest of the study' (Przyborski & Wohlrab-Sahr, 2014, p. 127). It is likely that this issue cannot be eliminated. To address this issue to some extent, participants were invited to provide additional insights at the conclusion of each interview, with a view to eliciting information that might not have been covered in the course of the discussion. Questions covered socio-demographic data, educational and professional experiences, and various diversity categories. Interviewees were selected through network contacts, predefined criteria, and snowball sampling, which proved particularly effective in recruiting female assistant physicians, who were largely drawn to participate in interviews based on recommendations from other participants. It is regrettable that I received minimal feedback in response to my personal inquiries, which limited my ability to gain new insights in this area.

This resulted in a total of 15 physicians from the field of surgery and 9 experts from the medical environment, such as consultants or equal opportunities officers, being interviewed. The interviewees came from different regions of Germany and the size of the cities ranges from 10,000 to over 1 million residents. For reasons of data protection, no city names or Federal states are mentioned, because the possibility of a reference back cannot be ruled out. This means that hospitals from the basic care level

(from 200 beds) to the maximum care level (up to more than 1000 beds) are represented. Qualitative content analysis, as outlined by Mayring (2000), was selected as the analytical approach. The process of filtering out and summarizing specific themes, content, and aspects from the collected data material is advantageous, as it enables a more focused and organized presentation of the material. This approach is deductive, and the material is then assigned to appropriate categories through qualitative analysis processes.

Table 1: Survey population within surgery and experts from the medical environment.

	Gender		Survey total
	m	f	
Chief Physicians	2	3	5
Senior Physicians	0	6	6
Medical Specialists	1	0	1
Assistant Physicians	1	2	3
Experts medical environment	3	6	9
Total			24

Source: own data.

5 Empirical findings

The following section discusses the empirical results of the questions posed at the beginning. To begin with, it can be said that the automatic association between femininity, motherhood and caring work not only makes it more difficult for female physicians to reach management positions, but that it begins at the start of their residency and continues throughout their careers.

‘It was a job interview where I was not only asked about my marital status. In other words, my desire to have children, as well as my religion and sexual orientation. [...] Sometimes you are confronted with prejudices. And they also ask completely illegal questions. The only problem is that you do not say: "Now I'm going to sue him for this interview." You simply do not go. In other words, this career opportunity is taken away from you because you categorically rule it out for yourself. That was a nice clinic. In principle, I could have started there. But this job interview made me say: "Absolutely not".’ (female assistant physician in surgery)

Furthermore, part-time work after childbirth and parental leave can double the time required for further training, making a professional career a distant prospect. In addition, women may be unable or unwilling to spend as much time in the clinic, meaning that they are less flexible or spontaneous and therefore less present, which can be a further professional disadvantage (Kaiser et al., 2012). Ultimately, all of this means that women are less likely to gain practical experience and therefore may receive less support from superiors, as they are denied the commitment and will to pursue a career.

The male-dominated structure of medicine presents a number of factors that affect the careers of female physicians in diverse ways, both during and after pregnancy. One aspect, as already mentioned, is the high number of male physicians – at all levels of the hierarchy. This influences how women are perceived and how they are treated in the workplace. Even before they become pregnant, they are in the minority - subject to the ‘token status’ - and are therefore more likely to be the focus of attention than male team members, for example because of their appearance (Krell, 2010). If we now look at the specialist field of surgery, which, depending on the focus, requires a great deal of strength and

physical exertion - qualities that are still associated with men - it is not surprising that women often find it more difficult.

In medicine it is important to be present in the hospital, to learn as much as possible and to fulfill the operation catalog during internship. Those occupying higher positions within the organizational structure are increasingly required to demonstrate flexibility and spontaneity in their work. For some, this can present a challenge, as one chief surgeon observed:

'The problem is the working hours, which do not always fit in with nursery or other times. If you have a management position, you call and say, "There is a problem, I cannot cope", I drive in and I think it is a bit more difficult when a child is ill, and the family needs to be taken into account. So, for me, my career is actually a bit at the expense of my private time. I do not see a solution yet.' (male chief surgeon)

This quote illustrates quite well that all parents face challenges balancing family and professional work life in medicine. Although the number of men working part-time is increasing, at present women still do most of the caring work, which means that in most cases mothers have to find other ways of helping, such as other family members or friends, if the other parent is unable to help. Despite the provision of childcare facilities for the children of staff members at numerous hospitals, these facilities frequently do not remain open throughout the entire day, leaving parents unable to provide emergency care later in the day. This can lead to a dichotomy between one's own self-concept (Abele, 2006) and the deviation from the norm (Toppe, 2009; Fischer, 2017), making it difficult or even impossible to reconcile work, career, and family. As a result, women's careers are put on hold due to arbitrary employment bans and a lack of structure that allow them to work on their careers during pregnancy, and there is no improvement afterwards, as they are less likely to be in hospital due to caring responsibilities, less frequently scheduled for surgery and subsequently less likely to hold management positions.

'In surgery, we unfortunately still experience that we are blocked from operating by the company physician. Because the clinic does not want to legally allow pregnant physicians to operate. This means that you have to sign a document that says: I renounce everything. No matter what happens to me here. In return, I can continue to operate. Hardly anyone does that. [...] We still see many male colleagues who take a month's parental leave after having a child. And vice versa, you see female colleagues who are away for up to a year, maybe even longer [...] from a purely economic point of view, it makes more sense to hire a man. And I think we need to get to the point in Germany where men and women take the same amount of parental leave to compensate for this disadvantage, this career disadvantage, for women. [...] [I]t is such a massive career loss that you cannot make up for it afterwards.' (female assistant physician in surgery)

'I now also have a second senior physician who has a child, she is a single mother with two children. But that only works because the parents take care of them. I sometimes get the feeling that she also feels that her kids are missing out. But if that helps her career, you do not want her to somehow think she is a bad mom.' (head of surgery)

This example demonstrates the predicament faced by mothers, who must navigate the competing demands of professional and personal responsibilities. On the one hand, they are confronted with professional challenges, such as longer working hours and a need for constant flexibility, as well as lower salaries. On the other hand, they are required to shoulder the burden of domestic tasks, including housework and childcare. It is a common social expectation for women to prioritize their family over their careers; this is seen as a "labor of love" (Riegraf, 2019, p. 765). Conversely, societal expectations

dictate that fathers should prioritize their careers over their families. For single parents, these expectations present an even greater challenge.

The unpredictability of everyday life due to working in surgery is a significant factor influencing female doctors' decisions to avoid this specialty, particularly if they are unable to work in their own practice, such as in neurosurgery or trauma surgery. Consequently, many women opt for part-time work or alter their life plans to accommodate their professional careers.

'But unofficially, I would say [...] if I were to say now, at my age, that I am getting married. I would get a lot less - or it is less likely that I would be offered a senior physician position - than a male colleague. Because the thought is: she will get pregnant, and she will drop out. And if you are pregnant and announce it before you have signed the senior consultant contract, then it is also possible that this contract will not be signed at all. For various reasons, of course. Nobody comes and says: "You are pregnant, you will not get your contract now." They cannot do that. But we can also assess who is better than whom? Who has the qualifications? And things like that. I would say that finding a job in a hospital as a woman is not a problem. But if we are talking about senior physician positions, management positions, habilitations. Everything that has to do with it, a bit of a management position. Then being a woman is still like this: you think five times about whether it is even offered.' (female assistant physician in surgery)

There have also been cases in which employment contracts have not been extended or have simply expired due to pregnancy:

'She [note: his wife] had a child and her employment contract expired while she was on parental leave. Then she made an appointment with her head physician, was pregnant again, but did not tell the head physician. The head physician completely forgot that this position even existed. Although she was promised before the pregnancy that she would become a senior physician, she was then dismissed along the lines of, "You are a mother now, you do not want to" and so on. I think the biggest factor for women - still - not to make a career in surgery is ultimately children.' (male specialist in surgery)

This quote provides clear evidence that the underlying social expectations associated with starting a family and the appearance after a birth, as well as institutional obstacles, are rarely considered when evaluating career obstacles for women. The social norm attributes a higher level of caregiving to mothers than to fathers, who are more likely to be assigned the role of breadwinner or sole breadwinner, and thus conversely granted a career. The acceptance of individual life plans is a significant factor. It is imperative that women who aspire to resume their professional careers following pregnancy, and a brief period of parental leave are able to do so without encountering negative reactions from colleagues, superiors, or other parents. Furthermore, fathers should be permitted to be with their children. A transformation in social attitudes is imperative, yet role models and mentors can also facilitate this change and provide guidance to young assistant doctors in their individual career planning, demonstrating that it is possible to achieve both family and professional success concurrently.

'After my parental leave [...] I was blindsided by the fact that everyone now just saw me as a mother. I was asked by my supervisor at the time whether I still wanted to work in the OR or whether I only wanted to do [...] outpatient care [...] I was even asked whether I would take a step down in the hierarchy because it would be much easier to go home to my child after work.' (female senior consultant surgery)

This was a small insight into my preliminary research into the impact of male-dominated structures have on pregnant physicians in surgery and the consequences of pregnancy on a surgeon's career.

6 Discussion and conclusions

To allow pregnant surgeons to continue working, flexible risk assessments and risk-free continuation of employment should be considered. For example, operating times for pregnant women could be linked to the week of pregnancy and the health of the physician. There are surgical specialties, such as eye surgery, where pregnant women can sit during an operation. This practice could be extended to other specialties, or the wearing of multiple gloves at the same time, as is already widely practiced avoiding infections via the skin.

In addition, changes within training structures could be considered, such as the accumulation of further training points through teaching activities or alternative creditable training, so that the training period for women is not extended. Furthermore, a network or pool of physicians in hospitals, who can cover for pregnant physicians and relieve the pressure on specialist departments, would benefit the working atmosphere. In this way, other physicians would not have to do extra work when pregnant women are absent. This could also lead to more women announcing their pregnancy earlier than is currently the case (Marburger Bund, 2022). Another point that could be considered is introducing incentives for fathers to take extended parental leave, beyond the standard two months, thereby allowing them to spend a greater amount of time with their own families. This would also provide mothers with the opportunity to resume their professional roles at an earlier stage. However, it is of equal importance for superiors to accept fathers taking longer leave as it is for doctors to demand this time of (Rosch, 2020).

Finally, to ensure that women are not prevented from pursuing their careers because of concerns about liability or continuity of pay, restrictions on arbitrary and extensive work bans or forced leave would be introduced. In conclusion, the Maternity Protection Act should be interpreted in a way that does not encourage women to conceal their pregnancy for fear of discrimination.

Author

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Erfahrungen und Umgang mit sexueller Belästigung in Einrichtungen des öffentlichen Dienstes im DACH-Raum

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Abstract. Diese Arbeit untersucht die Erfahrungen von Mitarbeitenden des öffentlichen Dienstes und den Umgang mit sexueller Belästigung in Einrichtungen des öffentlichen Dienstes im DACH-Raum (Deutschland, Österreich und Schweiz). Basierend auf einer umfassenden Umfrage, bei welcher 1.021 Beschäftigte aus verschiedenen Einrichtungen des öffentlichen Dienstes in einem Zeitraum von drei Wochen teilgenommen haben, und Analysen beleuchtet die Studie die Herausforderungen im Umgang mit sexueller Belästigung in der Praxis.

Keywords: *Sexuelle Belästigung; öffentlicher Dienst; DACH-Raum; Diversität, Diversity*

1 Einleitung

Sexuelle Belästigung am Arbeitsplatz stellt ein erhebliches Problem dar, das nicht nur die betroffenen Individuen, sondern auch die Arbeitsumgebung und die Effizienz öffentlicher Einrichtungen negativ beeinflusst (Drabe, 2015; Taddicken, 2006). Unter sexueller Belästigung am Arbeitsplatz wird dabei jede unerwünschte Handlung sexueller Natur verstanden, welche die persönliche Würde von Personen am Arbeitsplatz verletzt (Beggan, 2019; Lincke et al., 2021). Vermehrte Klagen sowie ein Anstieg der Fälle sexueller Übergriffe in den letzten Jahren verdeutlichen die Dringlichkeit dieses Problems - eine Studie zeigt, dass 79 Prozent der befragten weiblichen Teilnehmenden, und 54 Prozent der männlichen Teilnehmenden schon einmal sexuelle Belästigung erlebt oder beobachtet haben (APA/ere, 2024). Ette et al. (2021) zeigen in ihrer Studie zur Diskriminierung in der deutschen Bundesverwaltung auf, dass nur etwa 55 Prozent der Befragten bereits mit Diskriminierung in Berührung kamen (Ette et al., 2021). Diskriminierung und sexuelle Belästigung werden vor dem Gesetz ähnlich gefasst, weswegen ein Vergleich dieser beiden Tatbestände auch in der Wissenschaft Anklang findet. Besonders im öffentlichen Dienst, der eine Vorbildfunktion in Bezug auf Chancengleichheit und umfassendere gesetzliche Regelungen zu folgen hat, ist dies von Bedeutung. Öffentliche Verwaltungen haben ihre Rolle in der angemessenen Repräsentation der Bevölkerung zu reflektieren, da sie sowohl passive als auch aktive Signale für Chancengleichheit senden (Vollmann, 2021; Lang, 2019). Ziel dieser Studie ist es daher, die Erfahrungen von Beschäftigten in öffentlichen Einrichtungen im DACH-Raum mit sexueller Belästigung zu dokumentieren und zu analysieren, wie Institutionen mit solchen Fällen umgehen. Dabei werden sowohl die Perspektiven der Betroffenen als auch der Personen, welche Vorfälle beobachtet haben, berücksichtigt.

2 Forschungshintergrund

Sexuelle Belästigung wird in den meisten Ländern des DACH-Raums gesetzlich geregelt, unter anderem durch Gleichbehandlungsgesetze oder in Strafgesetzbüchern (Dammann, 2021). Diese Untersuchung stützt sich auf die österreichische Rechtslage, wobei sexuelle Belästigung im Bundes-Gleichbehandlungsgesetz (B-GIBG) definiert wird. Laut § 8 Abs. 2 B-GIBG liegt sexuelle Belästigung vor, wenn ein Verhalten aus dem sexuellen Bereich die Würde einer Person beeinträchtigt, für die betroffene Person unerwünscht ist und eine einschüchternde, feindselige oder demütigende Arbeitsumgebung schafft. Krings (2019) ergänzt, dass sexuelle Belästigung verbal, non-verbal oder physisch erfolgen kann und Organisationen verpflichtet sind, klare Regeln gegen solches Verhalten festzulegen (Krings, 2019). Eine fehlende Auseinandersetzung mit den eigenen Rechten führt oft zu einer mangelhaften Prävention und Intervention, was im öffentlichen Dienst besonders problematisch ist, da diese Institutionen eine Vorbildfunktion für die gesamte Gesellschaft haben (Lang, 2019). Darüber hinaus ist sexuelle Belästigung auch nach § 218 StGB (Strafgesetzbuch) strafbar, der unter anderem Strafen für Belästigungen durch sexuelle Handlungen vorsieht, die durch Körperkontakt oder intensives Berühren intimer Stellen die Würde der betroffenen Person verletzen. Öffentlich ausgeführte sexuelle Handlungen, die Ärgernis erregen, sowie abgesprochene Belästigungen in Gruppen können mit bis zu zwei Jahren Gefängnis bestraft werden (RIS - Strafgesetzbuch § 218 - Bundesrecht konsolidiert, Fassung vom 12.02.2024). Eine besondere Herausforderung stellt das sogenannte „Catcalling“ dar. „Catcalling“ bezieht sich auf verbale sexuelle Belästigungen wie Pfiffe oder vermeintliche Komplimente bezogen auf den Körper. Die sexuelle Belästigung ohne Körperkontakt ist in einigen Ländern der EU, wie etwa in Belgien, den Niederlanden oder Frankreich, bereits strafbar. In Österreich oder Deutschland hingegen zählt das „Catcalling“ noch nicht als ein

Straftatbestand, hierfür gibt es bereits Petitionen und Volksbegehren (Gräber & Horten, 2021). In einigen Organisationen, wie dem Bundesministerium für Justiz, wird verbale sexuelle Belästigung jedoch bereits als sexuelle Belästigung betrachtet (Bundesministerium für Justiz, 2023). Es gilt auch, den Unterschied zwischen sexueller Belästigung und sexueller Gewalt zu beachten, wobei sexuelle Belästigung unerwünschtes Verhalten umfasst, das die Würde einer Person durch anzügliche Bemerkungen, unerwünschte Berührungen oder pornografische Darstellungen verletzt (Beggan, 2019; Dammann, 2021; Gamsjäger, 2010; Krings, 2019; Lincke et al., 2021). Trotz dieser umfassenden gesetzlichen Regelungen bestehen weiterhin erhebliche Herausforderungen bei der Durchsetzung von Maßnahmen gegen sexuelle Belästigung, insbesondere im öffentlichen Dienst (Vollmann, 2021). Diese Studie untersucht daher, wie Beschäftigte in öffentlichen Einrichtungen im DACH-Raum sexuelle Belästigung erleben und welche Schritte nach solchen Vorfällen ergriffen werden.

Aus der vorhergehenden Problemstellung ergibt sich folgende Forschungsfrage:

Wie erleben Beschäftigte in öffentlichen Einrichtungen im DACH-Raum sexuelle Belästigung und welche Schritte werden nach einer sexuellen Belästigung ergriffen?

Aus den obenstehenden Erkenntnissen lassen sich folgende Hypothesen formulieren:

H1: Ein Anteil von über 20 Prozent der Beschäftigten im öffentlichen Dienst im DACH-Raum hat bereits Erfahrungen mit sexueller Belästigung am Arbeitsplatz gemacht.

Ette et al. (2021) zeigen, dass Diskriminierung weit verbreitet sind – etwa 55 Prozent. 74,20 Prozent der befragten Frauen und 27,20 Prozent der befragten Männer wurden Opfer von sexueller Belästigung (Kapella et al., 2011). Diese Daten zeigen, dass mindestens 20 Prozent der Befragten bereits mit sexueller Belästigung in Berührung gekommen sind.

H2: Beschäftigte im öffentlichen Dienst, welche ein besseres Verständnis für ihre Rechte haben, melden häufiger Fälle sexueller Belästigung.

Das Wissen um die eigenen Rechte, wie sie im Bundes-Gleichbehandlungsgesetz (B-GlBG) und anderen Gesetzen festgeschrieben sind, beeinflusst das Meldeverhalten der Betroffenen (Krings, 2019; Lang, 2019).

3 Methodik

Die Studie basiert auf einer umfassenden quantitativen Erhebung. Dafür wurde ein eigens entwickelter Fragebogen auf der online Plattform LimeSurvey den verschiedenen öffentlichen Einrichtungen im DACH-Raum zugänglich gemacht, um Daten von Beschäftigten auf unterschiedlichen Verwaltungsebenen (Bundes-, Landes- sowie Bezirks-/Gemeindeebene) zu sammeln.

Im Rahmen des Fragenbogens wird ein Fokus auf sexuelle Belästigung sowie Belästigung allgemein gelegt. Es werden die betroffenen Diversitätsdimensionen erörtert und die Häufigkeit der aufgetretenen sexuellen Belästigungen im Berufsalltag erhoben. Die Teilnehmenden haben die Möglichkeit, die Fragen aus ihrer persönlichen Perspektive und Erfahrung zu beantworten oder Beobachtungen zu schildern. Um die relevanten Diversitätsdimensionen zu erfassen, werden im

Verlauf der Umfrage eine Vielzahl persönlicher Eigenschaften abgefragt (El-Mafaalani, et al., 2017; Berger-Grabner, 2016; Häder, 2019).

Vor der Durchführung wurde ein Pretest durchgeführt, um die Erhebungsmethode zu optimieren und die Validität sowie die Zuverlässigkeit des Fragebogens sicherzustellen (Berger-Grabner, 2016; Häder, 2019; Weichbold, 2014).

3.1 Datenerhebung

Für die vorliegende Studie wurde der eigens entwickelte Fragebogen verwendet, um Erfahrungen sexueller Belästigung am Arbeitsplatz zu erheben. Die quantitative Erhebung fokussierte sich auf verschiedene Dimensionen der Belästigung und deren Wahrnehmung durch die Betroffenen sowie Beobachtenden. Ette et al. (2021) veranschaulichten in ihrer Studie zur Diskriminierung in der deutschen Bundesverwaltung eine ähnliche Thematik, weshalb der Fragebogen zur vorliegenden Studie ähnlich gestaltet wurde. Die Teilnehmenden hatten einen Zeitraum von drei Wochen, um an der Umfrage teilzunehmen. Der Fragebogen umfasste geschlossene Fragen und zielte darauf ab, sowohl die Erfahrungen mit sexueller Belästigung als auch die demografischen Daten und berufsbezogene Merkmale zu erfassen. Um eine möglichst hohe Rücklaufquote zu erzielen, erfolgte die Umfrage als Online-Befragung, die sich an Beschäftigte in öffentlichen Einrichtungen im DACH-Raum richtete (Berger-Grabner, 2016; Häder, 2019; Weichbold, 2014).

Die Erhebung umfasste folgende zentrale Bereiche:

- Aktuelle Beschäftigungssituation (Beschäftigungsausmaß, Position, ...)
- Erfahrungen sexueller Belästigung (Häufigkeit, Ausmaß, ...)
- Soziodemographische Angaben (Alter, Geschlecht, ...)

3.2 Pretest

Vor der eigentlichen Datenerhebung wurde ein Pretest durchgeführt, um das Erhebungsinstrument und das gesamte Erhebungsdesign zu optimieren. Dieser Prozess umfasste die Überprüfung des Fragebogens durch eine repräsentative Gruppe von 15 Personen der Hauptzielgruppe. Dabei wurden potenzielle Probleme bei der Fragestellung sowie bei der Wortwahl identifiziert und durch schriftliches Feedback gesammelt. Basierend auf diesem Feedback wurden Anpassungen am Fragebogen vorgenommen, um eine präzise und aussagekräftige Befragung sicherzustellen (Weichbold, 2014).

3.3 Datenauswertung

1.021 Beschäftigte in den diversen Einrichtungen des öffentlichen Dienstes beantworteten den Fragebogen vollständig. Diese Daten wurden univariat ausgewertet, wobei jede abgefragte Variable einzeln analysiert wurde. Zuvor wurden die Daten sorgfältig aufbereitet, was die Kodierung und Übertragung der Daten, die Fehlerkontrolle und -bereinigung, die Umkodierung und Umformung von Variablen sowie die Behandlung fehlender Werte umfasste. Die umfassende Dokumentation aller Veränderungen am Originaldatensatz wurde betont, um Transparenz und Nachvollziehbarkeit zu gewährleisten (Berger-Grabner, 2016; Häder, 2019).

Offene Fragen und „Sonstiges“-Antwortmöglichkeiten wurden durch systematische Analyse der schriftlich eingegangenen Antworten behandelt und anschließend sorgfältig kategorisiert. Diese methodologische Einbettung der Datenaufbereitung bildete einen kritischen Schritt vor der

eigentlichen univariaten Auswertung und legte den Grundstein für die nachfolgende Betrachtung möglicher Beziehungen zwischen den Variablen im Rahmen der statistischen Analyse, welche sich auf deskriptive und explorative Verfahren zur Identifikation zentraler Muster und Zusammenhänge stützt. (Berger-Grabner, 2016; Häder, 2019).

4 Ergebnisse

Von den 1.021 Teilnehmenden gaben 66,60 Prozent an, weiblich zu sein, 29,68 Prozent wählten die Antwortmöglichkeit männlich aus, 0,20 Prozent ordneten sich der Rubrik divers/nicht binär zu und 3,53 Prozent wollten keine Angabe machen.

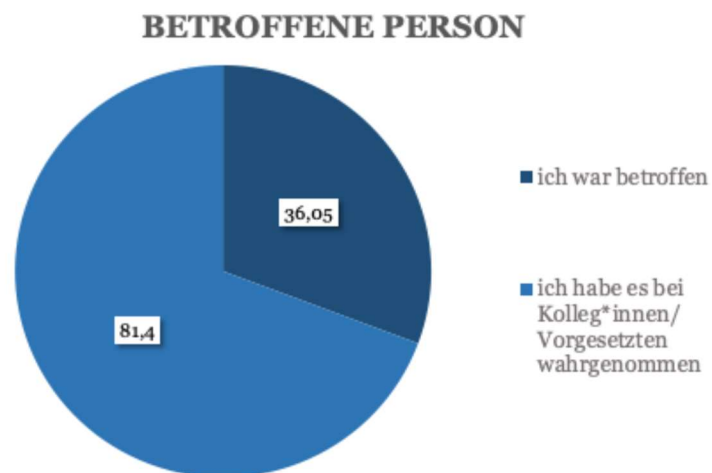


Abbildung 1: Betroffene Personen, n=202

Die Studie zeigt, dass 25,86 Prozent der befragten Personen sexuelle Belästigung am Arbeitsplatz wahrgenommen haben. Dabei ist zu erwähnen, dass lediglich 16,58 Prozent ein solches Verhalten (teilweise) als Belästigung angesehen haben. 36,05 Prozent der 16,58 Prozent gaben dabei an, selbst von der sexuellen Belästigung betroffen gewesen zu sein, während 81,40 Prozent der 16,58 Prozent aussagten, sie haben die sexuelle Belästigung bei Kolleg*innen/Vorgesetzten wahrgenommen.

Die Hypothese H1, dass ein Anteil von über 20 Prozent der Beschäftigten im öffentlichen Dienst im DACH-Raum bereits Erfahrungen mit sexueller Belästigung am Arbeitsplatz gemacht hat, wird durch die vorliegenden Daten bestätigt. Mit 25,86 Prozent der Befragten, die sexuelle Belästigung wahrgenommen haben, wird der in der Hypothese angesetzte Schwellenwert überschritten. Dies verdeutlicht, dass sexuelle Belästigung ein erhebliches Problem darstellt, sodass in öffentlichen Einrichtungen im DACH-Raum weiterhin Handlungsbedarf besteht.

Im Falle der persönlichen Erfahrung mit sexueller Belästigung wurden folgende Häufigkeiten angegeben:

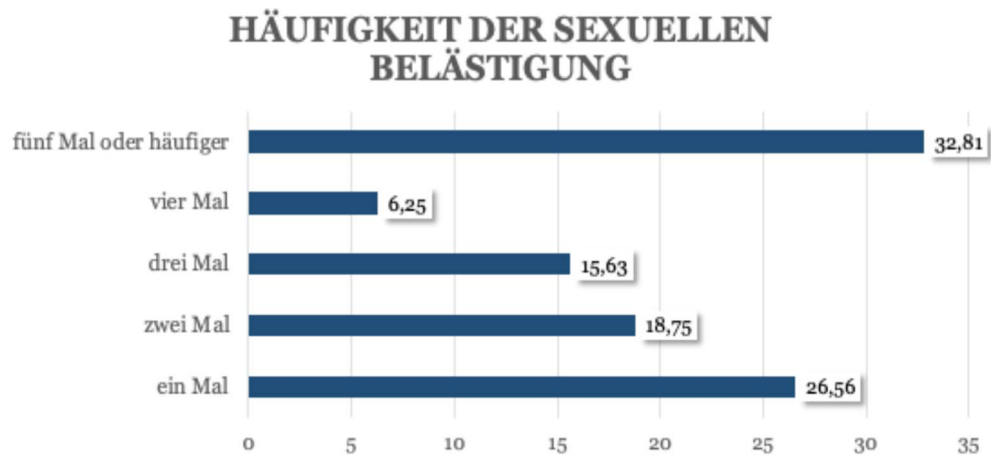


Abbildung 2: Häufigkeit der sexuellen Belästigung - persönlich, n=64

Von den 16,58 Prozent, welche das Verhalten (teilweise) als Belästigung angesehen haben, geben 26,56 Prozent an, mindestens einmal sexuelle Belästigung zu erleben. 18,75 Prozent berichten von zwei Vorfällen, während 15,63 Prozent angeben, dreimal betroffen zu sein. Weitere 6,25 Prozent sagen aus, bereits vier Mal sexuell belästigt worden zu sein. 32,81 Prozent teilen mit, fünf oder mehr Vorfälle erlebt zu haben.

Im Falle der Wahrnehmung von sexueller Belästigung bei Kolleg*innen/Vorgesetzten wurden folgende Antworten abgegeben:

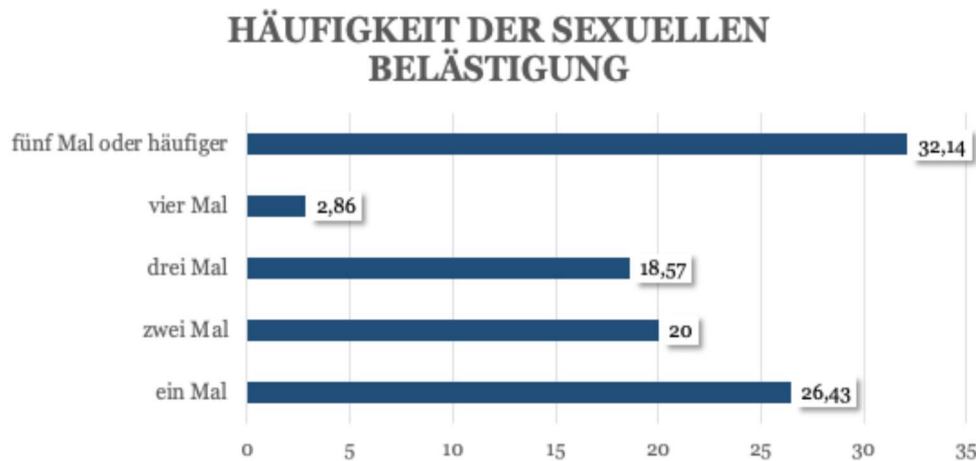


Abbildung 3: Häufigkeit der sexuellen Belästigung - bei Kolleg*innen/Vorgesetzten, n=140

26,43 Prozent geben an, mindestens einmal eine sexuelle Belästigung wahrgenommen zu haben. 20 Prozent berichten von zwei Vorfällen, während 18,57 Prozent angeben, dreimal belästigt worden zu sein. Weitere 2,86 Prozent teilen mit, bereits vier Vorfälle erlebt zu haben. 32,14 Prozent äußern, dass sie fünf oder mehr Vorfälle erfahren.

UMSTÄNDE DER SEXUELLEN BELÄSTIGUNG

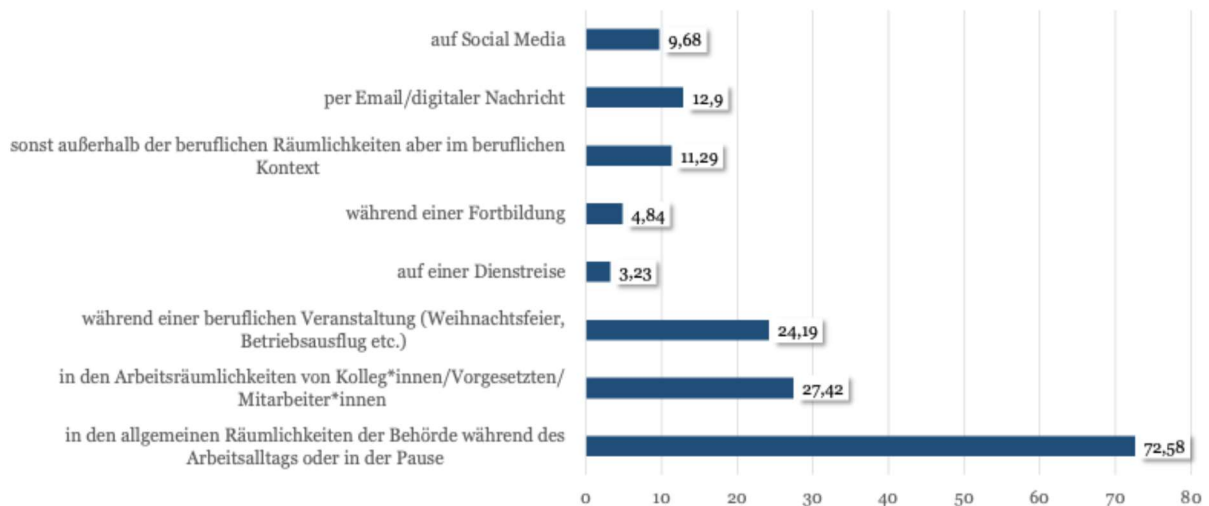


Abbildung 4: Umstände der sexuellen Belästigung - persönlich, n=64

Die häufigste Situation, in der sich die sexuelle Belästigung ereignet, ist laut 72,58 Prozent der Befragten in den allgemeinen Räumen der Behörde während der Arbeit oder findet in Pausen statt. 27,42 Prozent geben an, dass die Belästigung in den Büros von Kolleg*innen, Vorgesetzten oder eigenen Mitarbeitenden geschieht. Bei Veranstaltungen im beruflichen Kontext, wie Weihnachtsfeiern oder Betriebsausflügen, berichten 24,19 Prozent von entsprechenden Vorfällen. 12,90 Prozent erfahren Belästigung durch E-Mails oder digitale Nachrichten. 11,29 Prozent erleben sie außerhalb der Arbeitsräumen, jedoch im beruflichen Zusammenhang, während 9,68 Prozent solche Vorfälle auf Social Media wahrnehmen. Zudem berichten 4,84 Prozent von Vorfällen während Fortbildungen, und 3,23 Prozent geben an, auf Dienstreisen betroffen gewesen zu sein.

UMSTÄNDE DER SEXUELLEN BELÄSTIGUNG

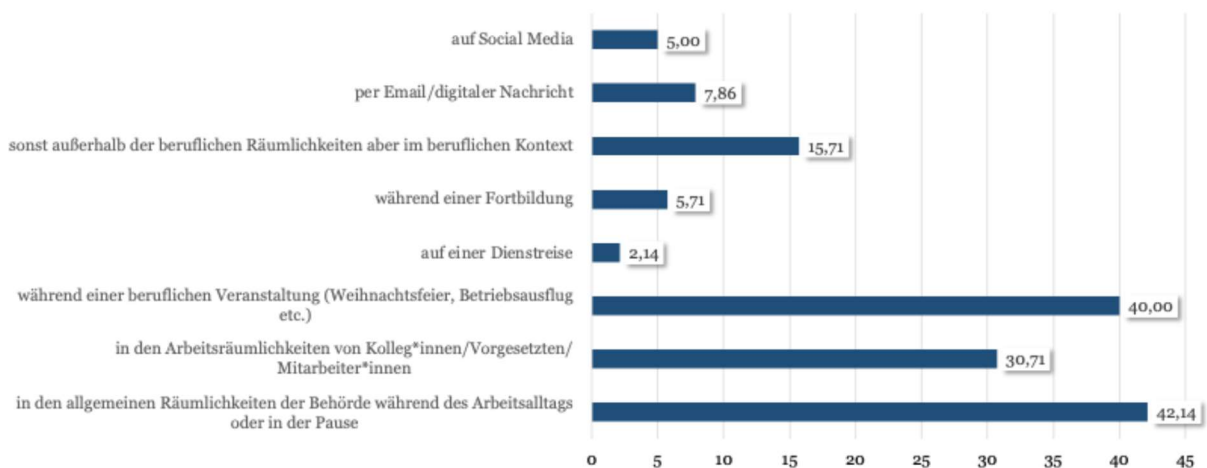


Abbildung 5: Umstände der sexuellen Belästigung - Kolleg*innen/Vorgesetzte, n=140

Die Situation, in der am häufigsten sexuelle Belästigung wahrgenommen wird, sind die allgemeinen Räumlichkeiten der Behörde während des Arbeitsalltags oder in Pausen. Dies berichten 42,14 Prozent der Befragten. 40,00 Prozent erleben entsprechendes Verhalten bei beruflichen Veranstaltungen wie Weihnachtsfeiern oder Betriebsausflügen. In den Arbeitsräumen von Kolleg*innen, Vorgesetzten oder eigenen Mitarbeitenden geben 30,71 Prozent an, belästigt worden zu sein. 15,71 Prozent berichten

von Vorfällen außerhalb der beruflichen Räumlichkeiten, jedoch im beruflichen Kontext. 7,86 Prozent erleben Belästigung durch E-Mails oder digitale Nachrichten, und 5,71 Prozent geben an, dass sie während einer Fortbildung betroffen waren. Außerdem berichten 5,00 Prozent von Vorfällen auf Social Media, und 2,14 Prozent erleben Belästigung auf Dienstreisen.

In den folgenden Abbildungen sind die Aussagen der Teilnehmenden zu den Verhalten nach den Vorfällen der sexuellen Belästigung dargestellt.

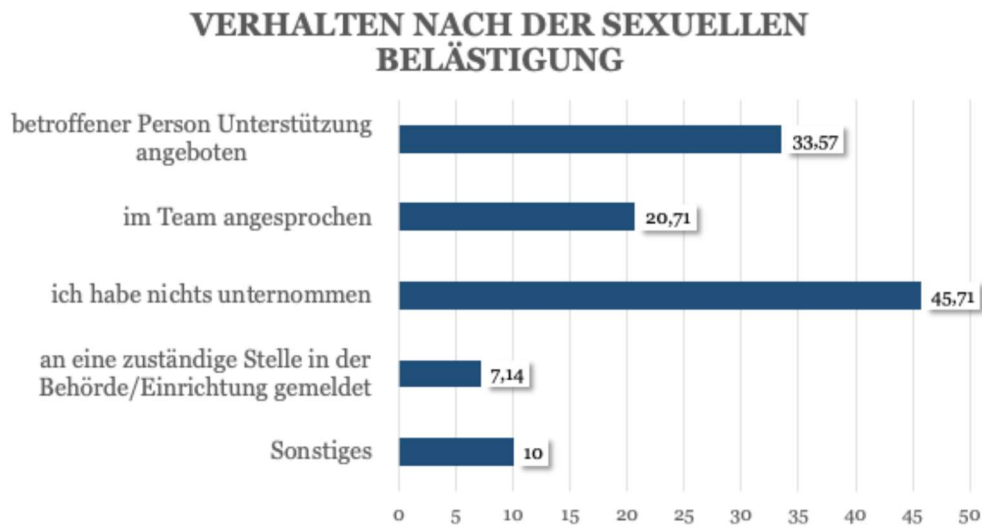


Abbildung 6: Verhalten nach der sexuellen Belästigung - persönlich, n=64

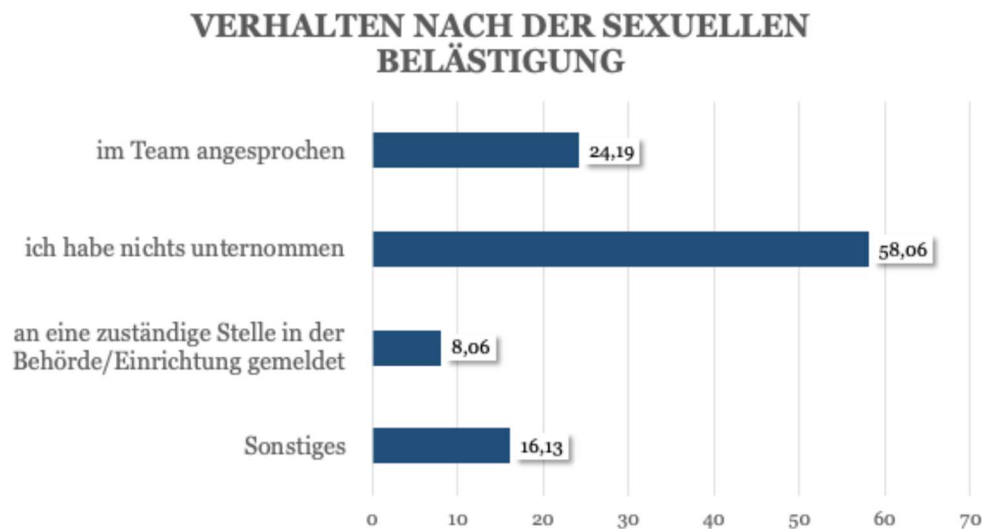


Abbildung 7: Verhalten nach der sexuellen Belästigung - Kolleg*innen/Vorgesetzte, n=140

Die Ergebnisse verdeutlichen, dass die Mehrheit der Betroffenen und Beobachtenden keine formellen Schritte unternimmt, um sexuelle Belästigung zu melden. 58,06 Prozent der Betroffenen und 45,71 Prozent derjenigen, die solche Vorfälle bei Kolleg*innen oder Vorgesetzten beobachtet haben, entscheiden sich dafür, nichts zu unternehmen. Lediglich ein kleiner Anteil – 8,06 Prozent der Betroffenen und 7,14 Prozent der Beobachtenden – meldet den Vorfall an die zuständige Stelle. Dies

weist darauf hin, dass es nach wie vor eine hohe Hemmschwelle gibt, Vorfälle sexueller Belästigung offiziell zu melden, unabhängig davon, ob sie selbst erlebt oder beobachtet werden.

Die Tatsache, dass mehr Personen über Vorfälle innerhalb des Teams sprechen oder Unterstützung anbieten, könnte darauf hindeuten, dass informelle Lösungsansätze bevorzugt werden, anstatt formelle Meldewege zu nutzen.

GRUND FÜR KEINE MELDUNG

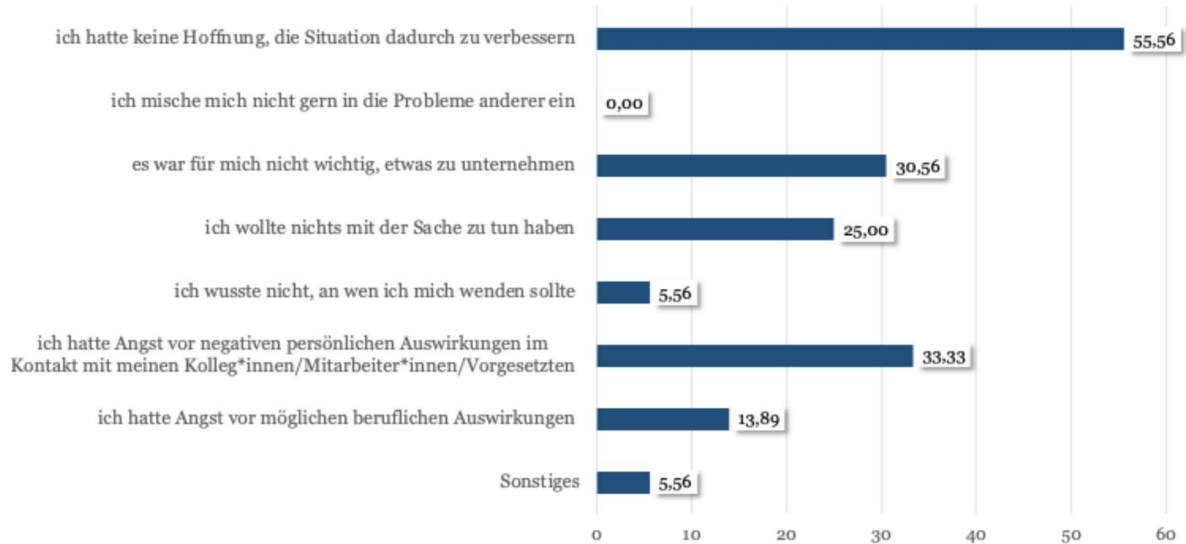


Abbildung 8: Gründe für keine Meldung - persönlich, n=64

Die Gründe, warum keine Meldung erfolgt, sind vielfältig. Bei den Betroffenen selbst wird am häufigsten (55,56 Prozent) angegeben, dass keine Hoffnung auf Verbesserung bestand. Zudem nennen 33,33 Prozent die Angst vor negativen persönlichen Konsequenzen und 13,89 Prozent die Angst vor beruflichen Nachteilen. Für 30,56 Prozent war es nicht wichtig genug, etwas zu unternehmen, und 25,00 Prozent wollten mit der Situation nichts zu tun haben. Zusätzlich geben 5,56 Prozent an, nicht gewusst zu haben, an wen sie sich wenden sollten.

GRUND FÜR KEINE MELDUNG

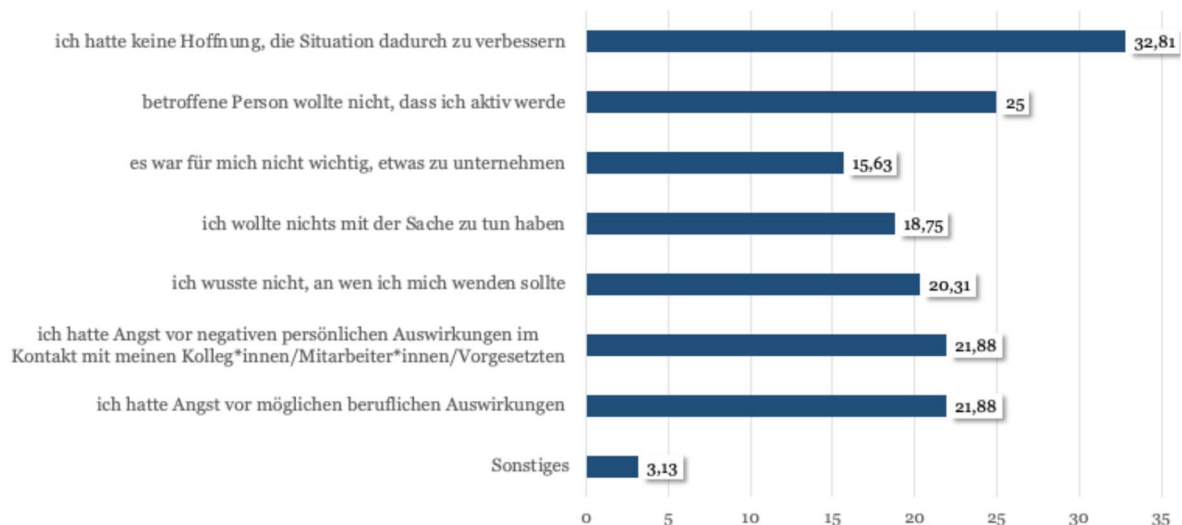


Abbildung 9: Gründe für keine Meldung - Kolleg*innen/Vorgesetzte, n=64

Die Überlegungen spiegeln sich auch in den Einschätzungen von Kolleg*innen und Vorgesetzten wider, bei denen ähnliche Ängste und Unsicherheiten eine Rolle spielen. 32,81 Prozent der Befragten geben an, dass sie keine Hoffnung auf eine Verbesserung der Situation hatten. Ängste vor negativen beruflichen oder persönlichen Konsequenzen werden jeweils von 21,88 Prozent genannt. Außerdem sagen 25,00 Prozent aus, dass die betroffene Person nicht wollte, dass sie aktiv werden. 20,31 Prozent wussten nicht, an wen sie sich wenden könnten, während 18,75 Prozent angeben, dass sie mit der Situation nichts zu tun haben wollten. Für 15,63 Prozent war es nicht wichtig genug, etwas zu unternehmen.

Die Hypothese H2, dass Beschäftigte im öffentlichen Dienst mit einem besseren Verständnis ihrer Rechte häufiger Fälle sexueller Belästigung melden, lässt sich aus den vorliegenden Daten nicht eindeutig bestätigen. Der geringe Anteil von Meldungen sowohl bei den Betroffenen (8,06 Prozent) als auch den Beobachtenden (7,14 Prozent) könnte darauf hindeuten, dass das Verständnis der eigenen Rechte und der vorhandenen Meldewege sowie die zu gehenden Schritte noch nicht ausreichend verankert ist. Dies wird auch durch die 20,31 bzw. 5,56 Prozent bestätigt. Es bedarf weiterer Untersuchungen, um festzustellen, ob und in welchem Maße das Bewusstsein über die eigenen Rechte das Meldeverhalten tatsächlich beeinflusst.

5 Diskussion

Die Verteilung der Geschlechter unter den Teilnehmenden zeigt eine klare Mehrheit weiblicher Teilnehmenden (66,60 %), was im Einklang mit bestehenden Studien stehen könnte, die darauf hinweisen, dass Frauen häufiger von sexueller Belästigung betroffen sind (Beggan, 2019; Krings, 2019). Diese Überrepräsentation könnte darauf hindeuten, dass Frauen aufgrund ihrer Betroffenheit ein größeres Interesse an der Teilnahme an der Studie hatten, was wiederum die geschlechtsspezifischen Ungleichheiten in Bezug auf sexuelle Belästigung im öffentlichen Dienst unterstreicht (Ette et al., 2021).

Die Ergebnisse der Studie, wonach 25,86 Prozent der Befragten sexuelle Belästigung wahrgenommen haben, während 16,58 Prozent diese Belästigung als eine Belästigung empfinden, passen zu bisherigen Forschungsergebnissen. Dies zeigt eine Diskrepanz von fast 10 Prozent zwischen Wahrnehmung und Anerkennung sexueller Belästigung auf. Mehrere Autoren betonen die Herausforderung, dass viele Vorfälle nicht als Belästigung eingestuft werden, was möglicherweise auf unzureichendes Wissen über die rechtliche Definition sexueller Belästigung oder auf eine Normalisierung solcher Vorfälle im Arbeitsumfeld hinweist. Diese Diskrepanz spiegelt sich auch in der geringen Melderate wider, was ebenfalls in früheren Studien beobachtet wurde (Lang, 2019; Krings, 2019; Taddicken, 2006; Walter & Cornelsen, 1993).

Die Ergebnisse, dass 32,81 Prozent der Betroffenen mehrfach von sexueller Belästigung betroffen waren, weisen auf die anhaltende Relevanz dieses Problems im öffentlichen Dienst hin. Diese Wiederholung von Vorfällen zeigt, dass bestehende Schutzmaßnahmen, wie sie im Bundesgleichbehandlungsgesetz (B-GlBG) und ähnlichen Regelungen verankert sind, nicht ausreichen, um Betroffene effektiv zu schützen (Dahl, 2024). Ette et al. (2021) und Lang (2019) betonen die Vorbildfunktion des öffentlichen Dienstes und die Notwendigkeit, diese Institutionen in der Bekämpfung von Belästigung weiter zu stärken.

Auch die häufigsten Orte für Belästigung – allgemeine Räumlichkeiten und berufliche Veranstaltungen – spiegeln bestehende Studien wider, die zeigen, dass sexuelle Belästigung in sozialen beruflichen Kontexten häufiger auftritt (Beggan, 2019; Krings, 2019). Dies unterstreicht die Notwendigkeit, Sensibilisierungs- und Präventionsmaßnahmen nicht nur im direkten Arbeitsumfeld, sondern auch in informelleren beruflichen Zusammenhängen zu verstärken.

Die geringe Melderate von nur 8,06 Prozent bei den Betroffenen sowie die Gründe für das Nichtmelden – mangelnde Hoffnung auf Verbesserung und Angst vor negativen Konsequenzen – sind ebenfalls in früheren Untersuchungen zu finden (Krings, 2019; Ette et al., 2021). Diese Befunde zeigen deutlich, dass es neben der Einführung von Meldewegen und klaren Richtlinien auch einer Kultur des Vertrauens und der Offenheit bedarf, in der die Betroffenen sicher und ohne Angst vor Repressalien Belästigung melden können.

6 Fazit

Die vorliegende Studie zeigt deutlich, dass sexuelle Belästigung am Arbeitsplatz ein weit verbreitetes Phänomen in öffentlichen Einrichtungen des DACH-Raums darstellt. Trotz bestehender gesetzlicher Regelungen und Maßnahmen bleiben erhebliche Herausforderungen bei der Umsetzung und Durchsetzung von Maßnahmen gegen sexuelle Belästigung bestehen. Eine signifikante Diskrepanz zwischen der Wahrnehmung und Anerkennung sexueller Belästigung wurde festgestellt, was auf tief verwurzelte kulturelle und strukturelle Barrieren hinweist. Diese Ergebnisse bekräftigen die Notwendigkeit einer verstärkten Sensibilisierung und Aufklärung in Bezug auf sexuelle Belästigung sowie einer klareren Definition und Durchsetzung von Richtlinien.

Die Studie hat zudem gezeigt, dass viele Betroffene und Beobachtende keine Schritte gegen die Belästigung unternehmen, was häufig auf das fehlende Vertrauen in das Meldesystem oder die Angst vor negativen beruflichen und persönlichen Konsequenzen zurückzuführen ist. Dies verweist auf die zentrale Rolle der Organisationskultur, die in vielen Fällen nicht berücksichtigt wird, um ein sicheres und offenes Arbeitsumfeld zu gewährleisten.

Die Studie war auf den öffentlichen Dienst im DACH-Raum beschränkt und erhebt keinen Anspruch auf allgemeine Gültigkeit für andere Sektoren oder Regionen. Zudem basiert die Erhebung auf Selbstauskünften, was möglicherweise zu Verzerrungen führen kann, da Betroffene Vorfälle aus Angst oder Scham nicht offenlegen. Weitere Forschung ist erforderlich, um den Einfluss von diversen Organisationskulturen und Hierarchieebenen auf das Meldeverhalten sowie die Wahrnehmung von sexueller Belästigung zu untersuchen. Insbesondere qualitative Studien könnten wertvolle Einblicke in individuelle Erfahrungen und Barrieren bei der Meldung von Vorfällen liefern.

Ziel dieser Studie war es die Erfahrungen von Beschäftigten im öffentlichen Dienst des DACH-Raums mit sexueller Belästigung zu dokumentieren und auch, wie Institutionen mit solchen Fällen umgehen. Die Ergebnisse haben gezeigt, dass sexuelle Belästigung ein weit verbreitetes Problem ist und dass bestehende Maßnahmen oft unzureichend sind, um Betroffene wirksam zu schützen. Es wurde festgestellt, dass ein großer Teil der Beschäftigten aus verschiedenen Gründen keine Schritte gegen erlebte oder beobachtete Belästigungen unternimmt. Diese Erkenntnisse liefern wichtige Ansatzpunkte für zukünftige Maßnahmen und Anpassungen in öffentlichen Institutionen, um das Vertrauen in die Meldesysteme zu stärken und eine nachhaltige Prävention sicherzustellen.

Zukünftige Forschung sollte sich intensiv mit der Frage auseinandersetzen, wie Organisationskulturen verändert werden können, um ein sicheres und respektvolles Arbeitsumfeld zu schaffen. Es ist essenziell, den Fokus auf die Entwicklung und Implementierung von wirksamen Maßnahmen zu legen, die das Vertrauen der Mitarbeitenden stärken und die Barrieren für das Melden von sexueller Belästigung verringern.

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Embodiment, Materiality and Metaphor

Arguments for a rereading of Lakoff and Johnson's Philosophy in the Flesh from an intersectional and neo-materialist perspective.

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Abstract. This paper aims to transfer the findings of embodied cognition from cognitive linguistics into contemporary debates around neo-materialist and intersectional epistemologies. The author argues for a rereading of Lakoff and Johnson's metaphor theory in terms of boundary-making processes in categorizations that are equally present in cultural theory discourses around power relations such as class, race, or gender. She further elaborates on how this might provide a powerful tool for understanding intersectional epistemic resistance.

Keywords: *Embodied Cognition; Situated Knowledge; Feminist Theory; Intersectionality*

1 Introduction

My approach aims to make the interdisciplinary overlaps between cognitive linguistics and cultural theory visible. In this paper, I argue that they might be of great value for research on materiality, bodies, and intersectionality. I would like to substantiate this idea here, outlining two key arguments that come together in various disciplines: interactionality and situatedness.

This text provides insight into the theoretical overlaps between different disciplines regarding epistemologies of intersectional and feminist resistance. I show this by means of two thinkers, Karen Barad and Patricia Hill Collins, and their partly implicit reflections on boundary-making processes that have interesting inner resemblances with the findings of embodied cognition.

Methodologically, an analysis of different theoretical positions takes place here to work out their internal overlaps. The purpose of this is to make the findings usable for an expanded thinking of the respective disciplines. In this sense, it can best be described as hermeneutic-constructivist.

2 Cognitive Linguistics from a humanities perspective

Cognitive linguistics is a field of cognitive science that evolved as a result of the linguistic turn of the 1970s and 1980s. As part of this field, the embodied cognition approach was elaborated mostly under the supervision of George Lakoff and others at UC Berkeley in the 1980s and 1990s (see also: Lee, 2001; Lakoff, 1980, 1981, 1999, 2007, 2008). Since then, it has gained wider attention in discourses around political framing (Wehling, 2017). The basic idea of embodied cognition is the embodiment of knowledge, thought, and action via metaphors.

While cognitive linguistics experienced a veritable boom between the 1970s and the 1990s, research began to ebb away in the early 2000s (see also: Schmitt, 2017, p. 2; Haser, 2005; Janssen et al., 1999). Lakoff and Johnson's *Philosophy in the Flesh* can be read as the first translation of the embodied cognition findings into philosophy. The book, as well as a large part of their work, has not been translated into German. Since the millennium, a few solitary papers have been published (Gruber, 2023; Pellizzoni, 2014), but a structured transfer into cultural theory is still pending.

In their main work, *Philosophy in the Flesh*, based on decades of mainly empirical work in cognitive science, Lakoff and Johnson outline a concept of reason that is not metaphysical, but a direct result of physical experience. In doing so, they oppose "objectivity in epistemology and ontology, universal and disembodied rationality, monolithic conceptual systems, and utilitarianism" (see also: Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 553). Instead, they argue for an embodied reason that emerges from a particular linking of bodies and experience. It materializes in the space of the unconscious and implicit through categorizations. I outline their understanding of embodiment here before going into the theoretical overlaps with Karen Barad and Patricia Hill Collins.

3 Basic features of the Embodiment Concept

Lakoff and Johnson themselves distinguish embodiment into three levels: "neural embodiment" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 102), "the phenomenological level" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 103), and "the cognitive unconscious" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 103). Based on their distinctions between prototype, concept, and category within metaphor theory, I would further differentiate the first level. This distinction is particularly helpful for arguing its translation into other theoretical frameworks.

Under "neural embodiment," they include "structures that characterize concepts and cognitive operations at a neural level" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 102). Embodiment thus initially involves a neural cluster of information, embodying any mental construct in a trivial sense.

But there is a deeper and more important sense in which our concepts are embodied. What makes concepts concepts is their inferential capacity, their ability to be bound together in ways that yield inferences. An embodied concept is a neural structure that is actually part of, or makes use of, the sensorimotor system of our brains. Much conceptual inference is, therefore, sensorimotor inference. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 20)

At this juncture, it's important to note that two main concepts, interactionality and interference, can be categorized under neurophysiological representation. As they pertain to the color concept (see also: Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 26; Shapiro, 2011, p. 82-83), the assignment of categories between sensory input and conceptualization is interactive. This implies it is neither purely physical nor solely subjective, nor is it metaphysical in terms of a priori reality. They write:

[t]he philosophical consequences are immediate. Since colors are not things or substances in the world, metaphysical realism fails. [...] Philosophically, color and color concepts make sense only in something like an embodied realism, a form of interactionism that is neither purely objective nor purely subjective. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 25)

Interactionality, in this context, signifies reality manifesting in the space between internal and external, subject and object, based on embodied experience. Interference, on the other hand, refers to the transferability of this embodied knowledge into more abstract concepts.

The "phenomenological level," as described by Lakoff and Johnson, is what is observable and accessible at the level of consciousness. "It encompasses everything we can be aware of, particularly our mental states, bodies, environments, and physical and social interactions" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 103). This level signifies materiality, indicating that embodiment initially necessitates specific physicality as a condition for receiving sensory information. Simplified, this implies that specific physicality is fundamental for accessing particular knowledge.

The third level represents "the highly structured level of mental organization and processing that operates unconsciously" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 104). "It includes all aspects of linguistic processing—phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, and discourse" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 103), and can be understood as the level of linguistic/discursive embodiment.

What initially appears as a triad of body, materiality, and discourse in this division seems contradictory to their own theory. "These three levels are clearly interdependent" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 104). Embodiment, in the sense of Lakoff and Johnson, thus signifies a hybrid of body, matter, and discourse. Within metaphor theory, metaphor connects bodily levels with discursive and material representations of reality, making them interactively constructed and visible.

While Lakoff and Johnson argue that their metaphor theory allows a reconsideration of the history of Western thought (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 539-542.), it has been demonstrated that *Philosophy in*

the Flesh is embedded in an epistemological network that existed previously (Takaki, 2010). Mention should be made of Maurice Merleau-Ponty's *Phenomenology of Perception* (1976) and Michael Polanyi's *The Tacit Dimension* (1966).

These overlaps can not only be reconstructed historically but also found in contemporary discourses within cultural theory, as I will illustrate in the following.

4 Overlaps in neo materialist thought

Lakoff and Johnson's conception of embodiment aligns closely with neo-materialist feminist theories of science as articulated by Karen Barad (2012, 2006, 2003) and Donna Haraway (1985, 1988). This connection has been sporadically discussed in literature (Gruber, 2023; Pellizzoni, 2014). The convergence is particularly evident in their notions of interactionality in *Philosophy in the Flesh* and Barad's Agential Realism, both aiming to transcend Cartesian dualism.

Using the example of color concepts, Lakoff and Johnson define perception as interactive between object and subject, a viewpoint resonant with Barad's concept of intra-activity.

Barad, a physicist and feminist science theorist, introduced the term Agential Realism in the 1990s. Drawing on quantum physicist Niels Bohr's insights, she argues against the separation of ontology and epistemology, thus sidestepping the idealism-realism debate with a nuanced third position rooted in neo-materialism. Essentially, Barad's arguments parallel those of Lakoff and Johnson, albeit applied to different scientific domains.

What often appears as separate entities (and separate sets of concerns) with sharp edges does not actually entail a relation of absolute exteriority at all. Like the diffraction patterns illuminating the indefinite nature of boundaries—displaying shadows in “light” regions and bright spots in “dark” regions—the relationship of the cultural and the natural is a relation of “exteriority within”. (Barad, 2006, p. 4)

Barad, much like Lakoff and Johnson, investigates epistemological practices of boundary-drawing that are preceded by an ontological indistinctness, where epistemology and ontology mutually constitute each other. Through Lakoff and Johnson's perspective, metaphor can be seen as precisely the medium that dissolves (or challenges the existence of) the object-subject duality, functioning as a neo-material transmitter of reality. In Barad's framework, the metaphor would thus be the agent. David Gruber encapsulates this connection succinctly in one of the few texts exploring this intersection: "[i]n their schema, metaphors are constructivist social products and agentic drivers themselves" (Gruber, 2023, p. 5), advocating for "New Materialist Metaphor Studies" (Gruber, 2023, p. 5). I assert the relevance of Lakoff and Johnson's ideas for intersectional epistemologies, which I will expand upon in the following chapter

5 Situatedness in embodied intersectionality

With the Embodied Cognition approach, Lakoff and Johnson demonstrate that knowledge is always created interactively between internal, physical, "subjective" processes and external "objective" conditions. This argumentation has consequences both on an epistemic and material level.

Returning to what Lakoff and Johnson refer to as the phenomenological level, the overlaps with intersectional epistemologies become clear. Here, "[t]he locus of reason (conceptual inference) [is] [...] the same as the locus of perception and motor control, which are bodily functions" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 20). They emphasize the crucial role of the body in knowledge production. Feminists, activists, and academics of color (such as Adrienne Rich, Gayatri C. Spivak, Sara Ahmed, Peggy McIntosh) have strongly argued this point since the 1970s, linking questions of epistemic power to social positioning. This perspective finds theoretical grounding in the concept of intersectionality.

Intersectionality emerged as a critical theoretical project in the late 1980s and early 1990s, with Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989, 1991) and the Combahee River Collective (1975) often cited as foundational authors. While these contributions have fundamentally shaped discourse, Patricia Hill Collins critiques the narrative that suggests a "discovery" of previously unknown insights by specific individuals, highlighting the racialized aspects of such narratives (see also: Hill Collins, 2019, p. 135). Instead, she frames it as,

[t]hose who get to tell intersectionality's story wield epistemic power over intersectionality's history, borders, core questions, and goals. On some level, subordinated groups know that epistemology has never been neutral, and that epistemic power is part of how domination operates. For indigenous peoples, Black people, women, poor people, LGPTQ people, religious and ethnic minorities, and differently abled people, the concept of epistemic resistance provides an important conceptual tool for critical analysis. (Hill Collins, 2019, p. 136)

I will adhere to this perspective on intersectionality in the following discussion. It self-referentially clarifies the argument of this text: that knowledge always arises from situatedness. Intersectionality has named how certain bodies, and thus specific knowledges, remain invisible due to multiple marginalizations.

In both cognitive linguistics and intersectionality, the claim of epistemic objectivity¹ is rejected, emphasizing instead the knowledge derived from situatedness. Shifting the focus to the body not only highlights different physical abilities but also makes clear how access to specific knowledge arises only when viewed through what Donna Haraway calls the "unmarked body" (Haraway, 1988, p. 586), influenced by lenses of race, gender, class, and other power relations.

Interestingly, Hill Collins touches on this point without explicitly referring to Lakoff and Johnson, stating, "[...]the metaphor of intersectionality is simultaneously a new way of conceptualizing power relations and a thinking tool that draws upon the power of metaphors in the process of theorizing" (Hill Collins, 2019, p. 40).

¹ I am referring here to a philosophical understanding of objectivity in both ontology and epistemology, as exemplified in the works of thinkers like Thomas Nagel (1986) and Karl Popper (1972).

6 Key argument for a return to the bodies

What I have outlined here very briefly with reference to neo-materialist and intersectional epistemologies can easily be applied to other cultural theoretical discourses. Lakoff and Johnson's foundational insights also intersect with Sara Ahmed's *Queer Phenomenology* (2006) and Pierre Bourdieu's concept of Habitus (1982), which merit further exploration.

These connections appear significant to me because they unify a contemporary cultural and political theoretical shift under one framework that critiques instrumental, disembodied, and enlightened reason. What Lakoff and Johnson elucidate from a cognitive science perspective mirrors the process of boundary-making in categorization, which scholars like Haraway, Barad, Ahmed, Hill Collins, and Bourdieu argue is inherently violent in terms of gender, race, nation, or class.

Therefore, I would argue that integrating Lakoff and Johnson's metaphor theory with contemporary cultural theory could serve as a potent tool for addressing what Patricia Hill Collins defines as epistemic resistance (see also.: Hill Collins, 2019, p. 153).

Author

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Perception of Glass Ceiling in the Educational Sector

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Abstract. Although women dominate some sectors of the workforce in Mongolia (such as?), women are still a minority at decision-making levels. There is an imperceptible barrier to the growth of women, which does not allow them to grow. Two factors contribute to this glass ceiling: (a) interpersonal issues and (b) situational issue. We also examined how this glass ceiling affects job strain, job engagement, job satisfaction, and motivation to quit through work-life conflict. In the study, 154 participants from Mongolian private and public universities were surveyed, and the above two factors are important in the concept of differential treatment, and finally, the concept of the glass ceiling is created. In addition, our research results show that work-family conflict affects job strain, job engagement, job satisfaction, and motivation to quit.

Keywords: *Situational Issues; Interpersonal Issues; Differential Treatment; Glass Ceiling; Work-To-Family Conflict*

1 Introduction

Although Mongolian women have higher education, they are less active in the labour market than men. The share of women in the population with secondary, professional and higher education is 0.8, 0.5 and 6.7 points higher than men (Begzsuren et al., 2022). However, women's labour force participation rates are lower than men's at all levels of education, with the exception of those with doctoral degrees.

In developing Asian countries, women are on average 30% less likely than men to be in the labour force, but differences vary between countries. The main constraints on gender inequality in the labour market in Mongolia include traditional norms and social expectations of men and women related to marriage, family and caregiving roles, and career choices. Lack of a favourable political and social environment to change these expectations, and other constraints such as elder care and childcare facilities further limit women's labour force participation. The highest gap in labour force participation rates is among women of childbearing age (20–39), reflecting the expectation that women bear the majority of childcare responsibilities. Moreover, women retire 5 years earlier than men at age 55, making the 55-59 age group another important labour force participation rate. Despite the legal framework that gives women equal opportunities with men, society, culture, traditional norms and social expectations create disparities. There are few laws or regulations aimed at reducing this gap and ensuring a balance between family life and work life for women. It is commendable that the 2019 Election Law of Mongolian Parliament changed the quota for female candidates from 20% in June 2023 to 30% in the 2024 general election and 40% in the 2028 election. Their representation in decision-making processes in all sectors is low compared to their share in the workforce.

Women are less likely to work in high-demand, high-paying industries such as mining, manufacturing, and construction. In contrast, women are highly concentrated in low-income sectors such as social services, health, food production, and commerce. This shows that gender norms in occupations and industries influence the career choices of women and girls. This is confirmed by the number of university graduates, where 73% of IT graduates are male, 85.5% of teaching and 83.6% of medical graduates are female. Considering the employment status of economic sectors, the majority of workers in mining, construction, transport, storage, public administration and defence, agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting are men (56.5%–86.5%), while women predominate (52.3%–84.3%) in care, education, wholesale and retail trade, and hospitality.

Organizations have not developed laws for diversity and equal opportunities for women and men in accordance with social and cultural conditions, and women are still a minority at decision-making levels.

These conditions indicate the existence of a “Glass Ceiling”. This phenomenon of discrimination against women by organizations is widely studied by international academic societies and researchers in various fields (management, human resources, finance, psychology, etc.) (Bell et al., 2002), but research work in this field is rare in our country. There is no theoretical model to develop an understanding of the “Glass Ceiling” and its consequences in the context of Mongolia. Also, 73.3 percent of employees in the education service sector are women and 26.7 percent are men, while the percentage of women in management positions is a minority, which led this study to be done in the education sector.

Audrey Babic and Isabelle Hansez (2021) have shown in their research that interpersonal, situational factors and organizational cultural factors are important in the formation of the “Glass Ceiling” through the understanding of the different attitudes of men and women. Their research design was applied in this study. We examine interpersonal and situational issues, it was investigated whether the beliefs, systems, categorisations, and stereotypes that define the social roles of male and female workers lead to differential exclusive binary treatment towards female workers, thereby increasing perceptions of the glass ceiling. We aim to increase the understanding of the “Glass Ceiling” by examining organizational attitudes towards female executives in our country and its implications for well-being at work. This study also examines the concept of work-family conflict (WFC), and we examine the implications of female executives' perceptions of the glass ceiling for work-family relationships and well-being.

2 Literature Review

2.1 The Glass Ceiling

A glass ceiling refers to a professional who wants to move up the ranks of an organization being held back by sexism or racism. A glass ceiling is discrimination against women in companies, often in promotion. There are a lot of phenomena related to this topic in Mongolia, but there is a lack of detailed research on this aspect because the reason behind it can be explained in relation to the variety of definitions and methods of defining it, as well as Mongolian social and cultural factors.

Mongolian culture differs greatly from East Asia's Confucian cultural framework due to its nomadic past, Tibetan Buddhist influence, and socialist past under Soviet rule. This is because the two regions have had rather different historical paths and experiences. Mongolia and Central Asia, particularly Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, are similar to each other in terms of customs, apparel, music, food, way of life, and architecture (John Irgengiro, 2022).

Gender discrimination in Mongolia today is not visible in many ways, at least on paper (Nikolova et al., 2022). For example, in 2018, 54.7 percent of men enrolled in universities, while 76.7 percent of women enrolled, creating a "reverse gender gap" in education (in East Asia, 50.5% of women, 43.0% of men). Men earn 1.2 times more than women, and this difference is due to “the fact that the market values men's and women's work differently in the labour market, rather than differences in the characteristics they observe,” is emphasized again by the World Bank (2013). If women's work were valued equally based on observable characteristics, "women would be paid more than men because they have better characteristics than men in the labour market."

In 2018, Mongolia scored 0.322 on UNDP's Gender Inequality Index (2019), which takes into account factors such as maternal mortality, teenage births, the percentage of women in parliament, education levels, and labour force participation (perfect equality corresponding to a value of 0). This is significantly lower than post-Soviet economies such as Kazakhstan (0.203), Russia (0.255) or Uzbekistan (0.303), and also lower than economies as a whole such as the East Asian region (0.310). As in the rest of the world, men dominate political and business positions. In the current Parliament of Mongolia, only 13 of the 76 members of Parliament are women (IPU, 2019). In the private sector, women make up only 30 percent of middle management positions and 15 percent of top management positions (UNDP, 2021). The unemployment rate shows no gender pattern and is actually slightly lower (as of 2018) for women (4.8%) compared to men (5.8%), while women's overall participation in the

labour force is between 50% and 55%, while men's employment force participation is about 10 percent higher (World Bank, 2020), (Schmillen et al., 2018). According to a study by Schmillen and Weimann-Sandig, the gender gap in labour force participation is due to childcare and household responsibilities, with 30% of women (6.4% of men) being the main reason for inactivity.

Moreover, the company has no objective, easily observable criteria that can reliably establish the actual existence of a glass ceiling. However, based on several studies, the glass ceiling can be defined as a subtle but persistent barriers/obstacles caused by discriminatory, conscious and unconscious actions and attitudes that prevent qualified women from reaching top/senior management positions (Jackson et al., 2009), (Bendl et al., 2010). A glass ceiling refers to the discriminatory barriers that prevent women from gaining positions of power and responsibility, or from being promoted to higher positions in organizations, simply because they are women (Li et al., 2001).

This glass ceiling phenomenon is based on several assumptions. Compared to other forms of discrimination and inequality, the glass ceiling is a unique form of inequality due to several criteria (Cotter et al., 2001). First, the nature of the glass ceiling is discrimination against women in management. Therefore, the glass ceiling will affect women regardless of their education, experience, or skills level. Glass ceiling studies require that women's career progression and promotion to leadership positions take into account the number of women in these positions at a given time. The glass ceiling represents the growing inequality between men and women as they develop their professional careers within companies. Secondly, there are no gender discrimination clauses in the legislation of Mongolia, but today, in the 2023 Global Gender Gap Report (World Economic Forum, 2001), Mongolia ranks 33rd in terms of economic participation and opportunity, and 67th in terms of gender equality in the field of education (Educational Attainment), due to the lack of "equal opportunity policy" and it is difficult to observe this bias. Moreover, it includes norms/stereotypes that are often not directly observable, manifested in behaviours, actions, facts, procedures, or attitudes. Invisible barriers, or glass ceilings are believed to be more common at top/senior management levels than at middle or lower levels. These barriers to advancement increase as you approach the top of the hierarchy.

Indeed, most researchers agree that the uniqueness of this phenomenon lies in its dominance at the highest levels of management. This situation is evident in the education sector of our country.

2.2 Glass Ceiling design

A model for understanding the glass ceiling phenomenon was developed by Elacqua et al. (2009). They explored why female managers rarely reach the highest levels in their organizations. They developed a model in which interpersonal and situational factors were positively related to perceptions of differential treatment between men and women among nearly 700 insurance company managers. This differential treatment leads to the concept of the glass ceiling.

Elacqua et al.'s study highlights the culture that supports these differential treatment and differing views while suggesting for future research the differential treatment toward men and women and other factors that may influence perceptions of the glass ceiling. Another factor contributing to glass ceilings through perceptions of differential treatment is organizational culture. Organizational culture is the shared values and beliefs of an organization that reflect employees' judgments about how things should be and should exist (Lord et al., 1991). There are two main concepts related to gender in organizational culture. These include: "male-oriented" organizational culture is a significant barrier to

women's advancement; beliefs about the incompatibility of the roles of mother, wife, and manager. These two concepts define the social roles of male and female managers and represent the beliefs and stereotypes expressed by the organization and some of its members. According to social role theory (Eagly, 1987), the image of a manager is often associated with the image of a man with "masculine" characteristics such as authority, independence, competitiveness, and aggressiveness. The antithesis of female traits such as cooperation, listening, sensitivity, and empathy is associated with the view that women are less committed to their careers and less able to lead. And the incompatibility of women in the role of being a mother, being a wife, being a manager; and being a manager requires too much investment, flexibility and travel. Here, Hoobler et al.'s collaborative study showed that managers believe that work-life conflict is more common in women than in men (Hoobler et al., 2008).

This belief can reduce organizational perceptions of women's adequacy and fit in the workplace, making women less likely to be promoted.

Thus, we hypothesize that interpersonal issues, situational issues, and perceptions of organizational gender culture will influence perceptions of differential treatment and, in turn, perceptions of the glass ceiling.

2.2.1. Consequences of the Glass Ceiling

There are many studies on the effects of glass ceilings, but there is no detailed research in our country. Determining this effect is important for determining policies and strategies to promote gender equality by examining the effects of the glass ceiling on Mongolian women, organizational attitudes, and the implications for the well-being of female middle- and top-level executives. In this study, we used Audrey Babic and Isabelle Hansez's model to examine the relationship between the perception of the glass ceiling and the five concepts of WFC, job strain, intention to quit, job engagement, and job satisfaction.

Relationship between Glass Ceiling and WFC. Individuals have to fulfil several social roles every day (e.g., being a parent, a spouse, and an employee, etc.). Conflicting demands may arise among these multiple social roles that an individual must fulfil. The concept of "Glass Ceiling" is based on the fact that female managers have less opportunities and conditions at work than male managers. For example, there are few opportunities for access to information and advice; social support and management guidance; opportunity to develop knowledge; performance feedback and promotion. Glass ceilings also undermine personality traits (such as, self-esteem, confidence, optimism) and energies (such as, knowledge, money). Indeed, women who face this type of discrimination are at a disadvantage in terms of job, salary, and prestige options (Baxter et al., 2000). The perception of a glass ceiling can hinder women's ideas and opportunities for promotion (Powell et al., 1994), lower their self-esteem (Tran, 2014), and reduce their ability to build networks and structures to support their careers (Freeman, 1990). According to Downes et al. (2014), "Women internalize the negative evaluations and stereotypes of the majority, limit themselves due to fear of failure, and refuse opportunities for advancement (Ilgen et al., 1986)." These negative consequences may escalate/extend, impairing their functioning at home, thereby increasing WFC (Edwards et al., 2000). Therefore, we hypothesize that the perception of a glass ceiling will increase the perception of WFC, which in turn will increase job strain and intention to quit, and decrease job engagement and job satisfaction.

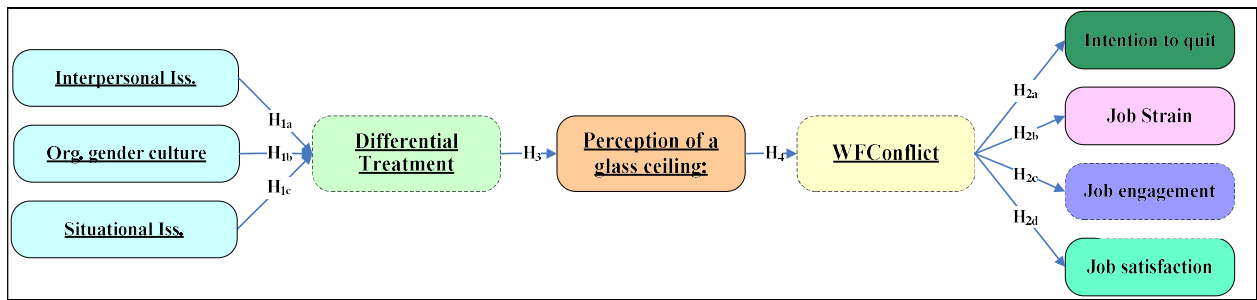


Figure. 1. Theoretical Model of Research

3 Methods

We invited teaching staff from seven educational institutions to participate in the study on a voluntary basis. We received 154 inquiries.

Table 1 Demographic profile of respondents

Gender	Freq.	Percent
Male	25	16.2%
Female	121	78.6%
Total	154	100%
Age	Freq.	Percent
18-24	15	9.7%
25-34	34	22.1%
35-44	62	40.3%
45-54	37	24.0%
55-60	3	1.9%
Total	154	100.0%
Years of experience	Freq.	Percent
1-4	57	37.0%
5-9	17	11.0%
10-14	26	16.9%
15-24	41	26.6%
25-34	7	4.5%
Above 36	1	0.6%
Total	154	100.0%
University	Freq.	Percent
Public	115	74.7%
Private	36	23.4%
Total	154	100%

4 Result

Audrey Babic and Isabelle Hansez's research model was used to evaluate the importance of interpersonal, situational factors and organizational cultural factors in the creation of a "Glass Ceiling" through the perception of men's and women's differential treatment, as well as the concept of a glass ceiling in WFC- 65 criteria were grouped into ten subscales of the model in order to determine the model that increases job strain and intention to quit, and affects job engagement and job satisfaction. 26 criteria were eliminated by factor analysis of the above criteria, and 39 criteria were grouped into 9 sets. A further 5 factors were removed from the model, resulting in 34 factors. The KMO value was 0.811, and the sample size was sufficient for factor analysis. 0.811 or 81.1% of the respondents showed

excellent sample reliability. The results of the study correctly explain 74.1% of the total sample (Eigenvalues).

Table 2 KMO AND BARTLETT'S TEST

KMO and Bartlett's Test		
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.	of	.811
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	3417.979
	df	561
	Sig.	.000

Table 3 Convergent validity for the measurement model

Variables	Loadings (λ)	Cronbach α	CR	AVE
<u>Interpersonal issues Int Iss</u>		.701	0.833	71%
Int_Iss02.	.885			
Int_Iss03.	.803			
<u>Situational issues Sit Iss</u>		.718	0.822	70%
Sit_Iss02.	.875			
Sit_Iss03.	.794			
<u>Differential Treatment</u>		.827	0.936	68%
Diff_Trea01.	.844			
Diff_Trea02.	.843			
Diff_Trea05.	.849			
Diff_Trea06.	.818			
Diff_Trea04.	.811			
Diff_Trea08.	.802			
Diff_Trea07.	.790			
<u>The perception of a glass ceiling</u>		.787	0.811	59%
Perc_GC-04.	.802			
Perc_GC-06.	.787			
Perc_GC-03.	.710			
<u>Work-to-family conflict</u>		.904	0.882	60%
WFConfl09.	.810			
WFConfl08.	.798			
WFConfl07.	.786			
WFConfl06.	.743			
WFConfl05.	.734			
<u>Job strain</u>		.889	0.860	55%
Job_Stra09.	.816			
Job_Stra07.	.744			
Job_Stra11.	.736			
Job_Stra10.	.708			
Job_Stra08.	.705			
<u>Job engagement</u>		.926	0.929	69%
Job_eng06.	.886			
Job_eng05.	.878			
Job_eng07.	.836			
Job_eng04.	.836			

Job_satis02.	.767			
Job_eng08.	.756			
Job satisfaction	.779	0.809	68%	
Job_satis03.	.835			
Job_satis04.	.813			
Intention to quit	.925	0.893	81%	
Intent_quit01.	.911			
Intent_quit02.	.885			

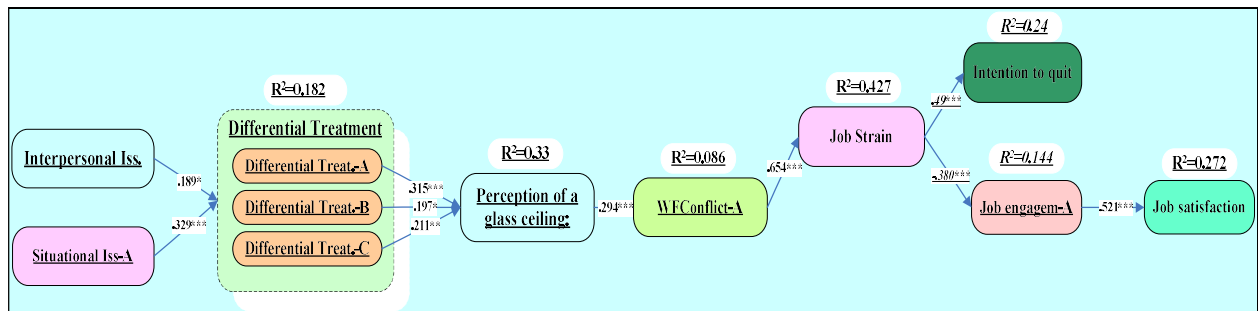


Figure. 2. SEM, Regression analysis results * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

5 Conclusions

We set out to investigate the glass ceiling and its effects on well-being at work. It also aims to contribute to research on the phenomenon of discrimination against women in promotion, as well as to examine how the glass ceiling affects organizational attitudes towards female managers and workplace well-being. In this study, more than 70% of the workforce is female, while the percentage of women at the top management level is low, for example, only two of the 11 school principals in Mongolian University of Science and Technology are female, and 82% have male principals. Therefore, this study was carried out in the field of education, and the data of 154 participants who voluntarily participated in the study were analyzed. Here, teachers from seven institutions of two public and two private universities participated in the research. **Interpersonal factors** and situational factors explain 18% of the variation in attitudes towards male and female employees. However, it has not been proven that organizational gender cultural factors influence this different attitude for seven institutions of four universities, and the impact of these factors for each institution or for private and public universities needs to be further analyzed in detail. **Situational factors** are determined by the fact that there are few women who have worked in top management positions for a long time, and defines the concept that women are a minority in the composition of executives capable of working in executive management.

This is because the average number of children born to Mongolian women in their lifetime is 3 (in 1980, this number was 6.4), and the average age of first childbearing women is approximately 22.

On the other hand, the factor of interpersonal relations is determined by the fact that male executives have created a circle of familiar friends, and most of the male executives are similar in their thinking and personal interests. This increases the likelihood that male management will prefer male employees as their partners and subordinates.

Three sets of factors explain the differential treatment of male and female employees. These include: 1. difference in their salaries, different performance criteria and different evaluations; 2. Investment

in training and development is more for male employees, and utilization of benefits is less for female employees; 3. Have a special career development program and quota for female employees.

The most influential of these are perceived differences in pay, performance, and evaluation. Although there are no provisions based on gender differences in salary, performance criteria and evaluation in laws, rules and regulations, the fact that Mongolian women give birth on average to three children and the age of first childbirth is 22 affects the stability of women's work, which further affects the utilization of the benefits of investment in employee training and development. It is effective when it is small. Therefore, implementing a special career development program and quota for Mongolian female employees will contribute to increasing the proportion of women in top management positions.

The glass ceiling effect explains 8.6 percent of the variation in "WFC." This work-family conflict explains 42% of job strain, which further explains 24% of motivation to quit. Conversely, low job strain explains 14% of job engagement, and further, it explains 27% of the variation in job satisfaction. Since 72% of all survey participants believe that Mongolian women are mainly responsible for raising their children, the "WFC" leads to an increase in job strain and motivation to leave work.

Author

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Courses: Cross-cultural management; International economics and business environment; International business management

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What about strong women politics? The female version of right-wing populism

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Abstract. The recent rise of populist movements has deepened the division between “us” and “them,” framing issues of belonging in terms of their space versus our space. This has led to the implementation of prejudiced policies and violent, militaristic measures against those perceived as social, political, racial, ethnic, or even sexual outsiders. In the process of nation-building and boundary-setting, populist leaders—such as Donald Trump (USA), Hugo Chávez (Venezuela), Juan Perón (Argentina), and Nigel Farage (United Kingdom)—view strong male leadership as essential to protect the national family from the perceived threats posed by these outsiders. While this perspective emphasizes the centrality of political masculinity in populism and the tendency of populist leaders to feminize the nation as weak and in need of protection, it overlooks a crucial segment of female populist leaders, who are increasingly visible on the international political stage. Figures such as Marine Le Pen (France), Frauke Petry and Alice Weidel (Germany), Beata Szydło (Poland), and Siv Jensen (Norway) exemplify the female version of populist politics, a phenomenon that is rarely, if ever, addressed. This paper will explore the “female” modes of performing populism and the role such performances play in (de)constructing widely held perceptions of gender roles. Furthermore, it will examine the identity construction strategies these leaders employ in communicating their vision of nationhood, belonging, and boundary-setting.

Keywords: *Populism; Identity Politics; Strong man leadership; Political Discourse, Communication Style; Strong Female Leadership; The Self; The Other.*

1 Introduction

In its most recent statistics published in June 2024, UN Women has declared that “there are 27 countries where 28 women serve as Heads of State and/or Government” (UN Women, 2024). The same study reveals that “there are only 15 countries in which women hold 50 per cent or more of the positions of Cabinet Ministers in leading policy areas.” Interestingly, even the current positions held by women in European ministries and elsewhere are mainly associated with family affairs and social development and inclusion, which limits the influence of women in decision-making processes and political leadership. At this particular historical juncture, we’re not at a stage where we can speak about gender balance in political representation, since, as noted by the UN, this process will take 130 years to reach. However, with the rising influence of right-wing politics, a recent generation of politicians has emerged, leading to what might be called the female version or face of politics. This rise however becomes even more controversial, given the traditionally assigned roles and positions of women, which have typically been associated with inclusion and social development. Clearly, this trend demonstrates that women are not destined to be exclusively social democrats!

Building on the above, the chief goal of this research paper is to investigate the different layers of the female face of right-wing politics and the extent to which it deviates from the male template that has dominated the political scene since the 19th century. This is not to assume that the contours of the populist female leadership are straightforward or simple to define, but rather to highlight the fact that this relationship is intrinsically ambivalent, since gender in populism is often overlooked in favor of the simplistic division between elites and the people. Therefore, a good starting point would be to briefly discuss the relationship between populism and gender roles, considering the extensive focus of (male) populist leaders on the traditional gender roles and family values. This will help trace the similarities and differences within the major policy contours of the female version of right-wing populism.

2 The relationship between populism and gender

The tendency towards authoritarian approaches to leadership and governance leaves little room for inclusivity in politics or for acknowledging broader party preferences and orientations. Instead, in the age of populism, the focus shifts to a single leader with special attention given to the personality and attitudes of this leader. This newly emerged approach adds a very complex and multilayered dimension to gender issues, as it may incorporate different models of femininity or masculinity and discursive frames, depending on whether the leader is male or female and whether they belong to the ruling or opposition parties. The success of a single female leader scenario largely depends on whether the political structures of the parties are open to women leadership or not.

Nevertheless, despite the growing body of scholarship about populist politics and its impact on governance and public institutions, little attention has been paid to the links between populist politics and gender. This is partly due to the exclusive focus on understanding the nature of populist thinking and its impact on traditional party systems divisions. However, this does not deny the fact that there have been a few scattered attempts to overcome this gap and focus on the gender identity of populist party leaders in Europe or elsewhere. What this increasing body of research reveals is that populist leaders often resort to the reductionist and Manichean division of "us versus them" or "our people versus their people" without fully incorporating the gender element. This omission is sometimes

deliberate, as certain leaders prefer to homogenize the notion of the “people” and unite it against a single perceived threat: the elites or, more generally, the “Other.” Expressions like “we the people” create a vague definition of those considered part of the in-group, avoiding any divisions or categorizations based on gender.

Interestingly, even when gender is invoked in populist rhetoric, it remains highly context-specific. A case in point is the position of women, which largely depends on whether they are part of the demonized elite or the victimized common people. For instance, Hillary Clinton, a prominent American politician, was vilified by Donald Trump and excluded from his conception of the in-group. This indicates that women who are seen as part of the corrupt elite are more likely to be demonized, while those representing the common people—victims of modernity and globalization—are mobilized by populist leaders. This dichotomy applies to men as well, as demonstrated by Trump’s demonization of Barack Obama, whom he blamed for the social, political, and economic ills facing the U.S. It’s all a matter of perception and perspective (Trump, 2016).

Furthermore, ideology plays a defining role in this division, as the engagement with gender matters often differs across left and right parties. Echoes of such argument are found in Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser’s foundational book *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective or Democracy?* (2013) in where they argue that “left-wing populist parties often frame gender equality as part of a broader agenda for social justice, linking it to economic redistribution and anti-capitalism, while right-wing populists view gender through a nationalist lens, advocating traditional roles for men and women as part of their defence of the national culture.” Despite these nuances, populists, both on the left and right, tend to be more conservative on gender issues and family relations compared to traditional parties. Interestingly, both camps identify an “other” as a core adversary: for left-wing populists, it’s the capitalist system and economic elites, while for right-wing populists, it’s immigrants and cultural aliens, particularly Muslim men “who do not share our values, especially with regard to women and the family” (Orbán, 2017).

This gendered dimension of populist thinking has also been highly prevalent within the U.S. Tea Party movement, which merged a gendered discourse on identity and belonging with evangelical Christian values emphasizing traditional families and masculinity. The influence of evangelicalism on political choices became even more evident with Donald Trump’s victory, which was supported by over 81% of evangelical voters (Stewart et al., 2018). Central to Trump’s presidential pledges was what can be described as a “moral reformation” or “moral awakening” aimed at reinstating a particular moral order. His rhetorical calls to join him in this “righteous mission” added an air of Christian martyrdom to his political narrative.

Such an argument contributes further to the understanding of white evangelicals’ support for Donald Trump, as these groups often expect the presidency to defend “mythological narratives about America’s distinctly Christian heritage and future” (Whitehead et al., 2017, p. 147). Similarly, Stewart et al. (2018, p. 9) state that by depicting himself as the only potential saviour of a nation in decline, “Trump appealed to evangelical moral foundations even as his words and behaviour undercut evangelical standards regarding sexual modesty and personal humility.” Additionally, evangelicals’ support for Trump cannot be solely attributed to traditional family values. It is also explained by their anti-immigration and anti-Muslim attitudes, along with their opposition to same-sex marriage and the LGBTQ+ community, which were highly appealing to both Christian nationalist women and men. The

then-president, in this regard, was not simply seen as a leader with a particular political agenda but as the providential man who would save the country and bring back the Christian patriarchal order, with men as breadwinners and women as homemakers.

This image of the woman as the mother, daughter, and wife who needs protection and saving is not exclusive to populist movements in the U.S.; it has also been commonly observed within populist parties in Latin America, where political leadership strongly adheres to traditional family roles. For example, motherhood, along with submissiveness and domesticity, were defining features of Venezuela's Chávez, who advocated for the emancipation of mothers rather than women in general. What this literature suggests is that the image of women in populist thinking, whether on the left or the right, draws heavily on feminine, rather than feminist, roles. These roles are often motivated by the quest to domesticate women as mothers. Of course, while the degree of conservatism may differ from one party to another, traditional gender divisions remain highly prevalent in populist ideologies.

Another important aspect that makes gender divisions even more dangerous is their association with various other issues related to migration, the economy, and extremist movements. Gender, in this context, may not be an end in itself, but the way it is used, misused, or manipulated makes all the difference. A notable illustration of the amalgamation between gender roles and anti-immigration sentiments can be seen in the statements made by the Party for Freedom in the Netherlands. This party not only discloses a highly traditionalist image of women as helpless and in need of saviours but also represents them as vulnerable to sexual harassment by "primitive," violent, and aggressive Muslim men.

One of the most striking statements by this party's leadership is: "Just step out the front door and look around for a second. Chances are that there is scum in front of the entrance of the neighbourhood shop. That you will be spat at and robbed there. That your daughters, your wife, and parents are harassed and don't dare to go out at night. Becoming a stranger in your own country. That has to change." Paradoxically, the party's claims to empower women, shield them, and promote their rights do not simply communicate a gendered representation of these women but also exclusively associate sexual harassment with Muslims. According to this narrative, women must be protected from Muslim immigrants rather than from men within Dutch society. Thus, we are not only discussing gendered harassment but also racialized sexual harassment. This rhetoric positions emancipation as the liberation of women from misogynistic, oppressive, and extremist Muslim men.

Consequently, in their process of nation-building, populist leaders—including Trump, Chávez (Venezuela), Perón (Argentina), and Farage (United Kingdom)—consider strong male leadership indispensable for protecting the members of the national family from external threats. The self-portrayal of these populist leaders as "father-presidents" implies that the nation, within populist discourse, is often framed as a well-structured, enclosed family (Ben Amara, 2023). Within this "nation as a family" metaphor, the government embodies the role of parents, while citizens become the children in need of protection. Given this strong association of the leader with the father, the soldier, and the male saviour, women have struggled to lead under these patriarchal terms of leadership.

However, with the increasing rise of female populist leaders in Europe and elsewhere, including Marine Le Pen (France), Alice Weidel (Germany), Siv Jensen (Norway), Pauline Hanson (Australia), and Pia Kjaersgaard (Denmark), this patriarchal approach to leadership has been increasingly questioned.

Chief among the questions raised is whether there exists a different pattern of women's engagement in populist politics. Can we speak of a matriarchal approach to leadership? Can women be equally strong and assertive in politics?

Taking into consideration the growing scholarship on the female version of populist leadership, the answer is unquestionably yes. A case in point is Geva and Lawless's (2020) assertion that female populist leaders embody a mixed approach to politics, merging masculinity, matriarchy, nurturance, and authoritarianism. Similarly, Köttig et al. (2017) discuss the "maternal populist frame," which makes female populist leaders even more distinct from their male counterparts. These concepts will be explored further in the following section, with a particular focus on the rhetoric of various female populist leaders.

3 Populist Politics and Women's Political Engagement

Despite populists' strong attempts to preserve conventional gender roles and promote heteronormative family politics, they have, to some extent, succeeded in mobilizing women. As already mentioned, this was further demonstrated by the overwhelming support of white evangelical women for Donald Trump (Gorski, 2017). These votes were primarily motivated by white Christian nationalists' nostalgia for the protection of privilege (Gorski, 2017). This does not, however, negate the fact that some women prefer a more assertive and bold approach to leadership, rather than simply being sympathizers or activists within a particular political body. Interestingly, an increasing body of literature has shown that women's transition to assertive roles in the political spectrum, whether populist or mainstream, has been primarily driven by their exclusion from decision-making processes and the trivialization of their roles within political parties.

If we consider women's involvement in populist political leadership as a form of emancipation and assertiveness, we must ask: What kind of emancipation does this imply? Is female populist politics feminist? Can female populism be more moderate or "rational" than its masculine counterpart? In an attempt to answer these questions, Dietze and Roth (2020) highlight in their book *Right-Wing Populism and Gender: European Perspectives and Beyond* that the common perception is that, unlike men, women place greater value on ethics and inclusivity and are generally uncomfortable with aggression and the exclusion of others. If one were to blindly adopt these stereotypes, it would seem that populist female leadership is either non-existent or inherently virtuous. However, Dietze and Roth challenge these assumptions, arguing that populist female leadership in Europe and beyond is far more nuanced and complex.

Since populist politics often revolves around the personality of the leader, the question arises: What defines the approach of female populist leaders? In the same book, the authors argue that family values remain central to the female populist agenda, even under female leadership. These leaders often call for a reaffirmation of traditional family roles, portraying them as revolutionary ideas. Such values are presented as part of a "new modernity" or "alternative modernity," with female populist leaders proudly embracing their roles as mothers and wives. Frauke Petry, the leader of Alternative for Germany (AfD), exemplifies this perspective, boldly declaring: "I have five children; Merkel has none. Children help you to look beyond your own backyard." Unlike what is typically communicated by strong male leadership, the use of the mother figure by female populist leaders does not convey vulnerability or dependence. Instead, it positions these leaders as symbols of wisdom, rationality, and

experience, capable of governing both their families and the public. This conceptualization adds complexity to the image of the mother, highlighting the unique contributions that mothers can bring to politics. In some cases, this portrayal is even more direct and assertive than the paternalistic image conveyed by male populist leaders.

Additionally, an intriguing feature of the female version of right-wing populism is its reliance on emotions and emotive appeals to construct nations and establish the “us versus them” dichotomy. Female populist leaders often utilize the “motherland” metaphor, making it more potent and relatable due to their ability to alternate between masculinity, hardline leadership, and hegemonic femininity (Paechter, 2018). A notable example is Marine Le Pen of France, whose masculinized virtues and even her perceived virility have bolstered her influence among the French electorate. Female populist leaders’ ability to carefully balance rationality and emotional appeals enhances their political messaging and adds depth to their rhetoric. This duality—authoritarian tendencies softened by maternal imagery—resonates with audiences seeking both strength and nurturing in their leaders. For instance, Pauline Hanson of Australia frequently emphasizes her identity as a mother in her political discourse. She famously stated: “I want to leave a better Australia for our children, and that’s why I’m in politics.” This sentiment reflects how matriarchal politics can serve as a successful strategy for female populist leaders. This carefully crafted blend of hegemonic femininity and nationalism is exemplified by Pia Kjaersgaard, co-founder of the Danish People’s Party, who declared that “we must protect our Danish heritage and values for the sake of our children and grandchildren. I am here to fight for a Denmark where our families can thrive, and our children can feel safe and proud.” By merging nationalism, xenophobia, and maternal imagery, Kjaersgaard reinforced her self-portrayal as the protector of a broader “Danish family.” Similarly, Marine Le Pen has underscored her political role as analogous to a mother’s role in protecting her children: “A mother’s role is to protect her children, and I see my political role as protecting the French people.” Such rhetoric resonates with voters who view these leaders as maternal figures safeguarding the nation.

Interestingly, while both male and female populists advocate the superiority of Western culture and women, female populists take this rhetoric further by framing Western women as sexually liberated compared to their migrant counterparts. This narrative of “Western sexual exceptionalism” (Evangelista, 2022) positions female populists as champions of freedom and modernity. A striking example of this can be seen in Alice Weidel, co-leader of Germany’s Alternative for Germany (AfD), who is openly lesbian. Although homosexuality challenges traditional family values—a cornerstone of populist discourse—it adds another dimension to the populist narrative of sexual exceptionalism. Weidel’s leadership demonstrates how populists selectively reinterpret values to fit their agendas, making the intersection of populist leadership and LGBTQ+ identities an area worth further exploration. Beyond this, the notion of exceptionalism has been starkly demonstrated by Austria’s Freedom Party, which campaigned with slogans like “free women instead of forcing veiling.” Similar gendered narratives have been advanced by Marine Le Pen, who has vocally supported the prohibition of the hijab in public spaces. These campaigns construct Western women as “freed, modern, and sexually determined,” juxtaposing them against non-Western women who are often depicted as oppressed. This rhetoric not only reinforces traditional gender roles but also juxtaposes Western women against their non-Western counterparts, perpetuating racialized stereotypes. Interviews conducted by Arlie Russell Hochschild with female supporters of populist parties reveal opposition to feminist ideologies, with some describing feminism as a “femi-nazi” movement that pressures women

to compete with men. Instead, these women support a populist female leadership style that is pro-women but selectively so—pro-white, Christian women.

Echoes of such an argument are found in Germany's Alternative for Germany (AfD) party under the leadership of Alice Weidel, who campaigned for a highly conservative and nationalist vision of Germany, attributing membership and belonging to the in-group to specific, well-defined criteria. This process of national self-construction under populist female leadership is based on two major components: gender and religion. These components result in "new forms of intersectional racist practices that manipulate and even religionize gender" (Yuval-Davis, 2019). This is not to suggest that this gendered hierarchy of belonging is absent in male versions of populist leadership, but rather to emphasize that the intersection between the female body, religion, and race underscores the importance of studying populist leadership through intersectional aspects such as race, gender, and migration status, among others.

4 Conclusion

To conclude, this research explored populism from a perspective that is often overlooked or taken for granted. By examining the interplay between gender and populism, it highlighted not only the complexity of populism and its intersectional dimensions but also the strategic and ideologically driven use of gender roles. These gendered narratives were analyzed through the lens of female populist leaders, who balance their authoritarian policies with self-portrayals as nurturing, caring, and protective figures. This approach adds a human dimension to their policies, enhancing their perceived trustworthiness. Another significant aspect of female-led right-wing populism discussed in this research is the pro-White Christian women agenda, which reinforces traditional gender roles while also revealing the politicization of the intersection of gender, race, and religion in political discourse. This often involves contrasting the "modern, sexually liberated Western woman" with her "oppressed, non-Western" counterparts. Despite its exclusionary nature, this dichotomy helps foster a sense of unity among its supporters.

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Springboks – from symbol of apartheid to symbol of the Rainbow Nation?

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Abstract. In 1994, the African National Congress, the anti-apartheid movement turned political party, won the first elections in post-apartheid South Africa. It introduced the policy of transformation, aiming at the emancipation of all ethnic communities in the country. This included sport, where the focus was on raised degrees of participation of “generic blacks” at all levels, including national representative teams such as the Springbok rugby team, to symbolise the change of South Africa from a country dominated by white South Africans into a “rainbow nation, representative of all communities.” The insistence on the representation of all its communities in its national sport teams, while maintaining the level of past achievements when such requirements did not apply, makes South Africa unique among sport nations. In this paper, the authors assess the extent to which the policy of transformation has been successful in emancipating the rugby community. We look at diversity, equity and inclusion of two stakeholder groups, the fans and the Springbok players. Our data comes from internet platforms, newspapers, documentation of the South African Rugby Union (SARU) and interviews with two experts, Francois Cleophas and Colin Chasi, both professors at South African universities. The reception of the Springboks on winning their fourth World Cup suggests that the fan community has been successfully diversified and now includes many generic blacks that used to be alienated, while equity among fans remains a distant dream on account of the highly unequal distribution of wealth in the country. Although the quotas for generic black participation that SARU set for itself for the Springboks have not been met, there is a clear increase in diversity and inclusion of generic black players in the team, which won four World Cups along the way. However, here, too, equity can be seen more critically, as the facilities on offer for talented players depend highly on the community in which they grow up.

Keywords: *South Africa; Springboks rugby team; transformation; diversity; equity; inclusion*

1 Introduction

When in 1992, the President of South Africa, F.W. de Klerk, called a referendum in which almost 69% of the country's white minority endorsed his reform policies, the apartheid era came to an end. Two years later, in April 1994, South Africa celebrated its first all-race elections, in which the ANC, the African National Congress, won the majority of the seats in the new National Assembly.

Since the demise of the apartheid regime, the concept of transformation, i.e. the integration and emancipation of all ethnic communities in a non-racist new South Africa, has been prevalent in South African society, and the role of sport is seen as crucial. Coetzee et al. (2021, p. 219), referring to Höglund and Söndberg (2008), describe the view of former Minister of Sport and Recreation, Makhenkesi Stofile, in these terms, "sport must be a catalyst for the building of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, prosperous and free South Africa. It must build social cohesion and build a proud South African nation of all South Africans." In Vision 2030, the National Planning Commission defined the following objectives for the year 2030, "Participation in each sporting code begins to approximate [sic] the demographics of the country. South Africa's sporting results are as expected of a middle-income country with a population of about 50 million and with historical excellence in a number of sporting codes" (National Planning Commission, 2012, p. 473). These objectives imply both a rejection of sport as a cultural manifestation of specific communities, as well as a need to maintain the standards achieved in the past. In practice, sport teams representing the nation, such as the national men's rugby team, the Springboks, must both (come to) reflect South Africa's ethnic make-up and simultaneously maintain the performance level traditionally achieved. This combination of objectives makes South Africa unique in the world of sports.

The challenges to the rugby culture were particularly great. The national Springbok men's rugby team in South Africa was identified as one of the most prominent symbols of white supremacy during the apartheid era. Rugby in South Africa was associated with Afrikanerdom and its social and political ramifications, which reflected and perpetuated the inequalities and segregation policies of apartheid. On the occasion of a controversial tour to England in 1969, the *New Statesman* wrote that the "Springbok teams were "recruited on deliberately exclusive racial principles, and it ... bear[s] witness for a racially exclusive way of life"" (cited in Hyam & Henshaw, 2003, p. 327).

However, the end of apartheid and the new policy of transformation made a radical change necessary. The intent of this study is to focus on relevant aspects of the process of transformation that the South African Rugby Union (SARU) has been implementing in the last three decades to turn its flagship men's rugby team, the Springboks, from a symbol of apartheid to a team representing a diverse "rainbow nation," and how this transformation process has affected and influenced not only the make-up of the Springbok players but the concept of 'South African-ness' that integrates the multi-ethnic make-up of South African society.

Research Questions

- How successful has the transformation of the Springboks from an ethnically dominated sport to a sport representative of all South Africans been since the end of apartheid?
- How successfully does South African rugby deal with the tension between the need for success and the need to integrate "generic black" players at the top level?
- How do experts on the history of South African sports and the development of South African society assess the current situation and the future development of rugby in South Africa?

Relevance

Our paper is intended as a contribution to a dialogue about the current state of Diversity, Equity and Inclusion policies in South Africa and other countries, also against the background of the fierce scrutiny of the DEI concept by groups supporting competing frameworks such as Merit, Excellence and Intelligence (MEI) (McGlaufflin & Burleigh, 2024) and Merit, Fairness and Equality (MFE) (Abbot & Marinovic, 2021). Another, sport-related, form of scepticism encountered is the notion that “[d]espite the mythology of sport bringing people together and encouraging everyone to work together for success, modern sport remains a site of exclusionary practices that operate on a number of levels” (Dashper & Fletcher, 2013, p. 1227).

2 Methodology

In undertaking this study, we aim for a holistic approach to scrutinise the process of transformation within the South African Rugby Union (SARU) and its flagship, the male Springbok team. The analysis will focus on understanding two main stakeholder groups: fans and players. Our research incorporates both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods. From the South African Rugby Union's (SARU) Strategic Transformation Development Plan 2030 (South African Rugby Union, 2019), quantitative data that outline the structure and progress of the strategic transformation will be extracted. Additionally, we will analyse content from online platforms and newspapers to gather current public and expert information on the subject. Further qualitative data will be extracted through semi-structured expert interviews with two eminent academics, Professor Francois Cleophas, a sport historian from the Sport Science Department of Stellenbosch University and Professor Colin Chasi, Director of the Unit for Institutional Change and Social Justice at the University of the Free State, providing scholarly perspectives on the ongoing transformation in South African rugby.

We will first provide a historical overview of rugby in South Africa, and how in this tradition, as Long et al. (2005) wrote, “[s]port can be viewed as a medium for racial discrimination (Jarvie,1991), either through institutionalized racism or through a racist culture that attaches itself to that sport, as well as a site for resisting racism and celebrating difference (Carrington, 1998)” (p. 43). We will then look at the Springbok fanbase and review the South African Rugby Union's (SARU) Strategic Transformation Development Plan 2030 (STDP 2030) to discuss the results achieved. Finally, we will summarise the two professors’ assessments of the progress made to date and the developments anticipated.

3 South African rugby past and present

South Africa has a long tradition in sport, and it is well documented that sport played a key role in the racial divide and inequalities in the apartheid regime. In the 70s and 80s, South African sports became increasingly isolated on the ground of the government’s apartheid policy. Under growing international pressure, many sports organizations tried to come to a form of racial integration before the end of apartheid, but their success was by no means unequivocal (Rademeyer, 2000, 2013). South African rugby resisted even these first steps towards racial integration and remained connected to the white Afrikaans-speaking community (Cornelissen, 2011; Rademeyer, 2000). The resistance to pressure to come to any form of ethnic integration was backed by the non-alignment of New Zealand and the United Kingdom, two dominant forces in rugby, to the 1977 Gleneagles Declaration, which intended to condemn sport relations between the countries of the Commonwealth and South Africa

(Rademeyer, 2000). Several tours of international rugby teams in South Africa took place. The British Lions and France visited in 1980, Ireland in 1981, England in 1984, and a World XV played two matches in the country in 1989. There were rebel tours of the New Zealand Cavaliers (largely an All-Black team) in 1986, and the South American Jaguars (from Argentina) in 1982. South Africa toured New Zealand in 1981. However, the Springbok team was excluded from the most important events in the rugby world, the World Cup tournaments of 1987 and 1991.

The end of apartheid also meant the end of the team's relative isolation and its full re-integration into the world of sport. This was marked by the participation of the Springboks in the 1995 World Cup in post-apartheid South Africa. The home nation won the title and received the trophy out of the hands of the South African president and ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, who was wearing the cap and the jersey of the Springboks team, once a symbol of oppression and segregation. Its significance was huge, and the event was described as "an exalting experience for the country" (Mudeliar 2007, p. 48), after a final, which "was not only about rugby itself but was used as a vehicle for nation building and unifying people of different backgrounds in the aftermath of apartheid rule" (Mudeliar 2007, p. 48). The Springboks have since then won three more World Cups, namely in 2007, and in the last two tournaments, in 2019 and 2023.

Diversity, equity and inclusion among fans

If we look at aspects of diversity and inclusion among the fans of the Springbok team, we can observe that from a team associated with the Afrikaner community, the Springbok team has now come to represent all South African society, in other words, the Rainbow Nation, and this is mirrored in the fanbase. Many websites and newspapers spoke of the unity among South Africans in celebrating the team's success in the latest World Cup in France in 2023 (Makhanya 2023; Vorster 2023; Simelane and Zane 2023; Chasi 2023; South African Government News Agency 2023). In *The African*, Kim Heller wrote, for instance, that people in the country "saw a festive flamboyance of South African flags joyfully dancing through many of the nation's potholed streets" (Heller, 2023). The tour of the World Cup winning team included a visit to Soweto, South Africa's largest township, where according to Reuters, the "sight of thousands of adoring supporters ... were [sic] particularly striking given how rugby was once perceived to be the sport of the white Afrikaner during Apartheid" (Reuters, 2023).

It would appear then that the story about diversity and inclusion of rugby fans of all ethnic backgrounds is a positive one. However, the tale of equity is less so. The distribution of wealth in South African society shows an enormous gap between black and white households, with typical black families owning just 5% of the wealth of typical white families (Chelwa et al. 2024). In the same article describing the celebrations across the nation, Heller writes that the "Rugby World Cup puts a fake happy face on a weeping nation, " in which "[a]ll the fuss and fanfare had little to do with an end to the everyday suffering of ordinary South Africans, or a sudden overflow of justice and equity in the world's most unequal country" (Heller, 2023). This issue is, of course, a problem that goes far beyond rugby fandom, but wealth inequality also affects the extent to which people are able to attend Springbok matches, which besides the price of tickets, involves travelling expenses, and whether they can purchase fan gear and other material, which people typically use to show their support. (A Springbok jersey bought from the Official Springbok store costs R 2,173. On the day of writing this text, this is the equivalent of € 112,69).

Diversity, equity and inclusion among players

The appointment of the first black team captain of the Springboks, Siya Kolisi, in 2018 was seen as a major step in the emancipation of black players. Another measure taken was the formulation of quotas for generic blacks in rugby teams across the board. In line with the Transformation Charter adopted for all sports in 2011, SARU, the South African Rugby Union, set itself an ultimate target of 60 % generic black players in the Springbok team, to be reached through annual increases of 5%, starting from 35% generic black players in 2015. Sixty percent represents a sport demographic profile approximating the national population demographic of 80 % black African, 9 % Coloured, 9 % White and 2 % Indian (South African Rugby Union, 2019, p. 8).¹

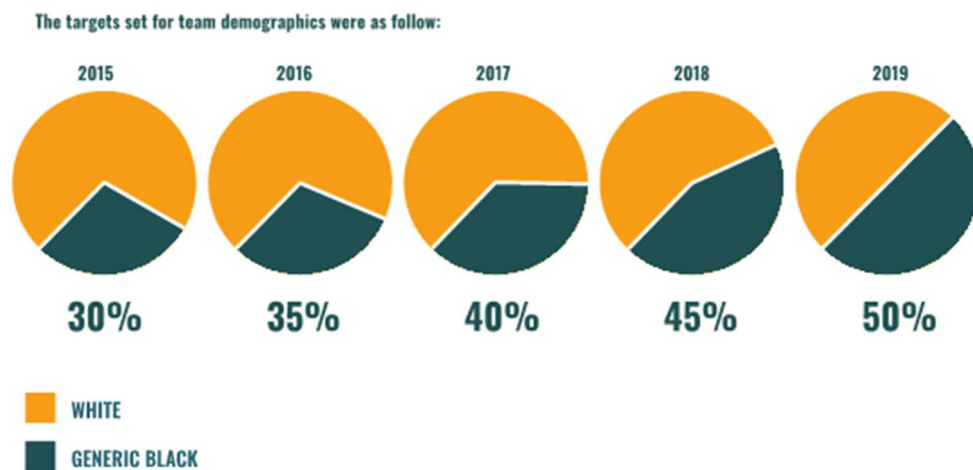


Figure 1. SARU's participation quota (Source: South African Rugby Union, 2019)

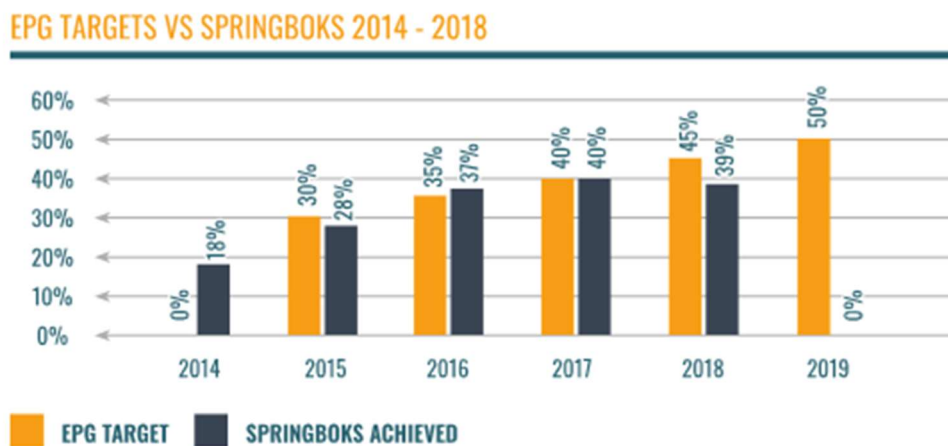


Figure 2. Targets and results 2014-2019. Source: South African Rugby Union, 2019

The formulation of participation quota creates transparency in the progress made, and it demonstrates that despite a substantial increase in the number of black players in the Springbok team,

¹ Note that in the participation targets deployed by the South African Rugby Union, the term “generic blacks” refers to the members of all non-white ethnic communities.

the targets have not been reached (see the table below). The percentage of generic black players in the World Cup winning team of 2023 was 41 instead of 60, which would have been the proportion targeted by means of 5% annual steps.

The assessments of this development differ. Weekend newspaper Rapport suggested that the side that won the 2023 tournament was too white (Koopman, 2024), but, in contrast, SA Rugby president Mark Alexander states that “improvement is nowhere more obvious than at the level of our national teams where we have made ground-breaking strides under the leadership of [coach] Rassie Erasmus. Yes, we have targets for the Springboks in demographics, but we also have performance targets that we will not compromise, and we are definitely tracking in the right direction on both fronts” (Koopman, 2024).

Koopman’s reference to “both fronts” indicates that maintaining the level of athletic achievement was the other explicit objective for South African sport teams. The simultaneous application of two selection criteria, ethnic origins and rugby talent, was likely to create tension, and the response in some parts of the rugby world was outspoken scepticism. New Zealand coach Steve Hansen, for instance, wryly commented that the Springboks are “the only team in sport I know that doesn't pick its best team” (Bills, 2018). The sport, he felt, should “develop naturally” without the intervention of a third party. It is in this way that multicultural teams develop and get formed, independent of externally imposed quotas. Even among black Springbok players, the policy of setting quotas is seen critically. In the words of team captain Siya Kolisi, “I would not want to be picked because of my skin colour because that surely would not be good for the team, and the guys around you would know” (Rugbypass). Nonetheless, (white) coaches like Johan “Rassie” Erasmus (2019) and Jacques Nienaber (2023) managed to balance the objectives and select teams that played world-beating rugby. Raising the levels of diversity and inclusion of players, though not (quite) to the level originally planned, seems to have been successful in the case of the Springboks, and even though a close study of the team in operation would be needed to assess the level of equity and inclusion within the team, the success in recent world rugby indicates that the way in which the team is organized enables all individual players to function to the best of their ability.

Overview of number of generic black players in World Cup winning Springbok teams				
Tournament	Total number of players selected	Generic black players	Percentage	Target percentage
1995	28	1	>4	No target
2007	30	6	20	No target
2019	31	12	39	50
2023	31	13	41	54 (60 if annual steps of 5% were maintained)

Source: Authors’ own design

We have seen that despite setbacks and continuing problems, the developments in the Springbok rugby team have led to a change in what it stands for, while maintaining its level of achievement (see research questions 1 and 2). No longer a symbol of Afrikanerdom and apartheid, the team now seems to represent the rainbow nation rather than the dominant minority of the past. Still, the question remains unanswered how the remaining inequality among South Africans affects rugby today and how it will affect the future of rugby (see research question 3).

Professors Chasi and Cleophas offer different perspectives of the state of transformation in rugby and its broader societal implications, and it is to their insights we now turn.

Prof. Colin Chasi: The Optimistic Transformation Narrative

Professor Chasi emphasizes the fact that noticeable headway has been made in the integration of diverse ethnic groups within the Springbok organization, arguing that the 2023 World Cup team epitomizes a significant shift toward inclusivity. He points out that 38% of the team came from communities previously segregated by the apartheid regime and sees this as a persuasive argument in favour of a changing narrative in a sport such as rugby, historically resistant to change. He highlights how Siya Kolisi's story² captivated the public's imagination and fed a new narrative in which players of different backgrounds can make it into the top team of the country, no matter their ethnic origin or social status. Furthermore, he argues that Kolisi's case is a testimony to a paradigm shift in the way rugby players are selected and appraised, stepping away from historically prevalent stereotypes and promoting values based on skill and merit.

Chasi recognizes that there are still barriers and challenges to overcome, such as the access to proper facilities and resources only available to privileged layers of society. To advance further in this process of transformation, he claims that the use of racial categories should be maintained to promote equity. However, this transformation should call for a broader identity project to accelerate inclusivity. He is optimistic of the future of South African rugby and sees the current efforts as positive steps to a more inclusive and sustainable future. In his own words: "The reality is, the future of rugby has to be black. It has to be black not only for demographic reasons, not only for political reasons related to somebody forcing it upon rugby, it's a survival issue for the sport." (Chasi, personal communication, May 28, 2024).

Prof. Francois Cleophas: Changes at Surface-Level Narrative

Professor Cleophas offers a less optimistic analysis of the process of transformation in the South African Rugby Union (Cleophas, personal communication, January 13, 2024). He argues that an increase in the number of players from diverse ethnic and social backgrounds in the teams provides a false image, covering deeper systemic issues that maintain the old system and preserves inequality.

After having been offered scholarships, Siya Kolisi, born 1991 in the Eastern Cape township of Zwide, attended Grey Junior and Grey High School in nearby Port Elizabeth, a semi-private high school and a major breeding ground for sports talent. He soon started playing rugby professionally and in 2010 was selected for the South Africa under 20 team. In 2013, he played his debut match for the Springboks, the senior national team. He was made captain by coach Rassie Erasmus in 2018, and led the Springbok team to its two most recent World Cup wins in 2019 and 2023.

According to Cleophas, post-apartheid transformational policies have mainly contributed to enrich and empower the old white elites, creating in the process new black elites at the service of the old structures. This process of transformation, rather than tackling and solving broader inequities within society, has solidified white elites in the rugby business and transformed black players into commodities. He states that white and black privileged groups are the real winners in the transformation process rather than the underprivileged diverse layers of society.

He points out that the current imbalance in access to resources between privileged and underprivileged schools suggests that transformations in rugby are cosmetic and serve to inflate the global narrative of racial harmony while hiding the real issues behind economic and social inequality. Given the crucial role of schools in fostering talent, fee-paying private schools, serving the wealthier part of the nation, solidify the position of old white and new black elites. These schools, which are out of reach to many black families, often have the financial means to invest in extracurricular activities on a scale that public, state-funded schools cannot match.

4 Conclusions and future directions

The assessments of the success of SARU's transformation strategy differ. The targets set by SARU in its Strategic Transformation Development Plan 2030 have not been met. At the same time, it is undeniable that the number of generic black players in the Springboks' teams has increased dramatically over the years, and that the tension between the demand for more balanced ethnic representation and the requirements of top sport have been successfully bridged. The assessments made seem to be influenced by the views that the various experts take on the relevance of the broader context. Chasi's views are on the positive side of the scale regarding achievements in player selection and a more universalized access to high performance rugby teams, while Cleophas insists that more impactful systemic changes are needed to address the roots of economic and social disparities in South African sports. In his words, "you cannot discuss sport without discussing society. You cannot discuss sport without discussing the politics of the day" (Cleophas, personal communication, January 13, 2024). The latter perspective emphasises that among selected players, diversity, equity and inclusion may have advanced significantly, but this has not been the case at grassroots level. Especially, equity is still a distant objective in the emancipation process of less privileged communities in South Africa.

A similar divide is discernible in the assessment of diversity, equity and inclusion among the fans. The fan community is more diverse and inclusive than ever before, but the differences in wealth and prospects remain, and equity among South Africans from different ethnic communities is still a distant dream.

To gain more refined insights, further scholarly work in the form of qualitative research on inclusion and belongingness within the rugby team could enhance our understanding of team dynamics and the experiences of players. In addition, focusing on longitudinal studies is necessary to measure the impact of transformation policies over time and space, and sociological analyses on these policies are needed. The very fact that we are confronted with different perspectives of the same phenomenon indicates the importance of scrutinizing this issue, not only in the Springbok team but in multi-ethnic societies at large. In doing so, we may come to realize that the true victory in sports may not just be winning world championships, but winning over longstanding social, political and economic injustices.

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Enhancing the Employee Retention Strategies for Adult Third Culture Kids: Exploring Social, Process and Green Innovations

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Abstract. This research explores how process, social, and green innovations in employee retention contribute to keeping Adult Third Culture Kids in the workforce. A thorough review of 41 academic papers and 10 online sources was conducted. The study found that social initiatives like fostering community and belonging, process improvements such as flexible work arrangements, and promotion of environmentally conscious goals effectively retain employees, especially in diverse groups and Adult Third Culture Kids. More specifically, nine areas of employee retention were identified as particularly opportune for the implementation of social, process, and green innovations that could enhance the retention of Adult Third Culture Kids. Those areas were as follows: work organization (of flexible work arrangements), employee well-being and work-life integration, mentorship programs, employee resource groups (ERGs), training (more precisely cross-cultural training), career development, performance management, employee motivation and engagement, and compensation and benefits. The results highlight two key points. First, companies need to better understand the unique traits of diverse identity groups in the workforce, Adult Third Culture Kids included. Second, integrating social, process, and green innovations into employee retention strategies can help meet the specific needs of these groups. This research adds to the existing knowledge on employee retention and the role of Adult Third Culture Kids in business settings, offering practical advice for managers looking to boost retention rates and insights into diversity. It also opens avenues for future research in cross-cultural management, diversity, inclusion, and employee retention.

Keywords: *process innovations; social innovations; green innovations; diversity and inclusion; human resource management; employee retention; Third Culture Kids.*

1 Introduction

This study emphasizes the importance of recognizing emerging identity group of Adult Third Culture Kids (ATCKs) in the ever-evolving business landscape, particularly concerning developing and implementing employee retention strategies. Pollock et. al. (2017) define a Third Culture Kid (TCK) as someone who, during their developmental years, lives in countries different from their passport country due to their parents' career choices. An ATCK is essentially a TCK who has reached adulthood. This paper will use the terms TCKs and ATCKs. ATCKs are seen as ideal 21st-century employees, embodying skills and a global mindset conducive to leadership (Stokke, 2013). Despite their potential, there's a lack of understanding about ATCKs' unique and intricate culture and its impact on their business behaviour and expectations. Simultaneously, the significance of employee retention strategies as a competitive advantage is increasingly recognized (Rabbi et al., 2015). Therefore, this research advocates for innovation in these strategies to better accommodate the diverse and complex cultural backgrounds of employees, specifically ATCKs. The importance of recognizing and respecting the varied cultural backgrounds and identity group affiliations of employees is highlighted and theoretically grounded in works such as Erin Meyer's "The Culture Map" (Meyer, 2015). Given that ATCKs, who number in the millions globally (Iyer, 2013, 04:34), are integral to the workforce, known for their high skill level, education, leadership qualities, global mindset, and adaptability to various cultures (Bonebright, 2010; Crossman, 2016; Jurtan, 2011; Molteno, 2014; Pollock et al., 2017; Stokke, 2013; Westropp et al., 2016), this study aims to address the gap in research concerning their needs within employee retention strategies. The purpose is to provide a comprehensive overview and new insights into the management and retention of ATCKs through social, process, and green innovations, contributing significantly to the field of employee retention.

2 Research Methodology

This research employed content analysis, specifically an integrative or critical literature review. This approach is suited for combining insights from various fields to potentially foster new perspectives (Snyder, 2019). The study utilized secondary data, including articles and publications sourced from electronic databases like Google Scholar, PubMed, Emerald, and authoritative websites such as the UN's official site. A combination of keywords such as, but not limited to, process innovations, social innovations, green innovations, diversity and inclusion, human resource management, employee retention, Third Culture Kids, and minority groups, were used to search databases and abstracts. The final selection consisted of 41 articles and 10 electronic resources.

3 Results and Discussion

This study aimed to examine the feasibility and effectiveness of integrating social, process, and green innovations into employee retention strategies, specifically those targeting ATCKs. The research concluded that implementing such innovations in retention strategies for ATCKs is both desirable and beneficial. This is in line with the assertion posed by Ulrich (1998) about the essential role of HR in continually adapting and innovating its strategies. Considering that social innovations aim to enhance the welfare of societies and communities (Dawson & Daniel, 2010), and acknowledging the findings in the study authored by Musser (2001, p. 66) that "certain retention tools are more effective in the retention of diverse staff", it becomes clear that fostering "innovative workplace practices" is crucial (Lazarova, 2019, p. 215). Given the unique challenges ATCKs face in a business environment, namely

hidden diversity, cultural marginality, and belonging issues (Reken & Bethel, 2005) these studies collectively endorse the implementation of innovations as an effective means to retain diverse groups, including ATCKs.

After a thorough literature review and analysis, nine key areas in employee retention strategies (described below and briefly outlined in Table 1) where applying social, process and green innovations could be particularly beneficial for ATCKs were identified.

3.1 Work Organizations

Implementing process innovations in work arrangements often aims to enhance flexibility. These may include new technologies affecting organizational processes, leading to options like telecommuting, flexible schedules, job-sharing, or interdisciplinary project teams. Such innovations can improve the efficiency and retention of ATCKs by catering to their specific work needs.

Social innovations in work organization can further increase flexibility, addressing ATCKs' unique challenges like managing family commitments across different time zones. Options such as remote working, unconventional working days, or different time zone schedules can be particularly advantageous for ATCKs. These arrangements showcase an organization's dedication to work-life balance, a priority for ATCKs.

In terms of green innovations, work organizations could incorporate eco-friendly practices like remote working to reduce commuting carbon footprints, digital collaboration tools to lessen paper use, and teleconferencing to cut down on travel. These environmentally conscious approaches align well with the values of ATCKs, often driven by ecological considerations (Mosanya & Kwiatkowska, 2023).

3.2 Employee Well-being and Work-life Integration

Process innovations in this area involve developing new methods to support employees' personal needs, especially ATCKs. This could mean introducing platforms or services for stress management, contributing to the overall well-being of ATCKs.

Social innovations in employee well-being strategies might tackle the specific needs of ATCKs linked to their highly mobile lifestyle and experienced challenges, such as childcare, eldercare (considering that many ATCKs have aging relatives in different countries), health screenings, and mental health counselling – areas of great importance to ATCKs (Jess & Jess, 2021).

Green innovations in this realm could promote a greener and healthier workplace environment, for example, by incorporating plants and natural light, which are known to boost mental health, a significant concern for ATCKs.

3.3 Mentoring Program

Process innovation within mentoring programs could involve a fresh, structured approach tailored for ATCKs, matching them with experienced mentors. Leveraging technology, as discussed by Nor & Kasim (2015), in the context of the emerging Industry 5.0, could include data-driven platforms for mentor-mentee matching. These platforms could use input from employees and mentors to suggest optimal pairings. The significance of pairing mentors with individuals who share similar backgrounds, along with the cost efficiency of such programs, has been discussed by numerous authors, including Musser (2001). Such pairings would provide ATCKs with essential guidance and/or specific training for their

professional development and help them navigate the organizational culture, codes of conduct, and general expectations.

Implementing social innovation in mentoring programs can significantly enhance the experience of ATCKs within an organization, addressing their unique challenges related to belonging and the often overlooked issue of hidden diversity (Reken & Bethel, 2005). Such programs offer a vital platform where ATCKs can connect with mentors to share experiences, discuss, and clarify confusions. This interaction can lead to improved job satisfaction, increased engagement, and better retention rates of ATCKs. Additionally, ATCKs could find value in a Buddy system, which offers a more informal support structure compared to formal mentorship.

Green innovations in mentoring programs involve integrating sustainability and social responsibility aspects, resonating with TCKs' global and environmental consciousness. Embedding sustainability into mentorship aligns with the 17 Sustainable Development Goals set by United Nations Member States, representing an effective way for companies to demonstrate their commitment to these global objectives (THE 17 GOALS | Sustainable Development, n.d.).

3.4 Creation of Employee Resource Groups (ERGs)

Employee Resource Groups (ERGs) are voluntary, employee-led groups designed to offer professional and social support to their members, that focus on recruiting, and retaining members from similar backgrounds while striving to positively impact their communities and workplaces (MacGillivray & Golden, 2007 as cited in Welbourne et al., 2015).

Process innovation in ERGs or affinity groups would entail the creation of virtual ATCK community groups, akin to the virtual employee communities explored by Bertens (2009), and the development of ATCK resource portals (Employee Portals: Key Features, Benefits & Development Guide, 2024). Additionally, introducing cultural awareness days that highlight ATCKs and providing resources for employee podcasting or blogging are novel methods to enhance the functioning of ERGs and aid in the retention of ATCKs.

In terms of social innovation, ERGs contribute to establishing a more inclusive and diverse workplace culture that acknowledges and values the unique experiences and viewpoints of ATCKs. This directly addresses the challenges of belonging, identity and social integration faced by ATCKs thus enhancing their retention.

From a green innovation perspective, establishing ERGs centered on sustainability and environmental issues provides a space for TCKs to engage in and contribute to environmental initiatives and solutions. This approach aligns with the abovementioned environmental awareness often seen in TCKs.

3.5 Cross-Cultural and Cultural Awareness Training

Process innovations within cross-cultural and cultural awareness training would cover topics like cultural values, norms, global trends, and appropriate communication styles, along with processes ensuring their effective implementation. Popular delivery methods for such training include workshops and online modules. Incorporating this training into the onboarding process can be particularly effective, ensuring cultural awareness from the outset.

As a form of social innovation, cross-cultural and cultural awareness training can foster a more inclusive workplace culture that appreciates employee diversity. Providing this training organization-wide

enhances cultural sensitivity, improves understanding among employees from different backgrounds, and addresses the specific challenges and hidden diversity issues faced by ATCKs (Reken & Bethel, 2005). This training can reduce misunderstandings, prevent conflicts, and lead to improved teamwork and retention.

In terms of green innovation, cross-cultural training can be expanded to include modules on global environmental issues and sustainable practices. This aligns with the diverse experiences and environmental consciousness of TCKs (Mosanya & Kwiatkowska, 2023). Methods like interactive learning with case studies, simulations, role-playing, and inviting guest speakers from various cultures can help ATCKs apply their diverse experiences to environmental challenges.

3.6 Career Development

Incorporating process innovations into career development strategies typically involves creating or adapting approaches that facilitate coaching, mentoring, career path mapping, and other resources enabling employees to progress and flourish within an organization. This can include introducing new methods for skills mapping and goal-setting processes that allow for greater personalization, customization, and inclusivity per the needs of ATCKs and consequently aid in their retention.

As a form of social innovation, tailored career development opportunities can address specific challenges that ATCKs might face in the workplace, such as inclusion and diversity issues impeding advancement, lack of clarity in promotion policies, or sought-after international dimension, which further informs and shapes their career trajectories (Bonebright, 2010). By offering career development options that resonate with the unique experiences, skills, and needs of ATCKs, like opportunities for expatriate assignments or rotational positions, organizations can demonstrate their commitment to diversity and inclusion, thereby enhancing ATCK retention.

Regarding green innovation in career development, this could involve providing career paths focused on sustainability roles or participation in projects emphasizing environmentally friendly practices. Such initiatives are particularly appealing to TCKs, who often have a global perspective and a desire to contribute positively to the world.

3.7 Performance Management

Incorporating process innovations in performance management can lead to innovative methods for evaluating, monitoring, and enhancing the performance of employees, including ATCKs. Process innovations might involve developing novel user-friendly platforms and mediums tailored for performance management, thus ensuring continuity, comfort, live exchange of data, and, where necessary, real-time interaction. This approach is particularly advantageous in remote work settings, where ATCKs, who may face unique challenges in adapting to different cultural and organizational environments, can benefit from more flexible, accessible, and supportive performance management systems.

When the principles of social innovation are integrated into performance management, the outcome can be a system that caters to ATCKs' specific needs and preferences. This includes recognizing, valuing, and rewarding their unique contributions and skills. As Bonebright (2010) noted, ATCKs often feel their potential is underutilized due to standardized processes. A transparent and tailored performance management system can foster a more inclusive and collaborative work culture and positively influence the retention of ATCKs.

Green innovations in performance management might involve integrating sustainability goals and eco-friendly practices into performance evaluations, which would be aligned with the values of ATCKs. This could include assessing the environmental impact of projects, the efficiency of resource use, incentivizing achievements in sustainability, through awards or bonuses, or incorporating sustainability performance into regular reporting.

3.8 Employee Engagement

Implementing process innovation in employee engagement involves developing new strategies and techniques to motivate employees' involvement in decision-making and idea generation and enhance the overall employee experience. This can be facilitated by enhancing organizational communication, through the use of various digital platforms designed for this purpose, such as Slack, Zoom, and AI-powered chatbots. Furthermore, creating Internal Social Media Platforms or Internal Mobile Apps could allow 24/7 access to information and enhance collaboration and retention. Finally, introducing gamification or applying game design elements in non-game contexts, that aim to make everyday tasks more engaging, fun, and productive could also boost retention (Kumar et al., 2021; Simpson & Jenkins, 2015). Usage of these tools could enhance communication and flexibility for ATCKs, enabling them to engage in global teams and decision-making processes despite their diverse backgrounds and without physical or cultural barriers as well as provide ATCKs with a sense of connection to the organization, regardless of geographic location, thus providing sense of belonging and inclusion ATCKs often seek, as previously mentioned.

Social innovations in employee engagement focus on improving the work environment and experience for employees, including ATCKs, by valuing their input and fostering involvement in decision-making processes (where applicable) or stimulating creativity at work. Such innovations address the challenges ATCKs often face, including the desire for meaningful jobs and a creative work environment (Bücker, 2021), thus boosting job satisfaction, productivity, and retention.

Green innovations in employee engagement could involve initiating corporate social responsibility projects and green initiatives. These efforts can enhance ATCKs' sense of purpose and connection to the organization, tapping into their inclination towards environmental stewardship and global responsibility.

3.9 Employee Compensation and Benefits

Integrating process innovations in the realm of employee compensation and benefits can lead to more efficient and adaptable policies, procedural changes, and systems better suited to meet the unique needs of ATCKs. For example, offering flexible compensation packages that allow ATCKs to tailor their benefits, such as allocating a portion of their compensation to personally significant areas like healthcare, and parental or child support, can be highly effective.

Incorporating social innovations into compensation and benefit systems can result in options like language or cultural training assistance, additional vacation time for ATCKs to visit their families abroad, and coverage of travel and insurance costs. Providing healthy lunch options at work can also be included. These measures address specific challenges faced by ATCKs and cater to their needs and concerns.

In the context of green innovation, adapting compensation and benefits to support environmentally friendly lifestyles is key. This could involve offering subsidies for eco-friendly transportation or discounts on sustainable products. Such benefits are likely to resonate with ATCKs who are environmentally conscious.

Table 1 Process, social, and green innovations applicable to employee retention strategies targeting ATCKs

AREAS OF EMPLOYEE RETENTION STRATEGIES	Process innovations	Social innovations	Green Innovations
Work organization	Introduce innovative technologies for telecommuting, remote work, job-sharing, and cross-functional projects.	Provide flexible working arrangements, including remote working, varied time zones, and flexible weekly schedules.	Encourage remote working practices that are environmentally friendly to lessen commuting emissions and promote the use of digital tools to reduce paper consumption.
Well-being and work life integration	Deploy new platforms for comprehensive stress management and wellness support.	Cultivate a supportive environment with services like childcare, eldercare, health screenings, and mental health support, along with international health coverage.	Promote the integration of biophilic design in the workplace to enhance mental well-being and work performance.
Mentorship	Implement advanced data-driven platforms for precise mentor-mentee matching based on specific inputs.	Foster a continuous learning environment by ensuring various platforms are available for regular interaction between ATCKs and mentors.	Establish mentorship initiatives focused on environmental stewardship in alignment with the UN's Sustainable Development Goals.
Employee resource groups (ERGs)	Develop innovative ways to create ERGs specifically for ATCKs, including virtual communities and resource portals, and organize events and media like cultural awareness days , podcasts and blogging opportunities.	Enhance a culture of inclusivity and cross-cultural understanding through ATCK-centered communities.	Support ERGs that actively contribute to sustainability efforts and environmental projects.
Training	Create interactive workshops and digital learning modules on cultural awareness, norms, and emerging global trends.	Promote an inclusive culture that prioritizes diversity and cultural sensitivity, leading to improved cooperation and reduced conflicts.	Integrate environmental issues and sustainable practices into training programs, leveraging ATCKs' diverse experiences and commitment to environmental causes.
Career development	Innovate skill mapping and goal-setting to be more personalized and inclusive.	Encourage transparent promotion policies that value diversity and inclusion, such as opportunities for international assignments and position rotations.	Provide career opportunities in sustainability or participation in projects focusing on sustainability and environmental care, encouraging alignment with the UN's Sustainable Development Goals.
Performance management	Develop efficient platforms for dynamic and immediate data exchange to assess performance effectively.	Encourage a culture of accountability and personalization, with a focus on inclusivity and regular feedback tailored to ATCKs' needs.	Incorporate eco-friendly practices into performance assessments, including evaluating the environmental impact of projects and resource efficiency.
Employee motivation and engagement	Streamline organizational communication with modern tools and platforms (such as Slack, Zoom, and AI-powered chatbots, or by creating Internal social media and Mobile Apps for employees), and introducing gamification.	Cultivate a creative work environment that offers significant jobs and involves employees in decision-making processes, enhancing ATCKs' work experience.	Engage TCKs in corporate responsibility and green initiatives to instill a deeper sense of purpose.
Compensation and benefits	Support flexible compensation structures that allow employees to tailor their benefits package.	Offer personalized options for ATCKs, such as language training, extra vacation time, and healthy dining choices.	Provide benefits that endorse eco-conscious living, such as subsidies for green transportation and discounts on sustainable products.

Source: Author's own data

4 Conclusion

This paper aimed to identify social, process, and green innovations that could benefit the distinct group of Adult Third Culture Kids (ATCKs) if incorporated into employee retention strategies. The research also sought to highlight the importance of ATCKs as a substantial presence in the contemporary workforce and to assert that their unique needs should be given due consideration in the development and execution of innovative employee retention strategies, thus addressing a notable gap in research on the retention of ATCKs.

My future research will incorporate qualitative analysis (interviews) to support further theories and hypotheses presented in this study. This approach will better delineate the specific challenges faced by ATCKs and aid in expanding concrete, practical guidelines for implementing these innovations in business settings.

Looking ahead, this field offers numerous avenues for future research. Investigating how different subgroups within the ATCK category vary in their responses to employee retention efforts would be worthwhile. In conclusion, it is my sincere aspiration that this paper stimulates recognition that the future of work and employee retention strategies in particular, must be viewed as dynamic processes requiring regular and innovative revisions to meet the evolving dynamics of the workforce. This includes acknowledging and addressing the needs of diverse workforce segments such as Third Culture Kids.

Author

As a seasoned Human Resource Management Professional with over a decade of experience, I bring a wealth of expertise in HR and financial operations. My passion lies in the expatriate lifestyle, human resources theories, and child development philosophy. Currently, a Ph.D. candidate, I delve into innovative employee retention strategies, with a keen interest in the well-being of Adult Third Culture Kids.

In my career, I've developed a strong research focus on employee retention, business innovation and sustainability, underpinned by a solid academic foundation in Organizational Sciences, HR Management, and Economics. My professional journey has been marked by an unwavering commitment to fostering positive workplace relationships and driving effective collaboration.

I am driven by the vision to create work environments that not only retain talent but also cultivate it. Let's connect and explore how we can create thriving, diverse, and resilient workplaces together.

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Diversitätsmanagement im öffentlichen Dienst am Beispiel des BMKÖS

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Das Kompetenzzentrum für Diversität, Antirassismus und Antidiskriminierung (KDA) ist Teil des Bundesministeriums für Kunst, Kultur, Öffentlichen Dienst und Sport (BMKÖS, Sektion I) mit dem Ziel, Diversität in den Zuständigkeitsbereichen des Ministeriums zu verankern sowie Rassismus und anderen Formen von Diskriminierungen entgegenzuwirken. Der öffentliche Dienst steht hier in der Verantwortung mit gutem Beispiel voranzugehen und (1) als Dienstgeber Antidiskriminierung und Diversitätskompetenz in der Arbeitswelt vorzuleben, (2) einen diskriminierungsfreien und gerechten Zugang zu Ressourcen aus öffentlicher Hand zu gewährleisten sowie (3) Leistungen und Services an den Bedürfnissen einer vielfältigen Gesellschaft auszurichten. Kurz gesagt ist das Ziel die Herstellung gerechter Verhältnisse im öffentlichen Dienst (im „Innenverhältnis“ als Dienstgeber) und in der öffentlichen Verwaltung (im „Außenverhältnis“, insbesondere bei der Fördervergabe sowie bei der Erbringung von Leistungen und Services). Im Fall von bestehenden (strukturellen) Benachteiligungen bedingt dies auch die Förderung von abgrenzbaren Personengruppen. Insgesamt gilt es Rahmenbedingungen herzustellen, die Anerkennung, Respekt und Würde für Personen und Personengruppen garantieren. Das Kompetenzzentrum verfolgt hier einen systemischen (i.S.v. multiperspektivischen) Ansatz und legt den Fokus der Arbeit auf Prozesse und Strukturen, die zu Ausschlüssen und ungerechtem Zugang führen und wie man diesen durch wirksame Maßnahmen entgegenreten kann. Im vorliegenden Working Paper wird auf die Aufgaben und das Diversitätsverständnis des KDA näher eingegangen. Neben diesen Grundüberlegungen bietet es Einblicke in das konkrete Diversitätsmanagement des BMKÖS, das zur vollen Potenzialentfaltung aller Mitarbeiter:innen im öffentlichen Dienst und einem gerechten Zugang zur öffentlichen Verwaltung beitragen soll.

Keywords: *Bund; öffentlicher Dienst; öffentliche Verwaltung; Diversität; Diversitätsmanagement; Rassismus; Diskriminierung; Intersektionalität; Arbeit.*

1 Einleitung

Das Kompetenzzentrum für Diversität, Antirassismus und Antidiskriminierung (KDA) ist Teil des Bundesministeriums für Kunst, Kultur, Öffentlichen Dienst und Sport (BMKÖS, Sektion I) und soll Diversität in den Zuständigkeitsbereichen des Ministeriums verankern sowie Rassismus und anderen Formen von Diskriminierungen entgegenwirken. Dies umfasst unter anderem die Erarbeitung von ganzheitlichen Strategien und Maßnahmen für den öffentlichen Dienst sowie für Kunst, Kultur und Sport.

Diese Strategien und Maßnahmen setzen auf drei unterschiedlichen Ebenen an (Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes, 2015, S. 21-22), welche in Folge ausgeführt werden:

1. der öffentliche Dienst als Dienstgeber,
2. die öffentliche Verwaltung als Auftraggeberin und Vertragspartnerin,
3. die öffentliche Verwaltung bei der Erbringung von Leistungen und Services

In der ersten Ebene als **größter Arbeitgeber Österreichs** (ca. 130.000) hat der öffentliche Dienst die Verantwortung, mit bestem Beispiel voranzugehen ein respektvoller und diskriminierungskritischer **Dienstgeber** zu sein. Als Beispiele können hierfür, im Vergleich zur Privatwirtschaft, ein deutlich niedrigerer Gender-Pay-Gap (2023: 7,6%; im Vergleich: 18,4% in der Privatwirtschaft), gezielte Frauenförderpläne oder „Sonderplanstellen“ für Menschen mit Behinderung genannt werden. Der Anspruch ein diskriminierungsfreies und wertschätzendes Arbeitsklima herzustellen ist rechtlich geboten und notwendig im Sinne von sozialer Gerechtigkeit. Um das zu erreichen, müssen die Mitarbeiter:innen des öffentlichen Dienstes über Diversitätskompetenz verfügen. Gleichzeitig ist auch eine angemessene Repräsentation von gesellschaftlichen Minderheiten im öffentlichen Dienst aus folgenden drei Gründen notwendig (Schneider et al., 2020, S. 11-12):

Legitimationsfunktion: Eine angemessene Repräsentation von Minderheiten im öffentlichen Dienst befördert die Identifikation dieser Minderheiten zur Gesellschaft. Sie ist eine wichtige Form der gesellschaftlichen Teilhabe, da die Verwaltung ein wesentlicher Baustein einer demokratischen Gesellschaft ist und staatliches Handeln durch Repräsentation an Legitimität gewinnt. Gleichzeitig genießen die Ergebnisse des Behördenhandelns eine höhere Akzeptanz, wenn alle Bevölkerungsgruppen angemessen in der Verwaltung repräsentiert sind. Nicht zuletzt ist es auch eine Frage der Gerechtigkeit. Eine mangelnde Repräsentation ist ein Indiz für strukturelle Benachteiligungen beim Zugang zu Arbeitsplätzen im öffentlichen Dienst.

Vorbildfunktion: Der Zugang zu Arbeitsplätzen im öffentlichen Dienst hat ausschließlich nach objektiven Gesichtspunkten, wie Eignung, Befähigung und fachliche Leistung zu erfolgen. Bei mangelnder Repräsentation entstehen Zweifel, ob dies tatsächlich so ist. Zudem sollte der Bund als Dienstgeber mit gutem Beispiel vorangehen und die Integration aller Bevölkerungsgruppen am Arbeitsmarkt umsetzen.

Funktionale Notwendigkeit: Für die effektive und adäquate Erfüllung der Aufgaben der öffentlichen Verwaltung in einer diversen Gesellschaft muss entsprechende Diversitätskompetenz im öffentlichen Dienst vorhanden sein. Unzureichende Repräsentation führt dazu, dass sowohl Erfahrungswissen als auch kulturelle und sprachliche Kompetenzen im öffentlichen Dienst fehlen.

Bei der zweiten Ebene „**die öffentliche Verwaltung als Auftraggeberin und Vertragspartnerin**“ gibt es zwei zentrale Aspekte: Zum einen müssen Ressourcen und Mittel aus öffentlicher Hand diskrimi-

nierungsfrei und gerecht vergeben werden. Die Auswahl der Auftragnehmer:innen und Vertragspartner:innen muss so gestaltet sein, dass alle einen unvoreingenommenen und gleichen Zugang haben und nach objektiven Kriterien ausgewählt wird. Zum anderen muss der öffentliche Dienst bei der Vergabe auch darauf achten, dass seine Auftragnehmer:innen und Vertragspartner:innen auf Diskriminierungsschutz achten. Das muss von der öffentlichen Verwaltung gefordert und auch überprüft werden.

Bei der dritten Ebene, der **Erbringung von Leistungen und Services**, muss immer die Gemeinwohlorientierung der öffentlichen Verwaltung im Zentrum stehen. Die Mitarbeiter:innen des öffentlichen Dienstes arbeiten im „Dienst der österreichischen Gesellschaft“. Als Teil einer modernen Verwaltung sollten die Leistungen und Services für ALLE Menschen in Österreich diskriminierungsfrei zugänglich und an den Bedürfnissen einer vielfältigen Gesellschaft ausgerichtet sein.

2 Das Diversitätsverständnis des KDA

Der Ausgangspunkt für das Diversitätsverständnis des Kompetenzzentrums für Diversität, Antirassismus und Antidiskriminierung sind die Grund- und Menschenrechte. Die modernen Grund- und Menschenrechte basieren auf der Überzeugung, dass jedem Menschen allein auf Grund seines Menschseins eine unabdingbare Würde innewohnt, die zu einem Anspruch auf Freiheit und Gleichheit führt (Berka et al., 2019, S. 12; Bezemek, 2016, S. 73-75).

Um das Postulat der Gleichheit zu verwirklichen, ist die Gleichstellung der Menschen gefordert. Dies bedeutet die Herstellung von gerechten Verhältnissen für alle innerhalb definierter Systeme (Finanzmarkt, Umwelt, Bildung etc.), die Förderung abgrenzbarer Personengruppen – ausgehend von einer bestehenden Diskriminierung, sowie die Herstellung von Rahmenbedingungen, welche Anerkennung, Respekt und Würde für Personen und Personengruppen garantieren (Öffentlicher Dienst, o. D.).

Die öffentliche Verwaltung ist auf allen drei oben beschriebenen Ebenen (als Dienstgeberin, als Auftraggeberin, als Vertragspartnerin und bei der Erbringung von Services und Leistungen für die Allgemeinheit) an das Gleichheitsprinzip gebunden. Neben internationalen, supranationalen und verfassungsrechtlichen Vorgaben ist Diskriminierung im Bundesdienst durch das Bundes-Gleichbehandlungsgesetz auf Grund von Geschlecht, ethnischer Zugehörigkeit, Alter, Religion und Weltanschauung sowie sexueller Orientierung verboten. Zusätzlich verbietet das Behinderteneinstellungsgesetz und das Bundes-Behindertengleichstellungsgesetz Diskriminierungen auf Grund von Behinderungen. Zudem normieren diese Gesetze die aktive Förderung von Frauen sowie die Inklusion von Menschen mit Behinderung.

Kontrolle über und der Zugang zu materiellen und immateriellen Ressourcen sind auf globaler und auch auf nationaler Ebene – großteils aufgrund historisch gewachsener Dynamiken – ungleich verteilt. Diese Ungleichverhältnisse entwickeln sich in der Gesellschaft zur Norm und erzeugen schließlich sogenannte „Differenzordnungen“ (Mecheril, 2008, S. 63-67). Zu diesen aktuell wirkmächtigen Differenzordnungen zählen insbesondere Geschlechternormen, rassistische Zuordnungen bzw. Zuschreibungen, Klassismus (inklusive Bildungsstatus), Heteronormativität, Behinderung, Religions-/Ideologiezugehörigkeit bzw. –zuordnung und Altersnormen (Lummerding, 2022, S. 54-56, 65-128.).

Viele gängige Diversitätsansätze beziehen sich in der Regel auf das erste Wahrnehmungs-Raster (Frauen, Roma, Homosexuelle etc.). Es stützt sich auf sogenannte „**Diversitätskategorien**“, anhand derer (benachteiligte) Personengruppen identifiziert werden. Wenn Personen oder Personengruppen

aufgrund von Identitätsmerkmalen als „Benachteiligte“ identifiziert werden, führt dies häufig zu einer Festschreibung und Reduktion auf ebendiese Merkmale und darauf basierenden zugeschriebenen Kategorien. Im Extremfall kann es zu einer Re-Stigmatisierung führen. Die Identität von Menschen setzt sich jedoch aus einer Vielzahl von Facetten zusammen und ist keineswegs statisch oder unveränderbar. Unabhängig ihrer zugeschriebenen Gruppenzugehörigkeit verfügen Menschen somit in unterschiedlichen Kontexten über mehr oder weniger Ressourcen und Handlungsspielräume. Trotzdem erfüllen Kategorien und Kategorisierungen wichtige Funktionen (z.B. im Rahmen von Anti-Diskriminierungsgesetzen) um Diskriminierung zu bekämpfen – es handelt sich dabei um das sogenannte „Differenzdilemma“ (Lummerding, 2022, S. 23-24, S. 36-37).

Anstatt ausschließlich auf herkömmlichen Diversitätskategorien und damit auf Identitätsmerkmale zu referenzieren, gründet die Arbeit des KDA auf die Analyse des dahinterliegenden Diskriminierungsprozesses. Als Grundlage für Diversität und Gleichstellung ist also die Frage, welche Differenzordnungen im konkret analysierten Umfeld den Dominanzverhältnissen zugrunde liegen.

Die permanente Einteilung und Zuteilung von Menschen in diese Differenzsysteme führen zu unterschiedlichen Zugangsmöglichkeiten, Ausschlüssen und Barrieren – kurz gesagt: sie führen zu individuellen und strukturellen Diskriminierungen auf der einen und Privilegien auf der anderen Seite. Diversität zu fördern, bedeutet somit immer zugleich Diskriminierung zu bekämpfen (Lummerding, 2022, S. 12-13.).

Zudem lässt sich Diversität nicht auf einzelne Diversitätsaspekte reduzieren, sondern ist in ihrer Mehrdimensionalität zu begreifen (Personalwesen Universität Wien, 2023). Das Kompetenzzentrum verfolgt einen intersektionalen Zugang (Marten et al., 2020), um die Überschneidungen und Wechselwirkungen unterschiedlicher Dimensionen in ihrer Komplexität erfassen und darauf reagieren zu können.

3 Diversität und Diversitätsmanagement im öffentlichen Dienst und der öffentlichen Verwaltung

Diversität und Diversitätsmanagement im öffentlichen Dienst bedeutet, dass dieser Maßnahmen gegen Diskriminierungen ergreift und abgrenzbare Personengruppen auf Grund bestehender (struktureller) Diskriminierungen fördert sowie Rahmenbedingungen herstellt, die Anerkennung, Respekt und Würde für Personen und Personengruppen garantieren. Die Förderung von Diversität bedeutet somit nicht nur das Herstellen von repräsentativer Vielfalt, sondern ist ein fortdauernder Prozess, in dem immer wieder die Frage zu stellen ist, ob die Differenzordnungen weiterhin wirkmächtig sind und wenn ja wie (Lummerding, 2022, S. 15-22.). Dabei ist bei der Frage nach der „Repräsentation von Minderheiten“ Vorsicht walten zu lassen: Es dürfen Merkmale (und damit die Zugehörigkeit zu Minderheiten) nicht mit Diversitätskompetenzen verwechselt werden. Das bedeutet: Einer Minderheit anzugehören, kann ein Indikator für wichtige Kompetenzen sein (insb. Erfahrungswissen), darf aber nicht automatisch mit Expert:innenwissen gleichgesetzt werden. Gleichzeitig hat, wie oben beschrieben, eine angemessene Repräsentation wichtige Funktionen.

Um Diskriminierungen wirksam entgegenzutreten, braucht es einen effektiven Rechtsschutz und unabhängige Beratung und Unterstützung für Personen, die von Diskriminierung betroffen sind. Dies führt jedoch in der Regel nicht unmittelbar zu tatsächlicher Gleichstellung, da Benachteiligungen häu-

fig struktureller Natur sind und individueller Rechtsschutz hier nicht ausreicht, um bestehende Probleme zu beheben. Aus diesem Grund müssen für tatsächliche Gleichstellung auch sogenannte positive Maßnahmen (Fördermaßnahmen für benachteiligte Personengruppen) ergriffen werden.

Das Ziel dabei ist eine Kultur der Vielfalt und Wertschätzung zu entwickeln, sodass alle Mitarbeiter:innen des öffentlichen Dienstes ihr volles Potenzial entfalten können. Diversitätsmanagement bedeutet somit die Wahrnehmung sozialer Verantwortung.

Zudem darf nicht übersehen werden, dass die öffentliche Verwaltung auch in ihrer Wirkung nach außen als Auftraggeberin und Vertragspartnerin sowie bei der Erbringung von Services und Leistungen für die Allgemeinheit über sehr hohe Diversitätskompetenzen verfügen muss. Nur so kann diese bei ihrer Kernaufgabe – dem Umsetzen von Gesetzen – der von Vielfalt geprägten Gesellschaft gerecht werden.

Durch ganzheitliches und systematisches Diversitätsmanagement werden im öffentlichen Dienst und der öffentlichen Verwaltung Strukturen und Prozesse auf ihre Ein- und Ausschlüsse sowie auf ihre sozialen Konstruktionsprinzipien überprüft und Veränderungen angestoßen (Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien, 2023). Diese Prozesse finden auf unterschiedlichen Ebenen (individuell, interaktional, organisational, gesellschaftlich und global) (Bargehr et al., 2011) statt, weshalb auch dieser Aspekt in die Analyse der Situationen und Ausarbeitung von Strategien und Maßnahmen einzufließen hat. Dabei zielen die Maßnahmen im öffentlichen Dienst und der öffentlichen Verwaltung vor allem auf die interaktionale und organisationale Ebene ab, da hier Veränderungsprozesse angestoßen und eingefordert werden können. Diese strahlen sowohl auf die individuelle als auch die gesamtgesellschaftliche Ebene aus, da Verwaltungshandeln gesamtgesellschaftlich sichtbar und wahrnehmbar ist.

Ein wesentlicher Schlüssel dabei ist, dass die Mitarbeiter:innen des öffentlichen Dienstes über ausreichend Diversitätskompetenzen (Bargehr et al., 2011) verfügen, um Ausgrenzungs- und Diskriminierungsmechanismen zu verstehen und Handlungsoptionen zu deren Bekämpfung zu entwickeln. Insbesondere Führungskräfte müssen über diese Kompetenzen verfügen, um Anerkennung, Respekt und Würde im öffentlichen Dienst gegenüber den Mitarbeiter:innen zu gewährleisten und auch im Verwaltungshandeln von diesen einzufordern.

4 Themenschwerpunkte des Kompetenzzentrums

Auf Basis des ausgeführten Diversitätsverständnisses führt das KDA konkrete Maßnahmen innerhalb folgender Themenschwerpunkte durch:

4.1 Diversitätsdaten

Als Grundlage konkreter Diversitätsstrategien und -maßnahmen braucht es eine adäquate Datenlage. Bisher gibt es relativ umfassende Daten zur Repräsentation von Frauen sowie der tatsächlichen Gleichstellung von Frauen und Männern im Bundesdienst. Darüber hinausgehend müssen Daten erhoben, ausgewertet und veröffentlicht werden, um Problemlagen sichtbar und auch die Wirkung von Maßnahmen überprüfbar zu machen. Je nach Datenlage werden bestehende Daten anhand der Fragestellungen des KDA neu ausgewertet, laufende Datenerhebungen um Fragen zu Diversität und Diskriminierung ergänzt sowie qualitative und quantitative Erhebungen durchgeführt. Herausforderung dabei ist wirkmächtige individuelle und strukturelle Ein- und Ausschlussprozesse sichtbar zu machen und

diesen in einem weiteren Schritt entgegenzuwirken. Wesentlich ist dabei die Grundsätze des Datenschutzes sowie der Datensicherheit einzuhalten und sicherzustellen, dass Daten nicht für identitätspolitische Zwecke missbraucht werden.

4.2 Strategien entwickeln

Ein substantieller Bestandteil der Arbeit des KDA ist die Strategieentwicklung. Das BMKÖS ist sich seiner Verantwortung bewusst positive Veränderungen einzuleiten und vorzunehmen. Gemeinsam mit Expert:innen aus den Sektionen des BMKÖS werden Strategien in den Kompetenzbereichen des BMKÖS, Kunst, Kultur, öffentlicher Dienst und Sport erarbeitet.

Um angemessene und zielführende Maßnahmen zu erarbeiten, ist es dem BMKÖS sehr wichtig, punktuell Erfahrungen auf Zivilgesellschaftsebene in seine Strategien einfließen zu lassen sowie die Herausforderungen, mit denen die Zielgruppe täglich konfrontiert sind, ernst zu nehmen. Der Prozess der Ausarbeitung und Implementierung unterschiedlicher Strategien spannt einen Rahmen, um ein formelles und kontinuierliches Engagement zwischen der Verwaltung und der Zivilgesellschaft, etwa im Rahmen von themenspezifischen Arbeitsgruppen, einzurichten.

Als Beispiel für die Strategieentwicklung kann etwa die Anti-Rassismus-Strategie (ARS) genannt werden, welche auf der Website des BMKÖS abrufbar ist.

4.3 Rechtsschutz vor Diskriminierungen

Grundsätzlich ist das Ziel von gelungenem Diversitätsmanagement, dass es zu keinen Diskriminierungen mehr kommt. Da sich diskriminierende Vorfälle nie gänzlich verhindern lassen, braucht es für diese einen funktionierenden effektiven Rechtsschutz. Dafür müssen bestehende Strukturen gestärkt, um diese Aufgabe gut erfüllen zu können, sowie etwaige Rechtsschutzdefizite behoben werden. Im Zentrum dieser Überlegungen stehen insbesondere die unabhängige Beratung und Unterstützung von Betroffenen sowie die Schaffung von Rechtssicherheit bei unklarer Gesetzeslage.

4.4 Diversitätsmanagement im Personalwesen

Ein Schlüssel zur Stärkung von Diversität ist das Personalwesen. Dabei geht es darum Diversitätskompetenz in allen Phasen des Arbeitszyklus (Anwerbung, Aufnahme, Weiterentwicklung, Arbeitsklima und Austritt) sicherzustellen. In einem ersten Schritt werden im BMKÖS die Stellenausschreibungen diversitätssensibler gestaltet, da diese der erste Kontakt zwischen dem potenziellen Dienstgeber und den Kandidat:innen ist. Ziel ist die Erhöhung der Diversität im Bundesdienst indem vielfältigere Menschen durch Ausschreibungen angesprochen werden. Zudem wird durch entsprechend zu schulende bzw. bereits geschulte Mitarbeiter:innen (z.B. aus der Personalabteilung und/oder des KDA) der Bewerbungsprozesses begleitet, um Diskriminierungen zu vermeiden.

4.5 Aus- und Weiterbildung

Die Verwaltungsakademie des Bundes (VAB) ist das Aus- und Weiterbildungsinstitut für die Mitarbeiter:innen des öffentlichen Dienstes und organisatorisch im BMKÖS angesiedelt. Das Angebot der Fort- und Weiterbildungen im Bereich Diversität, Antirassismus und Antidiskriminierung wird erweitert, damit es ausreichend niederschwellige Angebote im Bundesdienst gibt, um Diversitätskompetenzen zu erwerben sowie Reflexionsräume zu eröffnen.

Zusätzlich werden durch das KDA für die Mitarbeiter:innen des BMKÖS ressortintern niederschwellige Vorträge und Workshops zu Diversitätsthemen organisiert.

Ein weiteres konkretes Projekt des KDA ist die Erarbeitung und Betreuung eines E-Learning-Tools, in dem je nach Anforderung und Zielgruppe (Mitarbeiter:innen, Vorgesetzte, Gleichstellungsbeauftragte, ...) unterschiedliche Module und Lehrinhalte bundesintern bereitgestellt werden. Das E-Learning-Tool soll zu einem Kulturwandel im öffentlichen Dienst beitragen, indem Diskriminierung präventiv verhindert, Verantwortung übernommen und so eine Verbesserung des Arbeitsklimas erreicht wird. Es werden dafür im E-Learning Bewusstsein für Diskriminierung geschärft und entsprechendes Wissen über Rechtslage, gesellschaftliche Bedeutung und Handlungsmöglichkeiten vermittelt. Das E-Learning-Tool für den öffentlichen Dienst wurde im Oktober 2024 fertiggestellt und ist Bundesbediensteten kostenfrei zugänglich. Das E-Learning-Tool wurde in Zusammenarbeit mit der Gleichbehandlungsanwaltschaft (GAW) erstellt und es ist geplant das E-Learning für die Privatwirtschaft für die breite Öffentlichkeit zur Verfügung zu stellen.

4.6 Commitment Diversität

Darunter versteht das KDA ein gemeinsames organisationsinternes Bekenntnis zu Diversität, Antirassismus und Antidiskriminierung. Dieses Verständnis muss von der Führungsebene ausgehen und eine Verfestigung in den darunterliegenden Organisationseinheiten und Strukturen finden (top-down). Dieser Grundsatz stellt sicher, dass vorhandene Potenziale für ein Diversity Mainstreaming optimal genutzt werden. Die Erarbeitung eines derartigen Bekenntnisses zu Diversität erfolgt im optimalen Fall partizipativ, da in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Thema sowohl individuelle Reflexion als auch eine Analyse von potenziell ausgrenzenden Strukturen stattfindet.

4.7 Durchgängige Verankerung von Diversität

Zusätzlich sollen die Mitarbeiter:innen des BMKÖS durch diverse Leitfäden und Checklisten dabei unterstützt werden, alle Vorhaben (Projekte, Veranstaltungen, Konferenzen, etc.) diskriminierungskritisch und diversitätssensibel zu gestalten. Die Leitfäden sollen Veranstaltenden als Hilfe und Selbstkontrolle dienen unterschiedliche Diversitätsaspekte mitzudenken, wenn es beispielsweise um den Einladungstext, die Art der Einladung, diverse Repräsentationen, Teilnehmende, Key Speakers, Inhalte, Wording, Publikum, etc. geht. Es handelt sich dabei Großteils um interne Dokumente. Öffentlich zugänglich und auf der Website des BMKÖS abrufbar (siehe insbesondere – neben der bereits erwähnten ARS – den Leitfaden zum Umgang mit und Prävention von Diskriminierung, sowie den Folder: „Benachteiligt, diskriminiert oder belästigt?“).

Zudem ist das Ziel in den Bereichen Kunst und Kultur sowie Sport Diversität gezielt zu fördern sowie Rassismus und Diskriminierung entgegenzuwirken.

5 Resume und Ausblick

Ausgangspunkt und Grundbasis für die Arbeit des Kompetenzzentrums für Diversität, Antirassismus und Antidiskriminierung (KDA) sind die Grund- und Menschenrechte und der damit einhergehenden unbedingten und bedingungslosen Würde eines jeden.

Subsumierend lässt sich daher sagen: Das KDA verfolgt als oberstes Ziel die Verankerung von Diversität in den Zuständigkeitsbereichen des Ministeriums, sowie das kritische Entgegenwirken von Rassismus und andere Formen von Diskriminierung.

Das KDA leistet einen Beitrag dazu (teils historisch gewachsene) Disbalancen zu hinterfragen, zu analysieren und durch konkrete Maßnahmen und Projekte zu verbessern.

Als Ausblick braucht es dringend ein Verständnis von Diversität, das nicht primär in Differenzkategorien denkt (Differenzdilemma), sondern jeden Menschen in seiner Würde, seiner Einzigartigkeit und seiner Diversität wahrnimmt und schon alleine daraus die Verantwortung zu einer selbstbestimmten und gleichberechtigten Teilhabe am gesellschaftlichen, politischen und beruflichen Leben ableitbar ist. Diesbezüglich möchten der öffentliche Dienst und die öffentliche Verwaltung eine Vorreiterrolle einnehmen.

Als Schlussplädoyer dieses Beitrags bleibt damit nur noch auf die Vision des Kompetenzzentrums für Diversität, Antirassismus und Antidiskriminierung (KDA) zu verweisen:

Die Vision des KDA ist eine diskriminierungskritische, inklusive Gesellschaft, in der ein gerechter Zugang zu Ressourcen und Teilhabe für alle gewährleistet ist. Es trägt dazu bei, indem es Diversität in den Kompetenzbereichen des BMKÖS fördert und verankert sowie Diskriminierung (insbesondere Rassismus) entgegenwirkt.

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