ORIGINAL ARTICLE

WILEY

A typology of sexism in contemporary business schools: Belligerent, benevolent, ambivalent, and oblivious sexism

Emily Yarrow[1] [ORCID] | Julie Davies[2]

[1]Newcastle University Business School, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK

[2]Global Business School for Health, University College London, London, UK

Correspondence

Emily Yarrow, Newcastle University Business School, Room 8.08, 5 Barrack Rd, Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 4SE, UK.
Email: Emily.yarrow2@newcastle.ac.uk

Abstract

The legitimacy of business schools is based on rankings, revenues, branding, and opportunities to support staff and students "to make a difference in the world". Yet sexism in business schools is endemic. Drawing on Acker's inequality regimes framework and a thematic analysis of reports in *Poets&Quants*, EFMD's *Global Focus* and AACSB International's *BizEd/AACSB Insights* over a decade, this study explores how business schools are dealing (or not) with sexism. We propose a typology of four categories of sexism in business schools: belligerent, benevolent, ambivalent, and oblivious sexism. Our findings contribute to understandings of institutional theory and the institutional development of business schools as important sites of (sexist and gendered) knowledge production and dissemination and entrenched inequalities. We posit that media constructions of sexism may better inform individual decisions, organizational development, and governance about the imperative to eliminate sexist behaviors and discrimination. We argue that business schools need to gain substantive legitimacy as effective role models by reforming themselves. They must actively tackle institutional and cultural sexism from within. Implications for practice include the effective inclusion of mandatory sexism reporting in international business school accreditation

standards and rankings criteria as well as requirements for research funding.

KEYWORDS
academia, business schools, leadership, sexism, typology

1 | INTRODUCTION

In this paper, we examine media reports of gender-based inequity arising from social and cultural norms in business schools. We seek to contribute to our understanding of the social construction of organizations where sexism, that is, male privilege over women, persists. Our analysis centers around reports of cultural sexism, which "combines the notion that sexism is an everyday, ordinary, occurrence, which takes place within masculinized hegemonic structures that interact with and create cultural norms and values" (Savigny, 2014, p. 797). Sexism in business schools matters for the quality of working lives of women management scholars and in a context where many business schools promote the UN's (2015) sustainable development goals (SDGs), it is hypocritical for them not to practice the SDGs such as gender equality and women's empowerment that they profess. Acker's (2006a, 2006b, 2009) inequality regimes perspective is adopted as the central theoretical framework. This "is an analytic approach to understanding the on-going creation of inequalities in work organizations", specifically "loosely interrelated practices, processes, actions, and meanings that result in and maintain…gender…inequalities" (Acker, 2009, p. 201).

We seek to contribute to our understanding of the social construction of organizations where sexism, that is, male privilege over women, persists. Our analysis centers around reports of cultural sexism which "combines the notion that sexism is an everyday, ordinary, occurrence, which takes place within masculinized hegemonic structures that interact with and create cultural norms and values" (Savigny, 2014, p. 797). Sexism in business schools matters for the quality of working lives of women management scholars and in a context where many business schools promote the UN's (2015) SDGs, it is hypocritical for them not to practice SDGs such as gender equality and women's empowerment that they promote.

The existing knowledge based on sexism defines benevolent (kindly) sexism as normalized and socially accepted (Hideg & Shen, 2019). Glick and Fiske's (2011, p. 532) work on ambivalent sexism indicates men's "subjectively positive and negative attitudes … complementary and mutually reinforcing ideologies". We extend this stream of literature empirically by presenting four types of sexism in business schools based on incidents reported in business school media. We illustrate that even in higher education institutions where policies which support inclusion are commonplace, gender discrimination against women is normalized and ambivalent, as well as belligerent and invisible. Oblivious sexism is a term we use in this paper to refer to indifferent, impervious, and insensitive behaviors where individuals (typically men) are unaware that sexism is happening, even when it is pointed out to them. In contrast, belligerent sexism is overt (Armato, 2013), hostile, and aggressive.

To develop a typology of sexism in business schools based on three key publications in Europe and the USA on business school news, we respond to Jones and Clifton's (2018, p. 571) observation in *Gender, Work & Organization* that "only once the extent of sexism is out in the open and is labeled and treated as such can it be challenged".

The business school is a site of special interest because of its often cash-cow status in universities (Starkey & Tiratsoo, 2007). In many universities, business schools provide a steady, significant, and robust source of income (predominantly from international student fees) for the wider university. Business and management studies are highly popular globally (Augier & March, 2011) and include leadership studies. The social constructivist approach adopted in this paper differs from the North American and Western European positivism that dominates management research and scholarship (Grey & Willmott, 2002). As a counterpoint, this paper is based on a critical diversity perspective (e.g.,

Herring & Henderson, 2012), which questions the efficacy of formal diversity training initiatives such as unconscious bias training to eradicate entrenched discrimination in organizations.

The following research questions underpin this study:

1. What forms of sexist behavior exist toward women faculty in contemporary business schools?
2. How does the rhetoric of equity, diversity, inclusion, and respect in business schools compare with everyday lived realities in media reports?
3. How can identifying a typology of sexism in business schools help us understand different forms of sexist behavior to inform interventions that improve the lives of women management scholars?

In addressing these questions, we propose a typology of four types of sexism based on gender rather than on intersectionality. We focus on women faculty rather than on women students to critically explore how sexism is reported in dedicated business school media as the predicament of women faculty representation is frequently overlooked in literature on improving gender equality in business and management education (Yarrow & Davies, 2022). The two main global business school accreditation bodies are EFMD (HQ based in Brussels) and AACSB International (main offices in Florida), and so their key publications are included in our analysis. EFMD's publication *Global Focus* and *AACSB Insights* (formerly *BizEd*) regularly comment on developments in the business school sector globally. The *Financial Times* also publishes news about business schools. *Poets&Quants* in the USA is a key website which provides dedicated business school news from global sources. We seek to contribute positively to collective change and inclusion in academic spaces by illuminating structures, practices, processes, and sexist acts that enable the four types of sexism that we identify. Moreover, our position views tackling sexism as morally the right thing to do and not just a business case (Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010). Critical diversity emerged because of concerns about business case logic (Zanoni et al., 2010).

We believe that business schools should embed in their own practices the kinds of SDGs they profess. Reputation-enhancing activities evident in debates about business school branding, rankings, and accreditation (Vidaver-Cohen, 2007) belie entrenched discrimination in institutions based on high-quality education and selectivity. The context of our study includes gender equality initiatives such as Athena SWAN in the UK in a wider program of academic organizing (Benschop & Brouns, 2003), although its efficacy is mooted (Tzanakou & Pearce, 2019). Clavero and Galligan's (2021) work and gender equality plans offer hope for change. Awareness-raising is important for tackling sexism in the academy (Crimmins, 2019) more widely and for identifying future research avenues. By highlighting scandals reported about sexism in business schools, we emphasize power and powerlessness (Anderson et al., 2021) in order to drive social change.

We aim to shift from "matters of fact" to "matters of concern" (Latour, 2004) and to develop a novel "inside-out" critique (O'Doherty & Ratner, 2017) through contributing to typological understandings of sexism in the business school. Latour (2004) argued that facts do not matter as there is no unbiased, unmediated, or natural access to the truth. He contended that we are prisoners of language and our own biases. Latour talked about the importance of matters of concern, "gatherings" of ideas, players, forces, and arenas as issues about which we care and worry. Media reports act as drivers for action to counter the invisibility of sexism in workplace narratives (Jones & Clifton, 2018) as matters of concern where respect, decent work, and equality are important in civilized workplaces. We coin the metaphor of the "glass cash cow". Metaphors of the glass cliff, the glass escalator, and the glass ceiling are also useful to position sexism in the business school. They underpin a typological construct of business school sexism and its media coverage. The top business schools listed in the annual *Financial Times* global MBA ranking are primarily led by white men and recruit relatively low percentages of women faculty and students (Yarrow & Davies, 2022). Lipton (2019) observes that men have "a penchant to abuse power; in a word, they are mean". For some women faculty members, business schools not only represent a "chilly climate" (Prentice, 2000; Roseberry et al., 2016) but also a hostile working environment.

This paper is organized as follows. First, we review literature on inequalities and inequality regimes in higher education generally and business schools. We then outline the methodology and research rationale and present key findings from which a typology of business school sexism was developed based on an analysis of commentary in three media sources. Finally, we highlight our contributions and make recommendations for further research with implications for practice.

1.1 | Business schools and sexism

Business and management studies is the most popular university subject globally (Zammuto, 2008). Many higher education systems rely on cross subsidies from overseas tuition fees that business schools generate (Cameron, 2017). Parker (2021, p. 1123) states that "the Chinese one child policy, and the fact that British universities happen to speak the same language as the USA" have resulted in significant reliance on overseas fees. In Australia, the COVID-19 pandemic exposed inherent fragilities in higher education institutions relying on business and management studies export income (Hogan et al., 2020). Despite the financial importance of business schools within the higher education sector, they have struggled with issues of legitimacy, impact (Pettigrew & Starkey, 2016), and autonomy as applied professional schools. University centralization and financial pressures during the COVID-19 pandemic have inevitably led to university presidents and vice-chancellors pressurizing business school deans to make higher financial contributions than other parts of the university. Overload, stress, and unhappiness about pay, pensions, and casualization are evident in university strikes in the UK (Havergal, 2022) and massive job losses in Australian universities (Zhou, 2021). Such pressures are likely to exacerbate existing inequalities in the academy.

Cultural sexism in the academy is ordinary (Savigny, 2017), deeply entrenched, and by implication also in the business school, where benevolent sexism is normalized and socially accepted (Hideg & Shen, 2019). It would be trite to focus here on what role the various forms of sexism play in women's progression through the business school hierarchy and into leadership positions, lest we focus on further theorizing four categories of sexism on axes of hostility and benevolence, and the effect that these have on women in the business school and their media representation. We bring higher education media narratives and constructions of sexism to the fore, to create further theoretical and empirical understandings of how the discourse is shaping understandings, and indeed experiences, of sexism in the neoliberal business school. This study draws on the analysis of publicly available media coverage of incidents of sexism that have reached the wider public domain; however, we attest that these are some of the most prominent cases that indeed require analysis and discussion but are only the tip of the iceberg. This is demonstrative of far wider, deeper, and ingrained sexism not only in business schools but also the wider academy, which is marked by unchecked gender inequality (where men and women are not treated equally), vertical gender segregation (where women do not rise above a particular level in the hierarchy because of their gender and are clustered in lower status jobs), and a hyper-masculinized culture characterized by men's sexual aggression, arrogance (e.g., Byrne, 2016, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021) and macho-callous attitudes toward women (Mosher & Anderson, 1986).

In this section, we focus on business school leadership, which is disproportionately male, and which is also a pattern in business schools across Europe (Roseberry et al., 2016), Scandinavia (Seierstad & Healy, 2012), and indeed the globe. For example, Reilly et al.'s (2016) research conducted in New Zealand illustrated high levels of systemic inequalities in the business school, but critically also that these are highly legitimate, set in a context where low organizational priority is ascribed to gender equality.

The purpose of this paper is to counter gender discrimination, fortifying the fight against business school patriarchy. In the following section, we explore the dispersal of cultural sexism (Savigny, 2014) as a top-down trickle-down effect due to the prevalence of (various forms of) sexism in leadership and the prevalence of vertical gender segregation in the business school. In adopting the metaphor of a "glass cash cow", we refer not only to inherent sexism in business schools, but also linkage to the glass cliff (Haslam & Ryan, 2008) and women's precarity within the (glass) cash cow of the university-based business school. This analogy also reflects the net effect of oblivious sexism.

1.2 | Cultural sexism in academia and media coverage

Cultural sexism permeates the working lives of many women in academia (Savigny, 2014, p. 794) as a constant "drip drip". Gender is culturally and structurally "done" to women (Bazerman, 1990, p. 797) by asserting the unwanted female body (Fotaki, 2013; Pullen, 2018).

By investigating how gender discrimination against women faculty is explored in business school media, we note the resultant lack of action arising from coverage as a form of cultural sexism. Institutional inaction serves as a force for the further legitimation and entrenchment of sexism. By implication, gender inequality and inequality regimes (Acker, 2006b) allow male-dominated cultures to reinforce hegemonic masculinities (O'Connor et al., 2015; Pacholok, 2009) as the status quo. This in turn also serves to denigrate and damage women's agency and empowerment in a "#MeToo" world (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2018). Culture and agency are seen as entwined (Archer, 1996). By integrating the notions of culture and sexism, we position cultural sexism as a bound notion. It is "the prime mover, credited with engulfing and orchestrating the entire social structure" (Archer, 1996 p. 17) in sexist organizations like business schools. Importantly, informal gendered networks and gendered micro-politics exacerbate and proliferate gender inequality and sexism. Yarrow (2020) characterized this as "the hustle", whereby women are consistently marginalized. This serves as a contemporary modus operandi and expression of cultural sexism (Savigny, 2014). We draw on this concept in typologizing business school sexism into four categories of sexism demarcated by two dimensions of hostility and benevolence (see Figure 1).

It is also important to situate the business school in the context of new managerialism and neoliberalism and, in turn, the hyper masculinized, fetishized model of metrics. Women's under-representation on business and management journal editorial boards (Metz et al., 2016) and the fetishization of journal ranking lists (Willmott, 2011) result in gendered knowledge production and exemplify cultural sexism (Savigny, 2017, p. 662). Management journals are colonized by men and serve as a (gendered) pseudo proxy for quality. The journal lists that are widely adopted in business schools serve as an effective driver of power and powerlessness in the academy (Anderson et al., 2021).
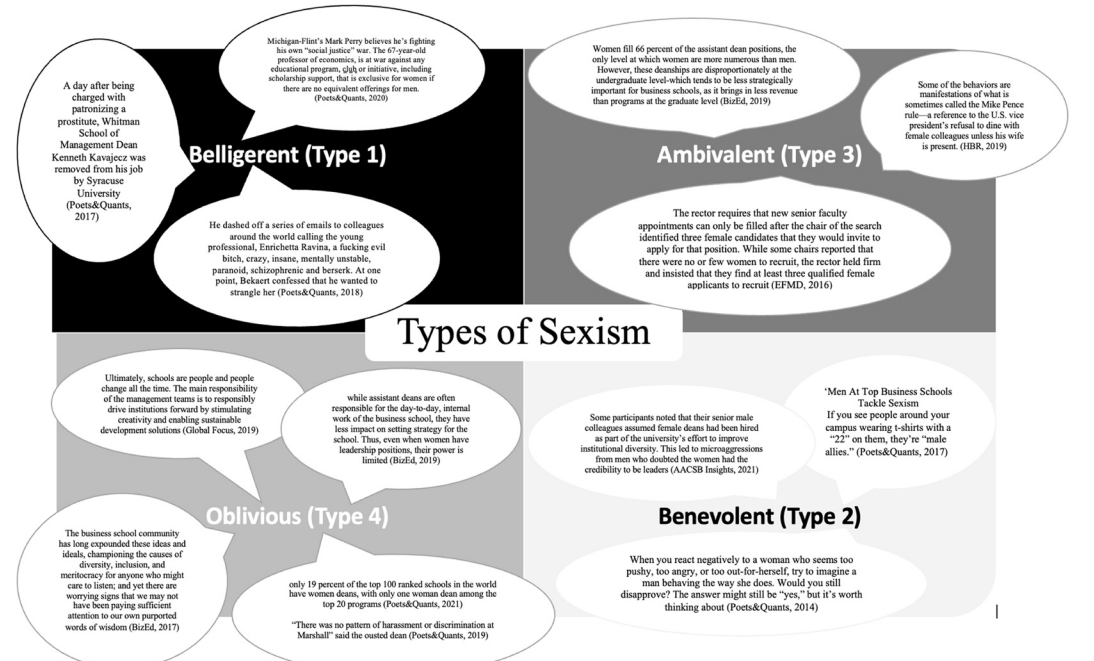

FIGURE 1 Illustrative comments and four types of sexism

2 | METHODOLOGY

In the following section, we discuss the methods and approach adopted in our analysis of three business school media to ensure rigor. The methodological advantages of adopting a text-based approach to analyzing materials in the public domain include ease of access to data on sensitive issues. Media content analysis enables us, as Max Weber suggested, to monitor the "cultural temperature" of society (Hansen et al., 1998, p. 92) on a broader scale than 1–1 interviews conducted by individual researchers with limited resources can provide.

The three media were chosen as they are published by the two leading business school accreditation bodies in Florida and Brussels and by a leading website which provides news and views about business schools. All media cover developments in business schools across the world and aggregate country and regional news coverage. Articles are written especially for International Women's Day by women management scholars in these specialist publications. For example, one author has contributed to a *Forbes* article (Symonds, 2022) explaining why MBA scholarships for women are needed to reduce discrimination. Wider national media coverage on sexism in business schools tends to relate to legal cases such as a sexual harassment lawsuit at Columbia Business School (New York Times, 2016) and sensational love interest stories (e.g., Palmer, 2022). Local news also reports on business schools, which are major institutions in the region. For instance, the *Los Angeles Times* provided an op-ed by James Ellis (2019), a former dean of the Marshall School of Business (University of Southern California) who was ousted by an acting black female President who accused him of ignoring complaints about sexual harassment. We considered analyzing reports in newspapers (e.g., *The Financial Times* business education pages), local media (*Los Angeles Times*), and on social media (e.g., *Forbes* twitter). As management education is a mature field with well-established international business school associations and media outlets that aggregate business school news globally, dedicated business school publications from these associations and *Poets&Quants* were chosen as more convenient sources written by experts in the business school field.

We outline the parameters for analyzing patterns of sexism and how they have been covered and presented in business school media over the last decade (2010–2021) and discuss justification for the data sources and our approach.

2.1 | Epistemology

In this study, we draw on our subjective, interpretivist philosophical position through a social constructivist approach to knowledge, whereby we posit gender, sexism, and discourse as social products and discourse as co-constructed between actors within the discourse (Bazerman, 1990). We acknowledge that there are multiple accounts of sexism, albeit most critically for this study, "how language enters into the continuing process of social negotiation that produces novel arrangements for our social future" (Bazerman, 1990, p. 77). West and Zimmerman (1987) argue that gender explains different social arrangements that legitimize fundamental divisions in society. An interpretivist approach allows for qualitative insights into complex organizational settings.

2.2 | The sample

In exploring sexism in business schools, this paper adopted purposive sampling (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Saunders et al., 2016) as the issue of sexism in business schools is currently under-researched in management and organization studies. Further, the rationale for the approach we have mobilized for analyzing academic media sources is underpinned by the need for a better understanding of how such outlets report on and subsequently shape the discourse around, and subsequent perceptions of sexism in business schools.

Three media sources that are based exclusively on business schools rather than higher education more generally (such as *The Chronicle of Higher Education* and *Times Higher Education*) were selected for analysis due to their focus on business schools, their voice and linkage to accreditation bodies, as well as having international readership and reach. These three sources are listed in Table 1. Furthermore, the source of data and subsequent method were chosen because of the latent need for a better understanding of how media outlets cover and report on sexism, and how this shapes wider insight into sexism at the macro sectoral level.

It is noteworthy that while these are the leading sources for business school news, their focus is predominantly Western-centric, although they claim to be international. The first two magazines belong to accreditation bodies. *Poets&Quants* is written mainly by professional journalists who have a specific interest in business education. Clearly, all are designed to promote management education in a positive light. In the case of *Poets&Quants* in particular we learn from scandals. Each December, *Poets&Quants* summarizes the key business school scandals of that year. All the media provide provocations and insights from the Global South and other non-Western perspectives; however, the usual suspects that are featured and which dominate are accredited and ranked business schools in Anglophone countries.

AACSB International launched *BizEd* as a magazine in November/December 2001. AACSB International is a US organization founded in 1916 to accredit only schools of business initially, and since 1997 it has accredited business schools outside North America. It lost recognition by the Council for Higher Education Accreditation in 2016 and achieved ISO 9001 certification, a quality management system, in 2019. AACSB's HQ is in Tampa, Florida, with 870 members world-wide. Its focus is on accredited business schools and its members. During 2001–2011, 42 *BizEd* covers included men and 17 were women; however, there has been less of a focus in the last decade on heroic leadership figures on the covers and inside the publications. In 2021, *BizEd* was renamed *AACSB Insights*.

EFMD (European Foundation for Management Education) first published *Global Focus* in January 2007, when all but one article were written by men in the first issue. EFMD is a non-profit organization with headquarters in Brussels, formed in 1972 to support business school accreditation with over 800 members in 80 countries. Many articles in *Global Focus* are written by members of the business school community rather than journalists to showcase new developments in the sector. *Global Focus* is published now in English, Chinese, and Spanish and offers in-depth analyses and updates on management development globally with thought leadership, insights, and reports from experts in universities, business schools, companies, and consultancies.

Poets&Quants was founded in 2010 as a website of news and features written by journalists. It focuses on MBA admissions and graduate schools of business with its own set of rankings. John Byrne, a former journalist at *Businessweek*, founded C-Change Media, the publishers of *Poets&Quants* where he is Editor-in-Chief. *Poets&Quants* is part of a company which also organizes direct mail and campaigns to generate leads for clients, which are predominantly business schools. Its style is provocative with scoops such as a dean's resignation at Stanford's Graduate School of Business following an affair with a colleague whose husband had been fired from the faculty (Symonds, 2020). Clearly, there is a US orientation and bias toward elite business schools that are funding advertisements in *Poets&Quants*.

TABLE 1 Data sources

AACSB International: *BizEd AACSB Insights*	https://bized.aacsb.edu/
	https://www.aacsb.edu/insights
EFMD: *Global Focus*	https://www.globalfocusmagazine.com/
Poets&Quants	https://poetsandquants.com/

2.3 | Data collection

The search for articles in the three publications above for content analysis included seven keywords "bullying", "discrimination", "gender", "inequalities", "sexism", "sexual harassment", and "women". The keywords were chosen because of the thematic closeness to the research questions as well as key themes in the extant literature. Our search results revealed 600 items of articles and items of media coverage, which included the above terms either in the title or within the text. Table 2 presents our search results and articles explored in each publication.

2.4 | Data analysis

Typologies have been criticized for representing reductionist and simplistic systems of classification (Doty & Glick, 1994). The data analysis of sexism in business schools in this paper, however, provides four broad categories framed by Acker's (2006a, 2006b, 2009) ideas of organizational inequalities regimes. We believe that the typology of four types of sexism we propose offers useful heuristics for naming and calling out different types of gender discrimination which are constant features in the working lives of women management scholars.

The advantage of a typology is that it allows for parsimony. We are mindful that typologies tend to overlook causal operating processes (Scott, 1981) and so in this paper we contextualize systems and practices within business school inequality regimes to compensate for this limitation.

The main mode of analysis for this research is thematic analysis. Elements of critical discourse analysis (CDA) were initially mobilized due to the nature of the written form of data that we analyzed for this research. The primary mode of analysis was thematic, but we drew on the notion of language as a form of social analysis. Critical analysis provides a sensitizing frame to aid thematic analysis and understanding of discourse and rhetoric in the three publications we analyzed. While we did not carry out a formal CDA, our initial coding and subsequent thematic analysis have been shaped particularly by the notion that "understanding is impossible without knowledge, and knowledge acquisition and change usually presuppose discourse. Indeed, it has been claimed that whatever is socially relevant of knowledge is usually also expressed in text or talk" (Van Dijk, 2003, p. 87). Further, understanding the various facets of CDA aided our discussions in the development of our thematic coding framework. CDA facilitated our awareness of the ways certain terms were used in the different publications and their occurrence. This provided an initial and iterative framework to inform the initial coding phase to illustrate how gender inequity and sexism are communicated in the publications analyzed.

We analyzed the articles thematically (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and iteratively. In the second stage of the coding, we clustered the initial codes based on our interpretations. Intercoder reliability was supported by the two coders familiarizing themselves with the data and immersing themselves in it to gain an overall picture, developing a coding frame

T A B L E 2 Keywords explored in each publication

Keywords	BizEd/AACSB insights	Global Focus	Poets&Quants
Bullying	0	2	0
Discrimination	7	6	8
Gender	40	31	92
Inequalities	4	8	24
Sexism	0	1	6
Sexual harassment	3	0	18
Women	42	28	280
Total	**96**	**76**	**428**

with both researchers initially coding the data separately using single words and phrases. We then revised and finalized the coding based on a discussion of inconsistencies and through joint agreement (O'Connor & Joffe, 2020).

Figure 2 illustrates the coding process and the key themes which emerged from the analysis.

As a theoretical underpinning for the analysis, we also draw on the work of Acker (2006a, 2006b) and the notion of inequality regimes and their various facets to inform the aggregate dimensions, an approach also adopted by Reilly

1st order concepts

The rector requires that new senior faculty appointments can only be filled after the chair of the search identified three female candidates that they would invite to apply for that position. While some chairs reported that there were no or few women to recruit, the rector held firm and insisted that they find at least three qualified female applicants to recruit (EFMD, 2016).

When you react negatively to a woman who seems too pushy, too angry, or too out-for-herself, try to imagine a man behaving the way she does. Would you still disapprove? The answer might still be "yes," but it's worth thinking about (Poets&Quants, 2014).

'Men At Top Business Schools Tackle Sexism, If you see people around your campus wearing t-shirts with a "22" on them, they're "male allies" (Poets&Quants, 2017).

Ultimately, schools are people and people change all the time. The main responsibility of the management teams is to responsibly drive institutions forward by stimulating creativity and enabling sustainable development solutions (Global Focus, 2019).

Some participants noted that their senior male colleagues assumed female deans had been hired as part of the university's effort to improve institutional diversity. This led to microaggressions from men who doubted the women had the credibility to be leaders (AACSB Insights, 2021).

He dashed off a series of emails to colleagues around the world calling the young professional, Enrichetta Ravina, a fucking evil bitch, crazy, insane, mentally unstable, paranoid, schizophrenic and berserk. At one point, Bekaert confessed that he wanted to strangle her (Poets&Quants, 2018).

"There was no pattern of harassment or discrimination at Marshall" said the ousted dean (Poets&Quants, 2019).

2nd order themes

Defending quotas for women

Kindly, considerate words

Well-meaning formal support from men

Responsibility, creativity, and sustainability

Mixture of men's condescension and small acts of aggression

Violent aggression, threats

Harassment

Aggregate dimensions
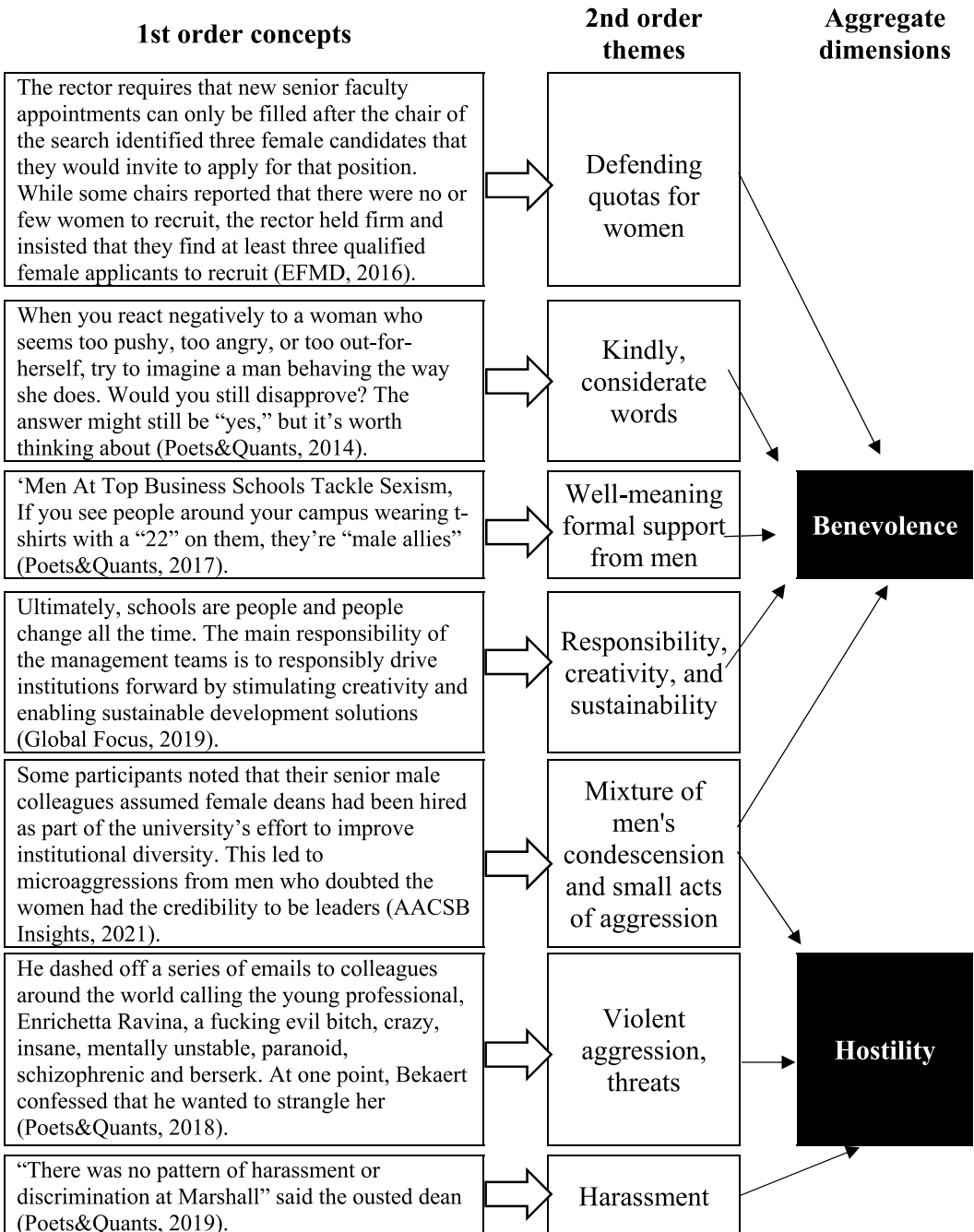
Benevolence

Hostility

FIGURE 2   Data structure and coding process

et al. (2016). This multi-level approach has in part informed and provided a scaffold for our thematic analysis, but also the presentation of our data, aiding the rigor of our typology and theory building. We mobilized Acker's notion of inequality regimes as a sensitizing concept and to aid understanding of how the ways in which sexism is written about serve to reproduce existing inequalities. Particularly, the facet of "the visibility of inequalities" has helped in the analysis of this research in that "People in dominant groups generally see inequality as existing somewhere else, not where they are (Acker, 2006b, p. 452) which has a strong linkage to our aforementioned positing that business schools, where equality awareness is claimed, for example, through the veiled teaching of equality and diversity and corporate social responsibility (CSR), that the focus urgently must shift to internal retrospection and critique. Furthermore, the facet of Acker's framework surrounding the legitimacy of inequality regimes is highly pertinent in that sexism, as a part of business school gender inequality, is deemed to be highly legitimate, characterized by the "the almost unshakable fusion of gendered identities and workplace organizing practices" (Acker, 2006b, p. 457).

The rigor and, in turn, reliability of our data analysis (Appleton, 1995; Shenton, 2004) were assured by the researchers constantly iterating between the three research questions and the data. The coding processes allowed for self-correcting as a quality measure (Mays & Pope, 1995) at every stage to enhance the credibility of our findings (Polit & Beck, 2008), as well as stimulating structured conversations around our research themes, which aided further deepening of insights between us.

2.5 | Ethical considerations

In this research, we draw on publicly available information; however, we remain deeply cognizant of discourse about victims of institutional sexism and the sensitivities entailed in discussing specific individuals. Thus, our focus is at institutional and macro-sectoral levels to explore broader media constructions of sexism in the business school to avoid harming individuals whose stories have not been reported publicly.

2.6 | Strengths, limitations, and further research

The British co-authors are insider-researchers (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007) in so far as they are two academic women who work in business schools in England. One author has written frequently for Global Focus. Bias was mitigated in analyzing this publication compared with others as she did not lead on the thematic analysis. The other author is an early-career researcher. Neither author has worked in the business schools mentioned in the articles or knows the authors or individuals involved in the scandals.

We drew on epistemic and methodological reflexivity (Hibbert, 2021; Johnson & Duberley, 2000) to consider our own interpretations based on personal or second-hand experiences of sexism in business schools. As Brannick and Coghlan (2007, p. 60) warn, we may be "prone to charges of being too close" to the subject matter. We sought to overcome these challenges by being systematic about focusing on text (rather than images) with verifiable processes (Wellington, 2000) for replicability. We acknowledge the lack of focus on imagery as a limitation. One author is a modern languages graduate and the other has German heritage, and both are interested especially in textual analysis. The outsourced *Global Focus* designer usually includes stock images. One of the researchers has frequently asked for these to be changed for her own articles as they predominantly tend to be of men in gray suits and do not indicate images chosen by authors. There are clearly opportunities for future research which includes an analysis of images (Pauwels & Mannay, 2019) as well as or in addition to text.

A further limitation includes desk-based collection of secondary data only. We cross-checked our analysis to ensure consistency in our coding strategy (Corti, 2018). Additionally, we acknowledge the limitations of secondary data collection via non-peer reviewed "informal" media outlets. Nevertheless, these play an important role in the discourse around business schools, and by implication, institutional sexism.

Future research methods to understand sexism in business schools might draw on institutional and auto ethnographies, focus groups, and participant observations. Qualitative and quantitative methods to understand intersectionality, organizational contingencies, and careers using an innovative range of visual methods and videos, biographical, narrative, and philosophical approaches to understand and eradicate persistent gender inequalities (Stead, Elliott & Mavin, 2021).

3 | FINDINGS

In this section, the findings relate to the media reports analyzed for this study and not to an earlier empirical project. We have attempted to narrow the arguments and assertions in our discussion to match the actual data presented in the figures. Figure one maps a selection of illustrative comments from the publications analyzed and from which the four types of sexism were identified. We noted that reports of what we coded as belligerent sexism were confined to examples from *Poets&Quants*. This may reflect high-profile cases in the US context, where there are many business schools and high-stakes legal cases which have emerged. We infer that the four types of sexism were operating simultaneously for some individuals in business schools where type 1 sexism was reported in the press. As the categories are subjective, a business school woman academic might consider that she is experiencing belligerent sexism from one colleague and oblivious sexism from members of the leadership team, while a well-meaning mentor or close colleague may be offering support with benevolent/ambivalent sexism.

The following section is structured around the four types of sexism identified:

Based on our analysis of the media, we identified and defined four categories of sexism: belligerent, ambivalent, oblivious, and benevolent sexism. This extends the work of Hideg and Shen (2019) and Glick and Fiske (1996, 1997, 2011). The full typology is presented in Figure 3.

We define the four types of sexism below. We acknowledge components in the types may overlap and we do not claim that they are mutually exclusive.
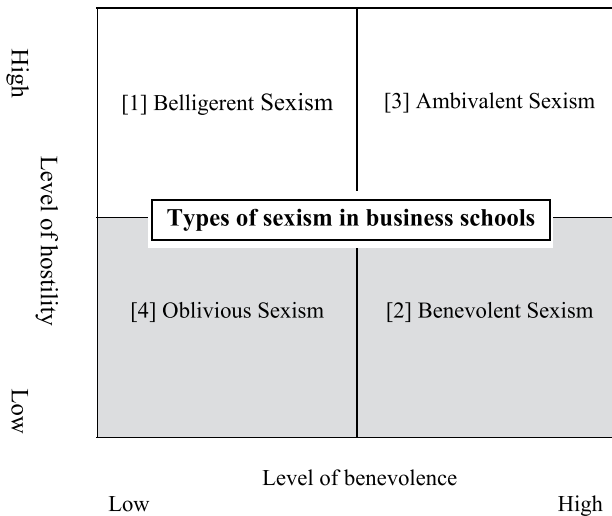

FIGURE 3 Typology of business school sexism

3.1 | Type 1: Belligerent sexism

Belligerent sexism is characterized in our analysis by antagonistic, hostile, and aggressive behaviors (Glick & Fiske, 2011) and engaging in a gendered power conflict openly in the business school. We typify the belligerent type as the most overt form of sexism. It includes high levels of hostility and minimal, if any, benevolence. This macho approach blatantly endorses inequality regimes (Acker, 2006a).

3.2 | Type: 2 benevolent sexism

This is illustrated by the "well-meaning" man, who may engage in chivalry and paternalistic patterns of behavior. Benevolent sexism can be manifested in forms of "enlightened sexism" (Armato, 2013), with men in business schools appearing to be helpful, for instance, volunteering as allies to women. They may appear to be supporting CSR actions or gender equality programmes as a form of benevolence. Benevolent sexism is enacted as part of the disembodied symbolic order and the unwanted female body (Fotaki, 2013; Pullen, 2018). This type of sexism is characterized by high levels of benevolence and low levels of hostility. It exemplifies Savigny's (2017, p. 662) notion of cultural sexism in "discourses of neo-liberalism, which take shape as neo-liberal hegemonic masculinity, and are operationalized and appear as both internalized misogyny and isolation as a mechanism to discipline women". Despite the rhetoric of benevolence, in reality this type of sexism can reinforce inequality regimes (Acker, 2006a) as much as belligerent sexism but covertly.

3.3 | Type 3: Ambivalent sexism

This type of sexism in business schools includes inconsistencies between belligerence (type 1) and benevolence (type 2). It is characterized by the ambivalence of the socially accepted need for benevolence and supporting gender equality in the organization while enacting and enabling hegemonic masculinities (Armato, 2013; Glick & Fiske, 2011). High levels of benevolence and high levels of hostility. Type three illustrates "[c]ultural sexism is the 'drip drip' of daily experiences, which serves to marginalize, silence, damage self-confidence, and destroy belief in the ability of women. It is the very ordinariness of sexism, which reflects the internalization of hegemonic masculinized discourses' (Savigny, 2017, p. 663), which reinforces inequality regimes" (Acker, 2006a).

3.4 | Type 4: Oblivious sexism

The oblivious bystander adopts a *laissez faire* approach, which means that they can act as a passive enabler. Oblivious sexism is characterized by incidents where nothing is done, linked systemically to organizational myopia (Catino, 2013). This is exemplified by the bystander effect (Latane & Darley, 1970) and the absence of personal responsibility, resulting in apathy. Low levels of hostility and low levels of benevolence. This form of cultural sexism echoes Savigny's (2017, p. 669) observation that "[c]ultural sexism is operationalized through women's isolation; their disciplining and silencing; and through the internalization of misogyny". Oblivious sexism might be mapped most closely to the concept of inequality regimes (Acker, 2006a) as a counterpoint to being anti-sexist. The type suggests inertia and a lack of agency, which allows inequality regimes to flourish.

3.5 | Making sense of the typology

Our typology might be apparent in a spectrum of sexism, which develops over time, like the proverbial "boiled frog" phenomenon (Tichy & Ulrich, 1984), where changes are imperceptible and go unnoticed. For instance, the non-actions

of bystanders might suggest to the perpetrators that benevolent sexism is condoned. This, in turn, may result in a culture where there is an escalation of ambivalent and belligerent sexism if there appear to be no consequences for treating colleagues unprofessionally.

Insights from the three business school media outlets we analyzed provide valuable discourse around sexism in business schools. These informed the basis for the development of the typology of sexism in business schools, underpinned by insights into cultural sexism. We reviewed media articles which provided interesting cases about sexism and discrimination (Knights & Richards, 2003) and how these were discussed and acted upon. We explored not only the visibility of inequality but also how this functions as a source of control and compliance maintained the status quo of sexism. Whilst Acker (2006b, p. 452) is referring to the visibility of inequality as the "degree of awareness of inequality", it is important to illustrate here that the media play an important role in this. Judging by the regularity of media reports, coverage regarding sexism and discrimination against women may have little effect on those in positions of power. This is particularly where ambivalent and oblivious forms of sexism continue to play out, apparently condoned by those in the upper echelons.

It is interesting that in an article from EFMD's *Global Focus*, Hardcastle (2021) examines sexism amongst business school advisory boards, where there is some interest in "creating the perfect diverse mix" of members. We posit that calling out sexism in advisory boards is an area which provides strategic opportunity for understanding, and in turn, tackling sexism through formal channels and pushing business school deans out of their comfort zones. For example, Sally Blount, formerly Dean of Kellogg School of Management, also stated in *AACSB Insights* "*if a board of trustees is really serious, the advice I offer corporate boards should be equally applied to higher education: whenever a high-potential woman or minority departs, board members should require an exit interview and detailed post-mortem*" (Davidson, 2017). We argue here that this must also include discussions around sexism, any scandals during a dean's tenure, and the treatment of women deans and their experiences of sexism. We need to counter the "glamourized, fetishized, and sexualized" (Elliott & Mavin, 2017) coverage of women deans and patriarchal and masculine imperatives.

Bringing men into the conversation surrounding sexism is not only integral to drive behavioral and business school cultural change, but also key for inclusive leadership. Men dominate business school deanships around the globe and top-ranked, elite MBA programmes. Yet continually the onus remains on women to aspire to leadership positions by relying on their personal resources to overcome cultural sexism and rise above inequality regimes (Acker, 2006a).

During the COVID-19 pandemic around the world, business schools have been under increased economic pressure, functioning in a volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous context. Women remain under-represented as deans as "only 19% of the top 100 ranked schools in the world have women deans, with only one woman dean among the top 20 programs" (Leander & Watson, 2021). The usual issues of informal networks (Yarrow, 2020), caring responsibilities (Nash & Churchill, 2020), and vertical gender segregation mean that there is a lack of role models. We argue here that introspection and action on sexism in business schools are currently lacking. An *AACSB Insights* article (Adya et al., 2021) identified several women who started positions as deans during 2020. This brings to the fore concerns about the glass cliff (Ryan & Haslam, 2007) in a period where the chances of failure may be high, which is linked to subtle forms of sexism (Ryan et al., 2007). This links to the notion of benevolent sexism (Hideg & Shen, 2019), whereby the "opportunity" to become a dean, in some cases the first female dean in a school's history, is presented as well-meaning and as organizational benevolence. This may represent an expression of benevolent sexism inherent in the organizational ecosystem in the disembodied symbolic order (Fotaki, 2013) of business schools.

Further, there was a strong onus on "building women's confidence" in the business school and "getting women into leadership positions" to overcome cultural sexism. While these are indeed important, we argue here and in reference to the extant literature that the focus must be on cultural change in the business school as an entity. Such cases may represent benevolent sexism that singles out particular women for advancement and not others, which results in perceptions of ambivalent sexism. This may only address one part of an inequality regime (Acker, 2006a).

4 | DISCUSSION

The typology, which has evolved from our analysis of sexism in business schools over the last decade, demarcates the most prevalent and entrenched forms of sexism. Our theorization of four types of sexism has been derived from the data, and underpinned by the extant literature. The typology provides a novel, contemporary theoretical framework for thinking about the four different types of sexism as we look forward to a post-pandemic recovery that rectifies the inequalities of gendered labor experienced during the COVID-19 crisis (Özkazanç-Pan & Pullen, 2020). It broadens the current theorization of ambivalent and benevolent sexism to show empirically that intentional incivility in terms of belligerent sexism and unintentional (oblivious) sexism may be operating alongside and at the same time as more overt and covert sexist behaviors.

However, in contrast to the extant literature, we argue that in the marketized, neoliberal business school context, benevolent sexism, ambivalent sexism, and "the bystander" as the oblivious enabler are bound together in their passiveness, and thus form the theorization of inaction as a dangerous form of contemporary sexism through inaction. We hereby extend Glick and Fiske's (2011) work by developing the notion of ambivalent sexism to the oblivious bystander and creating a linkage between benevolence and the veiling of institutional and individual sexism. The Y axis demonstrates the level of associated hostility, and actively hostile behaviors toward women in the business school, with the X axis charting the level of benevolence and more veiled forms of sexism. This serves to highlight the tensions between the "corporate image" of diversity and inclusion that business schools wish to portray (as a marketable entity in the neoliberal context) and the hostile environment in which business schools are (Armato, 2013; O'Connor et al., 2015; Reilly et al., 2016). We contend that business schools are outwardly liberal, and internally conservative organizations, with institutional conservative liberalism serving productively as a form of gendered oppression. It is clear that there is a dichotomy between how sexism is reported in the business school media we have analyzed and the messiness and subjectivity of lived experiences. Sexism is often presented objectively and quantitatively as "gender inequality" and the "under-representation of senior women." For the sake of rankings, for example, goals may be stated to achieve a better gender balance, particularly for MBA programmes. The case for a better gender balance is more likely to be based on a business school's status as a "poster child" and cash cow for the rest of the university (Starkey & Tiratsoo, 2007) than on really addressing social injustice and inequalities. This draws attention away from accepted and ingrained in-house sexism, characterized here as oblivious sexism. In the following sections, we discuss how inaction surrounding the various forms of sexism serves to reinforce the status quo in business schools and how, alongside this, diversity programmes mask cultural sexism and inequality.

4.1 | Inaction and sexism

We argue that inaction constitutes the allowing and enabling of [gendered] intellectual harm and sexism, a prevalent trend which has been identified in our study. It is such inaction that enables and allows sexist not only to persist, but to become yet further entrenched and ingrained in the business school. This may serve to perpetuate legitimized "sexist trickle down" to teaching and women students' lived experience of the business school and an ingrained "lad culture" (Phipps & Young, 2015). This serves to shape the gendered, sexist context, and acceptance of cultural sexism. Hostility masquerades as benevolence and performance management in business schools.

After all, business schools are important and popular sites of (sexist and gendered) knowledge production and dissemination. However, the first step is for business school leaders to admit the problem of sexism (Fondas, 2013) actively within their own walls. They also need to acknowledge that women are actively oppressed in business schools. These academic units are fruitful arenas for hegemonic masculinities (Ford & Harding, 2008; Fotaki, 2013; O'Connor et al., 2015), rather than simply being sites which are inhospitable toward women.

At Indiana University's Kelley School of Business, claims of disseminating racist, sexist, and homophobic views via social media were shut down with individuals claiming protection under the first amendment in the USA (Ethier, 2019). The School is sending a clear message of inaction and, in turn, enabling and legitimizing sexism, racism, and homophobia. This further entrenches the status quo of the white, unencumbered, cis-gender male, heterosexual scholar. Inaction could and should also be explored through and with business school advisory boards to develop meaningful conversations and action around sexism in business schools. Returning to Acker's (2006a) notion of inequality regimes, the utility of the notion of inaction is further enhanced in that inaction serves as a reinforcing process for inequality regimes. With reference to our typology, ambivalent and oblivious sexism point to inaction. Further, with reference to the White House Gender initiative and the AACSB "best practices for business schools" initiative (Clements, 2016) in *AACSB Insights*, we argue here that concrete action plans must address inherent sexism. Sexism permeates the culture of the business school as an entity and directly hampers efforts for equality, diversity, and inclusion. It is such strategic inaction surrounding the various forms of sexism we typologize here that undermines all systems, attitudes, and initiatives to improve gender equality. If best fit practices are to be implemented, these must begin from a standpoint of acknowledging and admitting the problem of sexism (Fondas, 2013) in the business school as a base line, which must also be actioned and acknowledged by advisory boards and other business school stakeholders (Hardcastle, 2021) for long-term, systemic institutional change and illuminate structural inequalities and systemic practices. Indeed, "in business schools, institutional change is only possible with the leadership of top management who are able to follow trends in the global and local environments" (Paprika & Tekavčič, 2019). The main implications for practice from our findings include the need for robust mandatory reporting information to be incorporated into accreditation standards and rankings criteria. This may include AACSB, AMBA, and EQUIS criteria and media league tables such as the *Financial Times* rankings. We argue that without a direct connection to accreditation outcomes and sexism reporting, awareness-raising of sexism in business schools is futile. To drive change, reporting and governance within all business schools need to be aligned in the fight against the four different types of sexism illustrated in the typology.

Throughout the analysis, it was clear that while business schools are effective marketers of equality and diversity and they engage in initiatives such as Athena SWAN in the UK, systemic changes are required. Clearly, such initiatives are not a panacea for banishing gender discrimination. Business schools are sites of the four types of sexism we typify. For example, an article from *Poets&Quants* (Yang, 2017) which we analyzed discussed how "men at top business schools tackle sexism" and the introduction of "manbassador" programmes at schools such as Berkeley Haas, where men discuss what is going on in terms of sexism. It is interesting that a woman is leading the group and discussions. Again, this places the onus on women to pick up the pieces and drive the conversation. We argue that such "manbassador" programmes serve as a marketing veneer to spark conversation and awareness amongst students. However, they do not tackle sexism in the business school per se, but rather serve to further mythologize the male hero and dominant hegemonic relations (Nadin et al., 2020). These programmes potentially also contribute to invisible or covert discrimination (Jones & Clifton, 2018). We also posit the notion of equality and diversity programmes shifting perpetrators of sexism from belligerence to ambivalence. We see this when business school leaders and those in positions of (gendered) power are encouraged to attend and engage with equality and diversity training. These interventions merely serve to alter patterns of overt sexism to benevolence and ambivalence surrounding sexism, to create a veneer of social acceptability.

Equality and diversity training may well be beneficial in organizations (Kalinoski et al., 2013) and raise awareness of sexism in business schools. However, Noon (2018, p. 206) takes a view from a critical diversity perspective that unconscious bias training, for example, may simply be seen as "yet another distraction from the embedded, structural disadvantages within organizations" (Noon, 2018, p. 206). We propose mandatory reporting in accreditations standards and rankings criteria as one mechanism to counter gender discrimination in organizations (Kelan, 2009; Knights & Richards, 2003). Importantly, we need to guard against "fake solidarity" in resisting and dismantling sexism.

5 | CONCLUSION

From our findings, it is evident that there is an ongoing lack of admission around the extent of sexism in business schools. Business schools need to gain substantive legitimacy as effective role models by reforming themselves and actively tackling institutional and cultural sexism, with the imperative to eliminate sexist behaviors and discrimination. Sexism remains the status quo in business schools. This is further entrenched by inherent vertical gender segregation and ambivalent sexism, whereby little to no action is taken when sexism occurs. It is the lack of institutional action, inextricably linked to organizational myopia (Catino, 2013), that further enables and legitimizes various forms of sexism.

Our theorization and subsequent typology of four different types of sexism in the business school contribute to current understandings of the breadth and depth of sexism in different contexts. The typology enables a further nuanced understanding of the spectrum of sexism and how the four types of sexism play out.

The typology we have proposed holds the potential to serve as a tool to influence discourse around, and of, sexism in business schools. We argue from our research that, as a product of media coverage of sexism in business schools, academic media coverage holds the potential to contribute positively to social change around institutional sexism in business schools. This is in part due to deans' reputational fears. There is much scope for future research to explore deans' perceptions of the role of media in reporting sexism as well as intersectional inequalities. We welcome longitudinal research on shifts between covert and overt sexism in business schools. Work on resisting sexism with an understanding of gender and intersectionality in the academy (Crimmins, 2019) can be extended to a closer inspection of sexist behaviors in business schools as the COVID-19 pandemic has unfolded. The pandemic has been particularly challenging for female academics (Gabster & van Daalen, 2020), and deans' resistance to accusations of sexual harassment makes conversations about sensitive issues tougher to address. For example, Ellis (2019) resisted accusations of sexual harassment in Marshall Business School at the University of Southern California: "I was dismissed after the administration reviewed 10 years' worth of complaints against Marshall faculty and staff that included allegations of racial and gender discrimination and hostile workplace conditions." To my knowledge, none of the complaints was about me personally... Here are the facts: There was no pattern of sexual harassment or discrimination at Marshall, although there were certainly some complaints'.

We propose an analysis of media coverage as a weapon to drive much needed cultural changes surrounding business school sexism. Sexual harassment perpetrated by line managers and leaders is an abuse of power (McEwen et al., 2021) and must be rooted out. We call for mechanisms to smash the business school glass cash cow as a site of normalized cultural sexism. There are real opportunities for changing inequality regimes for post-traumatic growth (Greenberg & Hibbert, 2020) as we aspire to build back more fairly.

Business schools need to gain substantive legitimacy with business school members by behaving as role models in dealing with complex issues of identity politics as seen more broadly in society. There is a strong case for business school leaders to reform their own institutions by actively combating the deeply ingrained sexism that prevails. If business schools are to remain sustainable—and indeed profitable—they must actively deal with the four types of sexism highlighted in this paper. The first step is to acknowledge the deeply ingrained organizational myopia (Catino, 2013) which prevents action being taken in the context of sexism and the neoliberal, hegemonic business school. Currently, many business schools are effective enablers of the relentless everyday microaggressions (Algner & Lorenz, 2022) that women continue to face (Basford et al., 2014). Proactive governance and criteria from accreditation bodies, media rankings, and boards must drive reputational and financial impetus for meaningful change to eliminate all types of sexism in business schools. We call for sexism reporting requirements from the three main business school accreditation bodies (AACSB, AMBA, and EQUIS) as well as national associations and rankings. Enablers to mobilize effective governance and strategies to resist sexism in the academy (Crimmins, 2019) are vital if business schools really are able to embed the UN's SDGs (Weybrecht, 2022) of decent work in their own cultures. Evidence-based implementation and evaluation of training workshops and gender plans to address sexism in the academy are vital to drive changes. We face on-going crises with the war in Ukraine, rising inflation, and the cost of living. Yet as Johnson (2022,

p. 639) has commented, "women deserve better...in the new economy" as we emerge from the pandemic. We hope that academic leaders who have dealt conscientiously and compassionately with the COVID-19 crisis (Fernandez & Shaw, 2020) can continue to do so to eradicate sexism in business schools.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the authorship and/or publication of this article. This research does not draw on findings or anecdotes from either researcher's institution.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data that supports the findings of this study are available in the supplementary material of this article.

ORCID

Emily Yarrow https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4336-5782

REFERENCES

Acker, Joan. 2006a. "The Gender Regime of Swedish Banks." *Scandinavian Journal of Management* 22(2): 195–209. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scaman.2006.10.004.

Acker, Joan. 2006b. "Inequality Regimes: Gender, Class, and Race in Organizations." *Gender & Society* 20(4): 441–64. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243206289499.

Acker, Joan. 2009. "From Glass Ceiling to Inequality Regimes." *Sociologie du Travail* 51(2): 199–217. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soctra.2009.03.004.

Adya, Monica, Nicola Kleyn, and Lisa Leander. 2021. "Women Deans on Leading through COVID-19." *AACSB Insights*: March 5.

Algner, Mona, and Timo Lorenz. 2022. "You're Prettier When You Smile: Construction and Validation of a Questionnaire to Assess Microaggressions against Women in the Workplace." *Frontiers in Psychology* 13: 1–14. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.809862.

Anderson, Valerie, Carole Elliott, and Jamie L. Callahan. 2021. "Power, Powerlessness, and Journal Ranking Lists: The Marginalization of Fields of Practice." *Academy of Management Learning & Education* 20(1): 89–107. https://doi.org/10.5465/amle.2019.0037.

Appleton, Jane V. 1995. "Analysing Qualitative Interview Data: Addressing Issues of Validity and Reliability." *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 22(5): 993–7. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.1995.tb02653.x.

Archer, Margaret S. 1996. *Culture and Agency. The Place of Culture in Social Theory*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Armato, Michael. 2013. "Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: Men's Enlightened Sexism & Hegemonic Masculinity in Academia." *Women's Studies* 42(5): 578–98. https://doi.org/10.1080/00497878.2013.794055.

Augier, Mie, and James G. March. 2011. *The Roots, Rituals and Rhetorics of Change: North American Business Schools after the Second World War*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Basford, Tessa E., Lynn R. Offermann, and Tara S. Behrend. 2014. "Do You See What I See? Perceptions of Gender Microaggressions in the Workplace." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 38(3): 340–49. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684313511420.

Bazerman, Charles. 1990. "Discourse Analysis and Social Construction." *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 11: 77–83. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190500001963.

Benschop, Yvonne, and Margo Brouns. 2003. "Crumbling Ivory Towers: Academic Organizing and its Gender Effects." *Gender, Work and Organization* 10(2): 194–212. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0432.t01-1-00011.

Brannick, Teresa, and David Coghlan. 2007. "In Defense of Being 'Native'. The case for insider academic research." *Organizational Research Methods* 10(1): 59–74. https://doi.org/10.1177/1094428106289253.

Braun, Virginia, and Victoria Clarke. 2006. "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology." *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3(2): 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa.

Byrne, John A. 2016. "Prostitution Charge Cost Whitman Dean Job." *Poets&Quants*: September 17.

Byrne, John A. 2018. "Columbia B-School's Shocking #Metoo Trial: 'Blunt Belgium' Calls Mentee 'an Evil Bitch'." *Poets&Quants*: July 11.

Byrne, John A. 2019. "Marshall's Ousted Dean Assails USC for 'Fabrications'." *Poets&Quants*: June 30.

Byrne, John A. 2020. "A Professor's Crusade against Women-Only Programs & Awards." *Poets&Quants*: October 21.

Byrne, John A. 2021. "Arrogance Is What Ultimately Caused This B-School Dean's Downfall." *Poets&Quants*: December 2.

Cameron, Alec. 2017. "Business Schools: More Than Just Reliable 'Cash Cows' for Vice-Chancellors." *Times Higher Education*: November 6.

Catino, Maurizio. 2013. *Organizational Myopia: Problems of Rationality and Foresight in Organizations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Clavero, Sara, and Yvonne Galligan. 2021. "Delivering Gender Justice in Academia through Gender Equality Plans? Normative and Practical Challenges." *Gender, Work and Organization* 28(3): 1115–32. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12658.

Clements, Christine. 2016. "Where Are We Going, Where Have We Been? One Year after the White House Gender Initiative." *AACSB Insights*: August 1.

Corti, Louise. 2018. "Data Collection in Secondary Analysis." In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Collection*, edited by Uwe Flick. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Crimmins, Gail. 2019. "Structural Account of Inequality in the International Academy: Why Resistance to Sexism Remains Urgent and Necessary." In *Strategies for Resisting Sexism in the Academy: Higher Education, Gender and Intersectionality*, edited by Gail Crimmins. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

Davidson, Lee. 2017. "Dean Sally Blount Reflects on 7 Years Leading Kellogg School of Management." *AACSB Insights*: October 11.

Denzin, Norman K., and Yvonna S. Lincoln. 2000. *The Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Doty, D. Harold, and William H. Glick. 1994. "Typologies as a Unique Form of Theory Building: Toward Improved Understanding and Modeling." *Academy of Management Review* 19(2): 230–51. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.1994.9410210748.

Elliott, Carole, and Sharon Mavin. 2017. *Why Business Schools Should Be Aware of How the Media Genders Women Leaders and Managers*. London, UK: Chartered Association of Business Schools.

Ellis, James. 2019. "Op-Ed: James Ellis: Setting the Record Straight About My Departure From USC." *Los Angeles Times*, June 30.

Ethier, Marc. 2019. "Indiana Kelley Prof's 'Pernicious Stereotypes' Spark Controversy." *Poets&Quants*: November 25.

Fernandez, Antonio Arturo, and Graham Paul Shaw. 2020. "Academic Leadership in a Time of Crisis: The Coronavirus and COVID-19." *Journal of Leadership Studies* 14(1): 39–45. https://doi.org/10.1002/jls.21684.

Fondas, Nanette. 2013. "First Step to Fixing Gender Bias in Business School: Admit the Problem." *The Atlantic*: September 17.

Ford, Jackie, and Nancy Harding. 2008. "Fear and Loathing in Harrogate: Or an Exploration of the Mutual Constitution of Organization and Members." *Organization* 15(2): 233–50. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508407086582.

Fotaki, Marianna. 2013. "No Woman Is like a Man (in Academia): The Masculine Symbolic Order and the Unwanted Female Body." *Organization Studies* 34(9): 1251–75. https://doi.org/10.1177/0170840613483658.

Gabster, Brooke Peterson, Kim van Daalen, Roopa Dhatt, and Michele Barry. 2020. "Challenges for the Female Academic during the COVID-19 Pandemic." *Lancet* 395(10242): 1968–70. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(20)31412-4.

Glick, Peter, and Susan T. Fiske. 1996. "The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating Hostile and Benevolent Sexism." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 70(3): 491–512. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.70.3.491.

Glick, Peter, and Susan T. Fiske. 1997. "Hostile and Benevolent Sexism: Measuring Ambivalent Sexist Attitudes toward Women." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 21(1): 119–35. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1997.tb00104.x.

Glick, Peter, and Susan T. Fiske. 2011. "Ambivalent Sexism Revisited." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 35(3): 530–35. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684311414832.

Greenberg, Danna, and Paul Hibbert. 2020. "From the Editors—Covid-19: Learning to Hope and Hoping to Learn." *Academy of Management Learning & Education* 19(2): 123–30. https://doi.org/10.5465/amle.2020.0247.

Grey, Christopher, and Hugh Willmott. 2002. "Contexts of CMS." *Organization* 9(3): 411–18. https://doi.org/10.1177/135050840293006.

Hansen, Anders, Simon Cottle, Ralph Negrine, and Chris Newbold. 1998. *Mass Communication Research Methods*. London, UK: Macmillan.

Hardcastle, Sarah. 2021. "Business School Advisory Boards." *Global Focus* 15(1): 21.

Haslam, S. Alexander, and Michelle K. Ryan. 2008. "The Road to the Glass Cliff: Differences in the Perceived Suitability of Men and Women for Leadership Positions in Succeeding and Failing Organizations." *The Leadership Quarterly* 19(5): 530–46. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2008.07.011.

Havergal, Chris. 2022. "Ten-Day Strike at UK Universities Next Month on Pay and Pensions." *Times Higher Education*: January 27.

Herring, Cedric, and Loren Henderson. 2012. "From Affirmative Action to Diversity: Toward a Critical Diversity Perspective." *Critical Sociology* 38(5): 629–43. https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920511402701.

Hibbert, Paul. 2021. *How to Be a Reflexive Researcher*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Hideg, Ivona, and Winny Shen. 2019. "Why Still so Few? A Theoretical Model of the Role of Benevolent Sexism and Career Support in the Continued Underrepresentation of Women in Leadership Positions." *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies* 26(3): 287–303. https://doi.org/10.1177/1548051819849006.

Hogan, Owen, Michael A. Kortt, and Michael B. Charles. 2020. "Standing at the Crossroads: The Vulnerabilities of Australian Business Schools." *Education + Training* 62(6): 707–20. https://doi.org/10.1108/ET-04-2020-0075.

Itah, Maya. 2014. "What Guys Could & Should Do about Gender Bias." *Poets&Quants*: September 14.

Johnson, Phil, and Joanne Duberley. 2000. *Understanding Management Research*. London, UK: Sage.

Johnson, Simisola. 2022. "Women Deserve Better: A Discussion on COVID-19 and the Gendered Organization in the New Economy." *Gender, Work and Organization* 29(2): 639–49. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12785.

Jones, Karen, and Jonathan Clifton. 2018. "Rendering Sexism Invisible in Workplace Narratives. A Narrative Analysis of Female Entrepreneurs' Stories of Not Being Talked to by Men." *Gender, Work and Organization* 25(5): 557–74. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12216.

Kalinoski, Zachary T., Debra Steele-Johnson, Elizabeth J. Peyton, Keith A. Leas, Julie Steinke, and Nathan A. Bowling. 2013. "A Meta-Analytic Evaluation of Diversity Training Outcomes." *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 34(8): 1076–04. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.1839.

Kelan, Elisabeth K. 2009. "Gender Fatigue: The Ideological Dilemma of Gender Neutrality and Discrimination in Organizations." *Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences/Revue Canadienne des Sciences de l'Administration* 26(3): 197–210. https://doi.org/10.1002/CJAS.106.

Knights, David, and Wendy Richards. 2003. "Sex Discrimination in UK Academia." *Gender, Work and Organization* 10(2): 213–38. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0432.t01-1-00012.

Latane, Parley, and John M. Darley. 1970. *The Unresponsive Bystander: Why Doesn't He Help?* New York: Appleton Century-Crofts.

Latour, Bruno. 2004. "Why Has Critique Run Out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern." *Critical Inquiry* 30(Winter): 225–48. https://doi.org/10.1086/421123.

Leander, Lisa, and Ruchi M. Watson. 2021. *Academic Leadership Already Lacked Women Representation Pre-pandemic. Now What?* Perspectives. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business Publishing Education.

Lipton, Mark. 2019. "Beyond Misogyny: Our Pathologically Mean Leaders." *Global Focus* 1(13): 32–35.

Mays, Nicholas, and Catherine Pope. 1995. "Rigour and Qualitative Research." *British Medical Journal* 311(6997): 109–12. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.311.6997.109.

McEwen, Celina, Alison Pullen, and Carl Rhodes. 2021. "Sexual Harassment at Work: A Leadership Problem." *Revista de Administração de Empresas* 61(2): 1–7. https://doi.org/10.1590/S0034-759020210207.

Metz, Isabel, Anne-Wil Harzing, and Michael J. Zyphur. 2016. "Of Journal Editors and Editorial Boards: Who Are the Trailblazers in Increasing Editorial Board Gender Equality?" *British Journal of Management* 27(4): 712–26. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8551.12133.

Mosher, Donald L., and Ronald D. Anderson. 1986. "Macho Personality, Sexual Aggression, and Reactions to Guided Imagery of Realistic Rape." *Journal of Research in Personality* 20(1): 77–94. https://doi.org/10.1016/0092-6566(86)90111-X.

Nadin, Sara, Robert Smith, and Sally Jones. 2020. "Heroines of Enterprise: Post-Recession Media Representations of Women and Entrepreneurship in a UK Newspaper 2008–2016." *International Small Business Journal* 38(6): 557–77. https://doi.org/10.1177/0266242620913209.

Nash, Meredith, and Brendan Churchill. 2020. "Caring during COVID-19: A Gendered Analysis of Australian University Responses to Managing Remote Working and Caring Responsibilities." *Gender, Work and Organization* 27(5): 833–46. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12484.

New York Times. 2016. "Columbia Professor Files Sexual Harassment Suit against University." *New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/24/nyregion/columbia-professor-files-sexual-harassment-suit-against-university.html.

Noon, Mike. 2018. "Pointless Diversity Training: Unconscious Bias, New Racism and Agency." *Work, Employment & Society* 32(1): 198–209. https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017017719841.

O'Connor, Cliodhna, and Helene Joffe. 2020. "Intercoder Reliability in Qualitative Research: Debates and Practical Guidelines." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 19: 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406919899220.

O'Connor, Pat, Clare O'Hagan, and Julia Brannen. 2015. "Exploration of Masculinities in Academic Organisations: A Tentative Typology Using Career and Relationship Commitment." *Current Sociology* 63(4): 528–46. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392115574859.

O'Doherty, Damian, and Helene Ratner. 2017. "The Break-Up of Management: Critique Inside-Out." *Journal of Cultural Economy* 10(3): 231–36. https://doi.org/10.1080/17530350.2017.1312488.

Ozkazanc-Pan, Banu. 2018. "On Agency and Empowerment in a #MeToo World." *Gender, Work and Organization* 26(8): 1212–20. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12311.

Özkazanç-Pan, Banu, and Alison Pullen. 2020. "Gendered Labour and Work, Even in Pandemic Times." *Gender, Work and Organization* 27(5): 675–76. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12516.

Pacholok, Shelley. 2009. "Gendered Strategies of Self: Navigating Hierarchy and Contesting Masculinities." *Gender, Work and Organization* 16(4): 471–500. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0432.2009.00452.

Palmer, Tony. 2022. "Finance Professor, 51, 'Battered Old Harrovian Businessman at His £2m Home' after the 77-Year-Old Claimed He Had Been Having an Affair with the Academic's 28-Year-Old Girlfriend." *Daily Mail Online*: February 16.

Paprika, Zita Z., and Metka Tekavčič. 2019. "The Trigger for Institutional Change." *Global Focus* 1(13): 13–16.

Parker, Martin. 2021. "The Critical Business School and the University: A Case Study of Resistance and Co-optation." *Critical Sociology* 47(7–8): 1111–24. https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920520950387.

Pauwels, Luc and Dawn Mannay. 2019. *The SAGE Handbook of Visual Research Methods*. London, UK: Sage.

Pettigrew, Andrew, and Ken Starkey. 2016. "From the Guest Editors: The Legitimacy and Impact of Business Schools—Key Issues and a Research Agenda." *Academy of Management Learning & Education* 15(4): 649–64. https://doi.org/10.5465/amle.2016.0296.

Phipps, Alison, and Isabel Young. 2015. "Neoliberalisation and 'Lad Cultures' in Higher Education." *Sociology* 49(2): 305–22. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038514542120.

Polit, Denise F., and Cheryl T. Beck. 2008. *Nursing Research: Generating and Assessing Evidence for Nursing Practice*. 8th ed. Baltimore, MD: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.

Prentice, Susan. 2000. "The Conceptual Politics of Chilly Climate Controversies." *Gender and Education* 12(2): 195–207. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540250050010009.

Pullen, Alison. 2018. "Writing as Labiaplasty." *Organization* 25(1): 123–30. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508417735537.

Reilly, Amanda, Deborah Jones, Carla Rey Vasquez, and Jayne Krisjanous. 2016. "Confronting Gender Inequality in a Business School." *Higher Education Research & Development* 35(5): 1025–38. https://doi.org/10.1080/07294360.2016.1138453.

Roseberry, Lynn, Robyn Remke, Johan Klæsson, and Thomas Holgersson. 2016. *The Gender Gap in European Business Schools: A Leadership Perspective*. Brussels, Belgium: EFMD.

Ryan, Michelle K., and S. Alexander Haslam. 2007. "The Glass Cliff: Exploring the Dynamics Surrounding the Appointment of Women to Precarious Leadership Positions." *Academy of Management Review* 32(2): 549–72. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.2007.24351856. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20159315.

Ryan, Michelle K., S. Alexander Haslam, and Tom Postmes. 2007. "Reactions to the Glass Cliff: Gender Differences in the Explanations for the Precariousness of Women's Leadership Positions." *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 20(2): 182–97. https://doi.org/10.1108/09534810710724748.

Saunders, Mark, Philip Lewis and Adrian Thornhill. 2016. *Research Methods for Business Students*. 7th ed. Harlow, UK: Pearson Education.

Savigny, Heather. 2014. "Women, Know Your Limits: Cultural Sexism in Academia." *Gender and Education* 26(7): 794–809. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2014.970977.

Savigny, Heather. 2017. "Cultural Sexism Is Ordinary: Writing and Re-Writing Women in Academia." *Gender, Work and Organization* 24(6): 643–55. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12190.

Scott, W. Richard. 1981. *Organizations: Rational, Natural, and Open Systems*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Seierstad, Cathrine, and Geraldine Healy. 2012. "Women's Equality in the Scandinavian Academy: A Distant Dream?" *Work, Employment & Society* 26(2): 296–313. https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017011432918.

Shenton, Andrew K. 2004. "Strategies for Ensuring Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research Projects." *Education for Information* 22(2): 63–75. https://doi.org/10.3233/EFI-2004-22201.

Starkey, Ken, and Nick Tiratsoo. 2007. *The Business School and the Bottom Line*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Stead, Valerie, Carole Elliott and Sharon Mavin. 2021. *Handbook of Research Methods on Gender and Management*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Symonds, Matt. 2020. "How One Man Changed the Way We Think about Business Schools." *Forbes*, August 10.

Symonds, Matt. 2022. "Scholarships and Opportunity For Women at Business School." *Forbes*, March 31.

Tichy, Noel M., and David O. Ulrich. 1984. "SMR Forum: The Leadership Challenge. A Call for the Transformational Leader." *Sloan Management Review (pre-1986)* 26(1): 59–62.

Tomlinson, Frances, and Christina Schwabenland. 2010. "Reconciling Competing Discourses of Diversity? The UK Non-profit Sector between Social Justice and the Business Case." *Organization* 17(1): 101–21. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508409350237.

Tzanakou, Charikleia, and Ruth Pearce. 2019. "Moderate Feminism within or against the Neoliberal University? The Example of Athena SWAN." *Gender, Work and Organization* 26(8): 1191–11. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12336.

UN. 2015. "Sustainable Development Goals." https://sdgs.un.org/goals.

van Dijk, Teun A. 2003. "The Discourse-Knowledge Interface." In *Critical Discourse Analysis*, edited by Gilbert Weiss and Ruth Wodak. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Vidaver-Cohen, Deborah. 2007. "Reputation beyond the Rankings: A Conceptual Framework for Business School Research." *Corporate Reputation Review* 10(4): 278–304. https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.crr.1550055.

Wellington, Jerry. 2000. *Educational Research: Contemporary Issues and Practical Approaches*. London, UK: Continuum.

West, Candace, and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. "Doing Gender." *Gender & Society* 1(2): 125–51. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243287001002002.

Weybrecht, Giselle. 2022. "Business Schools Are Embracing the SDGs – But Is it Enough? – How Business Schools Are Reporting on Their Engagement in the SDGs." *The International Journal of Management Education* 20(1): 100589. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijme.2021.100589.

Willmott, Hugh. 2011. "Journal List Fetishism and the Perversion of Scholarship: Reactivity and the ABS List." *Organization* 18(4): 429–42. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508411403532.

Yang, Gregory. 2017. "Men at Top Business Schools Tackle Sexism." *Poets&Quants*: September 2.

Yarrow, Emily. 2020. "Knowledge Hustlers: Gendered Micro-Politics and Networking in UK Universities." *British Educational Research Journal* 47(3): 579–98. https://doi.org/10.1002/berj.3671.

Yarrow, Emily, and Julie Davies. 2022. "Delegitimizing the Underrepresentation of Women Management Scholars in the Research Impact Agenda." In *Debating Business School Legitimacy: Attacking, Rocking, and Defending the Status Quo*, edited by Anders Örtenblad and Riina Koris. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Zammuto, Raymond F. 2008. "Accreditation and the Globalization of Business." *Academy of Management Learning & Education* 7(2): 256–68. https://doi.org/10.5465/amle.2008.32712623.

Zanoni, Patrizia, Maddy Janssens, Yvonne Benschop, and Stella Nkomo. 2010. "Unpacking Diversity, Grasping Inequality: Rethinking Difference through Critical Perspectives." *Organization* 17(1): 9–29. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508409350344.

Zhou, Naaman. 2021. "More Than 17,000 Jobs Lost at Australian Universities During Covid Pandemic." *The Guardian*, February 2.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Emily Yarrow is a Senior Lecturer in Management and Organizations at Newcastle University Business School, UK. Her scholarly work focuses on and contributes to contemporary understandings of gendered organizational behavior, governance in higher education, women's experiences of organizational life, and the future of work. She is passionate about social justice in education and equality of opportunity in organizational life.

Julie Davies is Deputy Director (EDI) of the MBA and EMBA Health programmes in the Global Business School for Health, University College London, UK. Her main research interests are leadership in health care and management education, gender and research impact, and ethnic minority microentrepreneurship. Professor Davies was previously Deputy Chief Executive of the Chartered Association of Business Schools.