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Research note: Complying with frustration, the experience of equality and diversity practitioners in HE

Susan Sayce, Josephne Kinge and Simy Joy, *Norwich Business School, University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK* s.sayce@uea.ac.uk

Katherine J C Sang, *Intercultural Research Centre, Heriot Watt University, Scotland.*

Introduction

The Equality and Diversity (E&D) role in Higher Education (HE) in the UK ensures that universities are compliant with equalities legislation and that they fulfil their duty to promote equality as these relate to employees and the institution as a whole. Hunter and Swan (2007) call for more research to explore how equality and diversity practitioners handle these complex and contradictory (E&D) duties (Healy et al, 2010). We also argue that, as the UK university context itself faces severe financial challenges, understanding the experiences of HE E&D practitioners/managers becomes more urgent. The purpose of the research is to explain the experience of equality practitioners in the HE context, an under-explored area of equality practice. Meyerson and Scully's concept (1995) of the 'tempered radical' has been used to give us greater insight into how the challenges of this role are played out in the HE context.

The research note is organised as follows: we begin by outlining current E&D background extending this into describing E&D practice in the HE context. The theoretical concept of the *tempered radical* is then introduced, to explain the experiences of E&D practitioners. The methodology, email interviews, is then presented and the findings discussed in light of extant research.

Equality and Diversity Practice

E&D practitioners operate within a specific political, legalistic and historic context. In the UK E&D practitioners (and the title is significant) highlight how debates of equality have shifted from a social justice agenda to diversity (Greene et al, 2005). Equality issues have a discourse that focuses on moral values thereby providing a language of fairness and equity to ensure equal opportunities. The diversity notion portrays difference as a strategic asset which, if handled correctly, provides a competitive edge, a popular notion that has seen the diversity and the business case come to the fore in business organisations. This viewpoint promotes a discourse of economic value, with the business case used to legitimise

organisational actions that aim to reduce inequalities (Zanoni et al, 2010). Trade union diversity champions or equality representatives experience a mixed level of success in organisations, reporting some effect at the institutional level (Bacon and Hoque, 2012). In the context of a decreasing role for collective bargaining, the potential for trade union equality officers to effectively pursue equality goals has been questioned (Milner and Gregory, 2014). There is evidence that common ground can be found and this can lead to effective and sustainable partnership relationships between union representatives and managers over certain issues such as in learning partnerships where there is a potential for mutual benefits (e.g. see Munro and Rainbird, 2000). The current research focuses on equality and diversity officers, directly employed by organisations, rather than those acting on behalf of employees via trade unions. This context thus enables the evaluation of the role of these practitioners where institutional support may be limited.

E&D and the University Context

The economic discourse about diversity is a good cultural fit for universities, who often only *'take seriously the activities that are attached to financial returns or penalties'* (Ahmed 2007: 596) and are particularly keen to manage risk. This paradoxically contributes to the reproduction of systematic inequalities according to critical diversity research (Kalev et al, 2006; Lorbiecki, 2001; Kirton et al, 2007). Within this context, E&D practitioners whose political values and beliefs are rooted in a social justice agenda can find themselves at odds when promoting organisational policies and business strategies that are more related to a narrower managerial vision of diversity linked to the business case (Jones, 2007). Ahmed's (2007: 605) critical research on diversity suggests that managerial interpretations of diversity are used by universities as a way of re-packaging the self-image of the institution to one that is 'perceived' as being inclusive rather than being inclusive. Hoque and Noon's (2004) 'empty shell' hypothesis could be used to describe such behaviour where organisations can promote the rhetoric of equality / diversity and introduce a policy, yet fail to implement anything substantive in practice. This in turn demonstrates that this is not just particular to Higher Education Institutions but is a phenomenon in many UK organisations.

Jones' (2007) research with equal opportunities officers in New Zealand indicates how people performing this role face unique challenges in promoting change. This is related to the political risks of being associated with challenging the organisation on issues of racism, sexism and inequality, which can include disrupting deep-seated perceptions of equality, that are at odds with the elite whiteness of senior hierarchies of many universities (Doherty and Manfredi, 2010). Thus, promoting change in this environment can mean dealing with senior managers who, at best, may be ambivalent about equality and diversity and generally unsupportive of changes being made in this area. It can also mean working with managers who are also covertly or overtly hostile to these issues. Without managerial support in universities for a social justice agenda, there is potential for E&D practitioners to find that the university's economic agenda tends to be prioritised. This instrumental compliance is often at odds with their own moral and social values of equity that originally enticed them into this complex area of work. It is this tension between E&D's political identity and organisational identity that has prompted the adoption of our theoretical framework of the *tempered radical*

(Meyerson and Scully, 1995) which explores how people manage tensions between being both an outsider and insider in carrying out their organisational duties.

Tempered Radicalism

Tempered radicalism is proposed as a theoretical framework to help make sense of the tension E&D practitioners potentially face in performing their roles, in particular the moral and social values and beliefs, which may be at odds with the dominant organisation. The Tempered Radicalism model is useful for highlighting the contradictory elements of the equality and diversity performance in universities.

According to Meyerson and Scully (1995) tempered radicals are people who work and seek advancement within mainstream organisations and professions but also want to change them. They endeavour to be change agents within their organisations. Tempered radicals are committed to challenging and eradicating gender, race, class and other social injustices, but they are also individuals who struggle to act in ways that are not only professionally appropriate, but also 'authentic' personally and politically. For Meyerson and Scully (1995) these people are radical not just because they question the status quo but also by being 'people who do not fit perfectly' (Kirton et al 2007:1981). They do not perfectly fit their organisations, not only because of their values and beliefs (their political sense of identity), but also because of their personal identities; their race, gender, or disability. This suggests an examination of the connections between values and political identity is a key area for analysis for the current research.

Meyerson and Scully (1995:599) also argue that these individuals are 'tempered' because they are angered by the incongruities between their own values and beliefs about social justice, and values and beliefs that are enacted in their own organisations, in our case the universities. Thus, they have to manage their anger and sense of incongruity in order to avoid alienating significant others and to survive in their organisation. As a result they resort to living with ambivalence. In effect, they have to use ambivalence to their advantage by choosing to seek compromise or accept some co-option in order to survive and battle on. This theoretical framework indicates that dealing with ambiguity and the emotional burden of this process in a shifting university context is another important theme for analysis (Meyerson and Scully, 1995). Recently, the concept of tempered radicals has been used to understand the difficulties individuals face in balancing business needs and their social justice concerns. Ecopreneurs (social enterprise owners with a concern for environmental justice) face tensions between their desire to run sustainable organisations, with the demands of the contemporary business environment (Walton and Kirkwood, 2013).

Nevertheless tempered radicals as people can be organisational catalysts for change as they unite insights drawn from both being an insider and outsider to challenge the dominant organisational logic. Tempered radicals may use their multiple identities as both outsiders/insiders to help make sense of competing logics, in this case the business case with social justice, to help them pursue institutional legitimacy, for equal opportunities' change. Fundamental to this is their access to multiple networks that help to sustain them in performing their role *and* alleviate ambiguity and dissonance as they support each other. In

this process they also learn from others outside their institution about how to mobilize important others within their institution towards change (Meyerson and Tompkins, 2007). This seems to indicate that exploring how E&D practitioners operate as organisational catalysts for change, as well as dealing with their multiple identities as insider/outside, is also an important element in understanding the E&D practitioners' interpretation of their complex role.

Consequently, these four categories – values and political identity, role as change agents, ambiguity, and outsider Vs insider identities - have been used to frame the research findings. In light of these tensions, the current paper aims to examine the experiences of equality and diversity practitioners within UK higher education. In particular we explore how they navigate and reconcile their roles within these changing organisations.

Methods

The current study used email interviews to explore E&D practitioners' perspectives on their roles within higher education. This approach enabled interviews to be conducted with geographically dispersed participants who could respond at times convenient to them. The participants were 12 E&D managers and practitioners who responded to our call for participation through the Higher Education Equal Opportunities Network, UK. Whilst the exact response rate is not known, there are a total of 115 Universities in the UK (Universities UK, 2012) suggesting we had a response rate of approximately 10%.

Email interviewing is a form of asynchronous interview as it does not happen in real time and instead participants are able to review and reflect on their responses leading to enrichment of the data (James and Busher, 2006; 2009). The use of in-depth email interviewing is rapidly increasing and being seen as a suitable method for conducting qualitative interviews (James and Busher, 2009; Meho, 2006). Despite its use in gaining information and understanding of organisations and workplace behaviour, Au and Marks (2013) suggest that there is still reluctance amongst social scientists to use email as a source of data due to a number of challenges it can bring. Meho (2006) however maintains that these challenges are surmountable and suggests some guidelines on how these can be effectively overcome and this guidance was used to inform the interview approach and schedule. Specifically, these research participants responded by email to a structured interview schedule but responses were followed up and supplemented by further individual questions and probing responses, in line with other studies and best practice (Meho 2006, James and Busher, 2006). This permitted us to gain more insight into the role and start to create a dialogue between the researchers and the respondents which in turn enhanced the quality of the data and insights gained.

The purpose of the research was to understand the experiences and identities of E&D practitioners, therefore using email interviewing offered the opportunity for a more collaborative approach to research as it makes space for the participants to reflect in their own time (James and Busher, 2006). The intention was to engage these players in a manner that was the least disruptive to their work schedules and workload, and allowed for increasing reflexivity to learn from experiences (James, 2007). The method appealed as a

way of not only providing the time, space and flexibility but was also chosen for practical reasons. The literature reports a number of benefits of using email interviewing for research purposes (Seymour, 2001; Meho, 2006; James, 2007). For example, cost and efficiency are key advantages of this method and were a particular consideration for the current study. As already mentioned, the method was chosen to reach hard to access participants for face to face interviews and geographically dispersed E&D practitioners from Universities across the UK. Telephone interviews were considered as an alternative but then dismissed as lacking the potential to yield the quality in-depth data needed to explore the experiences and identities of our participants (James and Busher, 2006). Using email also enabled more than one participant to be interviewed at a time and it saved on transcription costs as the participant's responses are already recorded. This feature had the added benefit of giving the participant the opportunity to review and reflect on the narrative as it develops.

From a philosophical perspective email interviewing could be seen to be in line with a participative research approach which ensures participants' voice is heard, generating narratives of participants' experiences of being an E&D practitioner in their own words. As James and Busher (2006) highlight email can give voice and a context around which to explore ideas. As such email (or internet) interviewing can be useful for projects which are motivated by feminist methodological concerns by providing a mode of empowerment for both respondent and researcher (Illingworth, 2001). Participants therefore have control and drive the conversation. Taking this more collaborative approach helped to develop a relationship with the participants, important in encouraging them to open up and share thoughts. Also, particularly important with email interviewing is to maintain rapport over what could be a protracted period of time but necessary in order to gain the quality of data needed (James and Busher, 2009).

Ethical approval was gained from the lead author's University's ethics committee prior to the data collection. Each potential participant who expressed an interest was emailed further details of the project, a consent form and details of the research team member who would be their personal contact for the project. Informed consent was gained from all participants prior to the start of the research and it was made clear that they could withdraw at any time. An email account was set up for the project so that we could keep the emails separate from our work emails and also ensure they were kept securely so only the research team had access to the data. Finally, the data collected was anonymised, ensuring both the individuals and where they worked were not identifiable.

Analysis of the data followed thematic analysis using the 'Tempered Radical' theoretical framework as its basis. This is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns in qualitative data and its main benefit is its flexibility (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The development of themes (i.e. patterns in the data) can capture the significance of the findings in relation to the research questions however at the same time does not restrict it.

Data analysis using the thematic method should be a recursive process where there is a movement back and forth between the raw data and its analysis and interpretation. The process of analysis for the current study followed an adapted version of the approach set out by Braun and Clarke (2006). For example, the first phase was adapted slightly to take

account of the fact that email interviewing has a ready-made written transcript and so 'familiarising yourself with the data' was achieved by the reading and re-reading of the email accounts but also took into account the flow of the narrative as it developed asynchronously.

This research note presents the preliminary findings from the interviews, focusing on the perspectives of those who took part. As such, we make no claims of generalisability, rather we were interested to understand how E&D practitioners, within UK universities, navigate their positions between changing the organisation while being part of the organisation.

Sample characteristics

The socio-demographic profile of the twelve E&D practitioners is consistent with the mainstream literature on E&D, which highlights the feminised nature of this role (Table 1). Nine of the twelve interviewees were women. The average age was forty-five, and of the ten who disclosed their ethnic background, four were from minority groupings in the UK. Political and social activism underpinned respondents' motivation for becoming E&D practitioners apart from one respondent who did not comment on this issue. One also identified as homosexual. Five respondents identified themselves as disabled. As one female respondent who was from a minority ethnic background and disabled commented when talking about senior management attitude towards her E&D work and also acknowledging her own marginalised profile, which is often a feature of E&D employees:

It is okay as long as I make their jobs easier or ensure that there is minimal compliance with the Equality Act. I am their tick box and token! (1).

Insert Table 1 about here

The Findings

The key findings of this study were: firstly, the interaction of E&D practitioners' multiple identities including their political identity, which was often a driving factor behind their entry into an equality and diversity role; secondly, their belief in the importance of the E&D role being an agent for change, of how through their role they thought they could make a difference within the HE context; thirdly, the ambiguity inherent in the role of acting at the behest of organisations which was sometimes at odds with improving equality and diversity within the organisation. The outcome of this ambiguity was the creation of a greater emotional burden as their work could place them at odds with their own multiple identities, which meant that as organisational employees they were insiders but in values and other beliefs, could feel like outsiders, this aspect increasingly led to feelings of frustration as E&D practitioners.

The structure of the following discussion of these findings is explicitly linked to Meyerson and Scully's framework (1995) and includes a discussion of its four main components. The first section outlines the effects of multiple identities and in particular the E&D practitioners' political identity. The second section discusses the E&D practitioners' views on the importance of being a catalyst for change while the third section combines dealing with ambiguity as well as dealing with their dual identity as insiders/outsideers to help understand the E&D practitioners' frustrations.

Political Identity and Values

My personal values make me passionate about EO [equal opportunities], it gives me tenacity, drive and resilience (Participant 9)

The E&D practitioners considered that personal values were fundamental to their work. It was what motivated them towards the career and gave them the energy to continue to strive for change even in a university context that seemed to be shifting away from valuing a social justice agenda of equality. All the respondents mentioned some element of activism from their own experience, their own upbringing or witnessing injustice to others that had helped them construct their political identity and develop commitment to a social justice agenda:

Came from my family I suppose (particularly my Dad, who was a socialist and a trade unionist; my Mum was also a socialist but less politically involved – reflected the sexism of the times!?). Got involved from the age of 16 in anti-racist work at school (if can call it that – it was more like defensive street-fighting at the time). This was based on my growing awareness of racist attacks against fellow Asian school pupils who started to arrive at my school in Leicester (via “bussing”) following the Kenya Asian “crisis” of 1968 and who were being beaten up by other pupils. An “all white” school had suddenly started to become multi-cultural almost overnight and was full of racial tensions. My growing awareness and activism continued at university and into student political activities against apartheid and campaigns against the (then) rise of the National Front during the early 1970s. These were formative experiences for my future career “choices”. (Participant 6).

The respondents' career choices were shaped by their exposure to social activism, whether it was their parents' social or political activism or as a result of awareness of visible forms of inequality such as disability, race or class status. This background helped to shape their political identity which was influential in motivating them to become an E&D practitioner and to help address inequality and injustice. The witnessing of activism indicates important aspects in creating an identity as it illustrates how, for these E&D practitioners, personal values are rooted in a discourse that focuses on moral values thereby providing a language of fairness and equity to ensure equal opportunities. These values have shaped their interpretations of equality and diversity and also made them critical about equality and diversity discourses and how they are interpreted.

While reflecting on the role of E&D, the respondents usually separated the two definitions, recognising how they are underpinned by different economic and social discourses, even if this was not the approach of their university. However they expressed feelings of anger at universities' attitude to E&D (and in one case wider social attitudes to equality), which linked into their outsider perspective on the issue. This fits within a tempered radical framework, as indicated in the following quotes which highlight the dissonance between the organisational approach and their own personal values of social justice:

I was informed in February this year by the new Vice Chancellor that E&D work was no longer a priority and he was only interested in the institution meeting “minimum legal requirements” (by which it was clear he meant that we should do very little!). (Participant 6)

Prior to the new Vice Chancellor arriving, I believe the work that I did was taken seriously – not always acted on but listened to. Equality and diversity has now fallen off the university agenda. (Participant 2)

While the role of E&D has always been challenging, the above quotes indicate that priorities in relation to this agenda are shifting and while compliance remains important to the universities, according to the respondents, going beyond that is becoming increasingly difficult. These quotes also illustrate the importance of senior managers' commitment to equality and diversity agendas, and the lived experiences of E&D practitioners.

Organisational catalysts for change

While the above indicates that some universities seem to be downplaying E&D issues, this shift is not matched by the E&D practitioners' views on change and their role. They continue to see their role as a catalyst for change and as a point of tension within organisations:

My role is speaking the truth to people of power and act as a change agent and ask awkward questions. (Participant 2)

This notion of a change agent is in accord with the work of Kirton et al. (2007) with E&D professionals. However, given the apparent decreased importance of equality and diversity to universities and the focus on business case arguments, practitioners reported feeling frustrated with progress for change. This situation can then challenge their feelings of authenticity, of staying true to their self (Meyerson, 2003) in respect of their multiple political identities.

Some E&D practitioners felt they were able to employ strategies to achieve change, strategically using business case arguments to their advantage by expanding the E&D social justice agenda. Participant 4 explained how she was able to develop her organisation's provisions for disabled staff, by using her knowledge of the motivations of key actors to ensure success:

My main strategy is to identify how the E&D work that I want to do will add value to the business (whether at corporate, faculty/department or business unit level) and use that as a lever for engagement. So for

example, in reviewing the Sickness Management Process I identified that there were deficiencies in the procedure for identifying and providing reasonable adjustments for disabled staff. I persuaded my manager of the need to address this, I pointed out the risk of not doing so in terms of potential discrimination cases, staff morale, employee relations and the benefit in terms of tangible evidence of compliance with public sector equality duty. I then got the agreement of our Disability Services Team that they would extend the service they provided to students to include staff. I persuaded them that new business would consolidate their existence in uncertain times and build their reputation. For their manager I argued for consistency of service across the University giving them the opportunity to save the University money. Success was ensured by understanding and using the different motivations of the various parties. (Participant 4)

The above respondent also talks about her lack of success in introducing an Equality Analysis process and the university's reluctance to demand a change in employee behaviour, and the very slow pace of change in this area. The success in the Sickness Management Process is in accord with Meyerson and Scully's (2007) defence of small gains as a viable strategy for change and identity maintenance. It helps E&D practitioners by breaking down the E&D agenda to more manageable chunks. It also permits them to strategically choose their targets because, as individuals, they only have limited resources and energy to drive change. So, while seizing opportunities for change, practitioners have to take advantage of available resources, be aware of the motivations of key organisational actors and identify strategies for overcoming resistance by employing a discourse that persuades senior managers to support the change. However, uniting all of this in order to advance specific change indicates the degree of difficulty that individuals face in performing this role in an organisational context. Participant 7 reflects on the motivations of individual members of senior management teams in universities:

Management are supportive but not pushing for this agenda enough. It depends a lot on individual members of the senior management team.... It can get demoralising when things are not moving forward because of lack of senior management support. Also can be difficult to drive this agenda forward. (Participant 7)

As the quote above demonstrates, the experiences of E&D practitioners, including their morale, is affected by senior members of universities, and their commitment to the equality and diversity agenda. It indicates that organisational change is dependent upon the buy-in of senior managers, as Gyi et al (2013) also suggest. Another aspect of small wins is that when it is a success, as above, it helps E&D practitioners to not only maintain their identity but also feel authentic, they are still living up to their ideals of social justice and this is appreciated by others. It can also suggest to others that further buy-in from other staff and managers could lead to further successes. This links to the research on union representatives' efforts to build positive relationships, which indicates that if equality is seen in a positive light, then staff are more likely to want to get involved (Bacon and Hoque, 2012). However, it is also the case that the slow rate of change for E&D practitioners can

lead to feelings of exhaustion, and if not successful, demoralisation and guilt as they struggle to maintain the duality of their political and organisational identities.

Ambiguity and Dual Identities as Insiders/Outsiders

The ambiguity of the E&D role and the dual identities as insiders/outsideers combines two components of Meyerson and Scully's (1995) framework. Issues in connection to this interaction comes to the fore in this section beginning with the following quote when the respondent discusses his involvement in community and human rights activities that he considered to be fundamental to E&D issues:

It gave me strength of conviction to undertake the role but hindered my understanding of how organisations (as collections of human beings) worked (Participant 11)

As tempered radicals E&D practitioners experience a constant state of ambivalence as they reconcile the dualities of their multiple identities and this has both strengths and weaknesses (Meyerson and Scully 1995). While the above E&D practitioner is clear about his attachments and identity as an outsider, these moral values are both a strength and a weakness as an insider. However, his insider status provides him with a platform for change, which is a strength, but his lack of ability to speak as an insider is a weakness. He considers that there are issues with his role as a change agent and this may be connected to his community affiliations. This pressure can result in some E&D individuals forfeiting some of their ambivalence and shifting towards organisational assimilation, whereby they surrender some aspects of their 'outside' identity and commitment in order to limit the effects of this ambivalence as a tempered radical.

Movement on the insider/outsider continuum towards being co-opted into the dominant university identity maybe thwarted in this respondent's case by his marginalisation and biculturalism as an African-Caribbean man working in a university setting. Another respondent too comments on the organisational isolation of the role but also highlights how outside support helps them to deal with the emotional burden of this:

I have support from my assistant and the Director of HR and the chair of the E&D Sub-committee, but that is it really! I feel quite isolated. I have more support from my peers in the Regional Equality Officers Network and from ECU (Equality challenge Unit) and from friends (Participant 1)

Thus, in trying to reconcile the ambivalence of these dual identities, individuals may experience isolation. The participants reported that they lack emotional support within their institution, which would help them to deal with the frustration of trying to achieve change in a realm, which is not necessarily supportive of the equality agenda. In order to reconcile this as tempered radicals they look outwards for support. When talking about external support and networks, affiliation to other groups was fundamental to the participants:

My voluntary work and personal networks provide a much needed source of challenge and support at times when those things have been lacking in the work environment. (Participant 6)

And for the really tough times I have brilliant support networks and sufficient self-awareness to know when I need to access them (Participant 4)

The multiple networks of the E&D practitioners which include Equality and Human Rights Commission and the Equality Challenge Unit, regional and national E&D networks as well as other equality networks all help to nurture the political identity of the E&D practitioners as marginalised insiders. It helps to sustain them in their commitment to their political identity and their commitment to be catalysts for change within a challenging organisational context and to continue to be critical of that context while also working within it.

Conclusion

The research indicates equality and diversity practitioners within UK higher education feel a sense of frustration in fulfilling their E&D role. This frustration was related to the interpretations of E&D and prioritisation of economic discourses over those of social justice discourse when it came to acting in this organisational context. They experienced anger when their specialist expertise was not valued by the institution. Thus it could be considered that the marginalisation that underpins their outside perspective meant that E&D practitioners/managers needed constantly to assert the case for E&D and their own expertise. As such the respondents, while commenting positively on individual support, found the role was not always valued, if practitioners subscribe to a social justice agenda, as many interviewees claimed, then the frustration can become dispiriting.

The frustration the respondents reported, despite evidence of some small wins, is important in the current climate of change to higher education in the UK. The danger is that if E&D becomes less visible, this will have implications for universities' legislative duties in terms of the Equality Act and the widening participation in the student body. While this was a pilot study, its contribution is two-fold. Firstly, it highlights the relevance of less traditional data collection methods. The use of email interviews allowed for data to be collected from a range of geographically dispersed interviewees. The depth of data collected, and interviewees' willingness to engage through this format suggests it is an approach more social science researchers should consider adopting. Secondly, the paper has revealed the lived experiences of E&D practitioners, operating in a dynamic sector which is facing significant change. This pilot study demonstrates that the experiences of this group of marginalised workers warrants further discussion. More research is needed to examine whether the above is happening in other institutions as E&D practitioners struggle with managing the tensions between their political identity and organisational priorities, which leads us to perceive them as tempered radicals. Our data is consistent with the extant literature, which points to the difficult role social justice campaigners experience within the contemporary workplace (Kirton et al, 2007; Myerson and Tompkins, 2007). Given the continued inequalities within British universities related to gender, race and disability (Kimura, 2014;

Phipps and Young, 2015), the difficulties faced by those charged with ensuring compliance with the UK Equalities Act have implications for the sector. If the prominence given to the equality agenda is dependent upon the individual motivations of senior managers, who may move to other institutions, then successful change will be extremely difficult to implement. While further research is required, our data suggests that E&D practitioners would benefit from stronger support networks within their institutions and permanent commitment at senior levels in order to effect the positive change the sector needs.

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Table 1: Profile of E&D Participants

No.	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Sexuality	Disability	Activism
1	Female	50	Pakistani	Hetero	Yes	Feminist organisation
2	Female	40+ est	-	-		Quaker background
3	Female	41	White British	-	Yes	Activism in school governance and supporting disadvantaged students
4	Female	49	White British	Lesbian	Yes	Feminist activism /social justice
5	Female	33	British Pakistani	Hetero	No	Criminal justice diversity panel
6	Male	58	White British		No	Student politics and racism
7	Female	24	White French	Hetero	No	Activism- Amnesty international
8	Male	65	White British	Hetero	Yes	Trade Union activist
9	Female	56	White	Hetero	No	Activist on race
10	Female	36	White	-	Yes	Academic study only
11	Male	58	African/Caribbean	Hetero	No	Human right activist
12	Female	30+				