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Introduction: Gender and Diversity Studies – European perspectives

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Introduction:
Gender and Diversity Studies – European perspectives

Gender and diversity studies as a developing field of research is approached in this volume by drawing a connection to a broader political context, and by arguing that the process of Europeanization, and particularly its equal opportunity policies, have also contributed to the formation of gender and diversity studies. In this book we emphasize the link between equal opportunity policies and the development of an academic field of gender and diversity studies. The starting point for our textbook is the implementation of anti-discrimination laws and policies promoted by the European Union on the basis of treaties and directives binding on the member states. With the Amsterdam treaty of 1997, gender mainstreaming became obligatory and EU-directives (2000 to 2004) required the integration of anti-discrimination principles and activities by national law. These legally binding conditions have had an impact on theoretical, methodological and practical challenges faced by gender and diversity studies. We argue that universities and the sciences have had to incorporate these requirements into the curricula in research and teaching to align with the objectives of anti-discrimination and gender mainstreaming. Consequently, the book examines the current state of gender and diversity studies taking into account that the path to establishing gender and diversity studies at universities and in research has been paved by these policies – be it by the establishment of research issues or be it by the determination of equal opportunity requirements for the organization of research. Roughly 30 years after the definition of 'gender mainstreaming', by the EU-commission in 1988, may be a good point in time for such an assessment.

The intention of this book is to present a variety of approaches to gender and diversity studies in different regions in Europe as an important basis for the future development of the field. Starting with a German-Dutch cross-border cooperation, we extended the scope to other parts of Europe and beyond. Dealing with rights has two sides to it: on the one side, a homogenization is pursued including, in the case of the EU, its members to equal opportunity policies and anti-discrimination law. On the other side, these policies

and laws are exclusive to non-members. Put differently, while certain rights and antidiscrimination policies are strengthened within the EU and internal borders between member states are successively being dissolved, external borders are enforced – be it South European /African or East European. Taking processes of European homogenization into consideration: What does this mean for the definition of 'European perspectives' on gender and diversity? Which regional inequalities are reproduced and what kind of impact do these have on European gender and diversity studies? How inclusive is a European gender and diversity discussion itself?

The book includes articles from different regions in Europe and beyond in the fields of gender and diversity studies. We take a critical perspective on the effects of the integration policy of the EU and the exclusions it produces. The book is conceptualized as a textbook for students of gender and diversity studies, introducing issues and objectives as well as theoretical approaches, methods and recent research findings.

1   Gender and Diversity Studies

Diversity studies as a developing field has been defined in connection to the concept of 'difference' taking up political discourses that were initiated decades ago by social movements, such as the women's movements, gay, lesbian and queer, anti-racism as well as disability rights movements. 'Difference' is brought up and emphasized in political discourses and theory formation in the context of globalization processes and increased societal differentiation, particularly in post-industrial economies. The recognition of difference is a central focus, referring to social categories, for example, those that are mentioned in the recently implemented laws such as the German General Act on Equal Treatment (*Allgemeines Gleichbehandlungsgesetz*) include gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, disability, age, religion and beliefs. Building up on EU directives, nation states that are members of the European Union were to come up with laws that address anti-discrimination more concretely and as such beyond existing laws in the member states which included equal rights in a general sense, an example being the Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*) in Germany. One of the core issues promoted in the context of the emerging field of diversity studies are claims to recognize differences, plurality, inclusion, amongst others, and the challenging of norms and norm setting, for example, amongst the dominant groups in organizations (Krell, Riedmüller, Sieben and Vinz 2006:8).

In this regard, diversity studies link to human rights discourses that are identified in the context of globalization and migration studies, often opposing nationalist or re-nationalization tendencies and political agendas (Steger 2017;

Portes and DeWind 2007; Castles and Miller 2009; Pries 2004). The public discourse on diversity seems to be connected to the normative claim that "'difference' is OK" (Vertovec 2015:3), in the sense of difference from the dominant norm. One of the observations that we could locate, while writing this book, is that the ideal of diversity as being different from a dominant norm, seems to have gained legitimacy in the public discourse in many societies.

Diversity studies as a scientific field can be distinguished from the public discourse. From the perspective of the social sciences, a distance between scientific concepts and analysis, on the one hand, and everyday experience of diversity and/or difference, on the other hand, is required, in order to not only reproduce commonplace knowledge – what we have known already. Diversity studies needs to come up with scientific concepts and theoretical approaches that are specific and can be examined through empirical research. This principle of the social sciences is put forward by Brubaker in an investigation among social sciences and humanities scholars carried through by Vertovec (2015:4). Other positions and notions of diversity from these interviews, summarized by Vertovec, include the expectation that new opportunities are created to deal with difference in more advanced ways (according to Brubaker, Landau and Wimmer, cited in Vertovec 2015:9) and their social organization (according to Appadurai, cited in Vertovec 2015:9) as well as with their interrelations, comprise intersectionality and multidimensionality in particular (Glick-Schiller, Beck, Eriksen and Eade, cited in Vertovec 2015:9). Moreover, issues of differentiation as a core topic of the social sciences can be addressed (according to Brubaker and Koenig, cited in Vertovec 2015:9).

In an attempt to define topics in diversity studies, Vertovec includes topics of social differentiation and questions on how "categories of difference" are constructed and reproduced (ibid.:10), distinguishing these processes from the study of "complex social environments" (ibid.) in which these processes evolve. In the social sciences, several theoretical approaches have been developed to deal with these processes of reproduction of 'differences', which have been analyzed as 'social inequalities' in sociology. This leads us to social inequality as a further central concept of diversity in diversity studies which refers to the systematic access (or lack of access) to socially validated assets and resources, based on belonging to a social group determined by categorizations of gender, class, ethnicity or race, sexuality, religion or disability. Diversity studies can draw on these theoretical foundations for the design and realization of empirical research and successive theory building, which should give further insights into how these processes of reproducing social inequalities happen in an increasingly complex and faster changing social world. Moreover, the question of the interrelation between the reproduction of social inequalities and societal changes leading to an increased differentiation can be addressed.

Krell et al. (2006) emphasize the significance of gender studies when defining the scope of diversity studies by linking gender studies and diversity studies. Gender studies has contributed influential theoretical approaches (see Bührmann 2015), for example, the approach of 'doing gender' by West and Zimmerman (1987) that explains the relevance of the interactional level for the reproduction of 'differences' or inequalities of gender in relation to the level of societal institutions. This approach has been extended to other social categories such as the construction of race, ethnicity and class under the term of 'doing difference' (West and Fenstermaker 1995). Similarly, migration and racism studies have come up with concepts to analyze the construction of ethnicity and race in interactions in relation to societal institutions (for example, Omi and Winant 1994; Brubaker 2004; Miles and Brown 2008; Wimmer 2013). In disability studies the central social model of disability has been coined (Oliver 1990; Bury 1996; Barnes 1997). This research and theory development is built on theoretical approaches in sociology which focus specifically on interactions and everyday life as a most relevant site in which society and social inequalities are reproduced through the interrelatedness of social actions, social institutions and social structures (Goffman 1959; Berger and Luckmann 1966; Garfinkel 1967)[1]. Class, as a social category of achieved inequality ranges on a different level than the categories of ascribed inequalities, for example, gender. The extent to which the interactional level is significant in the reproduction of social inequality based on social origin related to class or social milieu has been shown most prominently by Bourdieu's study *Distinction* (1979/1984) and has engendered a broad range of research. Consequently, we can point out three levels of interest for diversity studies – structures, institutions and interactions, or, in reference to Vertovec' formulation: configurations, representations and 'encounters' (2015:17).

What seems to come increasingly to the forefront in the context of emerging diversity studies is the intersectionality and multidimensionality of social relations and social inequalities (Lutz 2015; Faist 2015). The focus on one social category alone and, specifically, determining hierarchies between dimensions of social inequality is rejected under the umbrella of diversity studies (Krell et al. 2006:13; Vertovec 2015:10). From a sociological perspective, we address differences and diversity as dimensions of social inequality, since it is a systematic access or lack of access to opportunities related to belonging to social groups that is one of the core interests of research and theory formation in sociology and several other social sciences. Moreover, these inequalities are in sharp contrast to features of societies that are characterized by increasing functional dif-

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1   For an analysis of public discourse and social movements discourse on inequalities based on the construction of gender and race since the 1950s in the US and how this interrelates with the social science discourse, see Jungwirth (2007).

ferentiation and individualization. Consequently, further insights in the continuing co-existence of functional differentiation, on the one hand, and the significance of membership in social groups in the reproduction of society, on the other, are crucial. The focus on organizations in research and publications of diversity studies is based on the relevance and pivotal contribution of organizations in highly differentiated societies (see the contribution by Jungwirth as well as the contributions by Vader and Showunmi in this volume).

2 Interdisciplinarity/Transdisciplinarity

Diversity studies, similar to gender studies, claims to pursue an approach that goes beyond disciplinary boundaries and to integrate the perspectives of different disciplines with regard to methodologies to address the identified issues and research topics. Krell et al. (2006:13f.) argue for a 'multi-disciplinary' approach under the roof of diversity studies, explicitly naming business administration, as a discipline in which diversity management has been developed, along with educational science, political science and law – or 'diversity politics', ethnology and anthropology, womens' and gender studies, migration studies, health studies and gerontology. Vertovec goes beyond this position by determining diversity studies as 'interdisciplinary' in the legacy of migration studies, gender studies and sexuality studies (Vertovec 2015:9f.), while relating diversity studies to the social sciences and the humanities. The argument for an interdisciplinary approach is that we can gain further insights about questions raised, if findings from different disciplines are 'integrated' and linked to each other, for example, about gender relations in a specific neighbourhood or the relations of dominant and dominated groups in certain organizations (Krell et al. 2006:14; Vertovec 2015:9f.). Consequently, an interdisciplinary approach requires that the specificities of each research project have to be defined distinctly, including different disciplinary approaches, and that research fields link these different disciplinary approaches.

Beyond this position, gender studies have been defined as interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary with a critical stance towards disciplines and modes of knowledge formation within the context of university. Hark and Wetterer (2010:280) point out the extent to which gender studies represent both approaches, on the one hand, challenging existing orders of knowledge and the means for their formation in academia, and the possibility of being co-opted by an economic usability logic and requirements for flexibility, on the other. In relation to this, the concept of interdisciplinarity has been identified as a buzz word that is often used for funding applications or the evaluation of study programs in the context of the university reforms in the EU members states, also

known as 'Bologna reforms' since the new millennium. Working as a 'magical sign' that is not too clearly determined, it may represent even two opposing approaches (ibid.). According to Hark and Wetterer, from the perspective of the history of science, these endeavors can be seen as an attempt to define an 'uncharted space' in academia and determine a border line in relation to other disciplines (ibid.:284f.). An interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary approach in gender and diversity studies, can create the space for developing new concepts and theoretical approaches. Moreover, the concept of linking not only disciplines but sciences and every day life experiences and politics in transdisciplinary research, is presented in this book (see the contribution by Vinz).

All in all, the question about the extent of gender and diversity studies serving as critical science and the provisions it offers, still remains, which promotes a critical reflection of knowledge production in academia. At the same time, the aim of achieving more encompassing insights in research through an interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary approach is pertinent to gender and diversity studies. We argue that a critical stance against an economic usability logic and flexibility claims can be provided by taking into account societal power relations. In order to include these in the research in gender and diversity studies, resorting to the sociology of social inequality and sociology of organizations in which core concepts of analysis have been coined for the issues and questions raised in gender and diversity studies would be an important contribution. Moreover, social theories such as the ones named above can build a theoretical foundation for gender and diversity studies, in an attempt to include the examination of power relations and to come up with explanations for experiences of difference and diversity on these grounds (see the contribution by Jungwirth as well as the contributions by Vader and by Showunmi in this volume).

3   Gender and Diversity Studies as a Profession

The question of the extent to which gender and diversity studies operate as a profession is linked to the establishment of a field of research and teaching or of a discipline. This issue is raised by gender studies which already has undergone a process of establishment in academia to a certain level. The ATGENDER network, which was founded by three key players in gender studies in Europe, WISE, AOIFE and ATHENA in 2009, currently counts 51 members of gender studies institutes and centers located at universities all over European member states.[2] Diversity studies has not been established in the same manner but has of-

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2   https://atgender.eu/about/background/, retrieved February 28, 2019. It has to be mentioned that only a certain number of gender study institutes and gender study programmes are organized in this network. This number can be estimated to be much higher, if we take only

ten emerged within the context of gender studies as gender and diversity studies. More than gender studies, diversity studies has been linked to an orientation of application by some (Krell et al. 2006:14), particularly if one takes into account issues of diversity management, which have been developed in the context of organization studies and business administration (e.g. Loden and Rosener 1991; Cox and Blake 1991; Kirton and Greene 2010). In education sciences, in addition to approaches of diversity and inclusion (e.g. Terzi 2005; Gonzalez-Mena and Bhavnagri 2000; Prengel 2010), diversity trainings have evolved (Adams and Bell 2016; Czollek, Perko and Weinbach 2012; see also Weinbach's as well as Schwärzer-Dutta's contributions in this volume). Consequently, on the grounds of new legal requirements in EU member states, on the one hand, and emerging concepts for organization analysis, trainings and other instruments to enable participation of diverse members of an organization, on the other, have led to developments towards a research and teaching field of gender and diversity studies as a profession.

With the focus on gender studies, an encompassing comparative study was done to analyze the institutionalization of womens's studies in Europe in nine countries, as well as on the careers of women's and gender studies graduates' (Griffin 2005; 2010). Griffin points out two characteristics of the professionalization of gender studies (2010:247), firstly, gender studies contents have been spread within academia since contents of gender studies have been included in study programmes in social sciences and the humanities and secondly, pedagogical innovations, such as participatory teaching, which is related to women's studies by Griffin, are meanwhile taken up in other disciplines to a certain extent (ibid.). Moreover, a widespread infrastructure of institutes, publication opportunities and the establishment of professional associations, are seen to be indicators for professionalization (ibid.).

According to this European study in nine countries the fields of work in which the graduates of gender studies are employed are research and education, equal opportunity offices in public services, civil society organizations, "journalism and information" and the social and health sector (Silius 2005: 118). The findings revealed the employment of women's studies graduates in jobs as women's officer or equality officer, work in rape crisis centers, working with women refugees as well as for women's helplines (Griffin 2010:247). Research and education is aspired by a high share of the graduates (ibid.:119). This finding is confirmed by a study on the work situation of graduates of gender studies at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, based on a complete survey

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the number of the previously active ATHENA network into account which comprised more than 100 institutional members (ibid.). The diminishing of the number of independent gender studies institutes and centers can also be the result of a successful institutionalization in the form of a study programme integrated in an institution.

of the graduates. According to this survey, one third of the graduates are work-
ing in the field of research (Kriszio 2012:32). The study analyzed media and
culture and the private sector to be the other two fields, in addition to research.
Silius found that, depending on the level of institutionalization of equal oppor-
tunity measures in the different countries, the number of jobs in a "strictly de-
fined" equal opportunities sector was comparatively low (2005:122). The en-
compassing European study showed that employment opportunities, for gen-
der study graduates were comparable or better than those for other social sci-
ence and humanities graduates (Griffin 2010:246). This finding was confirmed
in the research on the gender studies graduates from Humboldt-Universität zu
Berlin, according to which two thirds were employed, self-employed or did an
internship (Kriszio 2012:18), while others continued with further study pro-
grammes (15%) or did their PhD (22%) or fulfilled caring duties (5%). When
the survey was carried through 6.8% of the graduates were unemployed (ibid.).

To sum up, the establishment of binding guidelines for EU member states
to establish effective anti-discrimination and equal opportunities laws and poli-
cies determine new requirements. Gender and diversity studies can form the
foundation for training of these newly required professionals. This includes cer-
tain competencies, which have been named by women's and gender studies'
graduates in the European study (Silius 2005:127), such as critical thinking, an-
alytical abilities and innovative working methods, specific gender expertise and
analytical tools to work with "diversity, power and differences" (ibid.). The
graduates also referred to "practical tools concerning the work place and work
place culture" including "working in solidarity with other women" (ibid.).
Moreover, gender studies endowed the graduates with a higher self-confidence
(ibid.). These skills can certainly be acquired in other study progammes, too.
But the specific issues, theories and methods of gender and diversity studies
can be regarded as a foundation on which competencies in dealing with an in-
creasing complex social world and world of labor can be developed.

4   EU Policies: between economization, demography and equal opportunities

Equal opportunities policies of the European Union have contributed to the im-
plementation of specific national laws in the member states with an aim of de-
termining more concretely the legal conditions for the realization of equal op-
portunities (see the contribution by Liebscher in this volume). At the same
time, this approach towards equal opportunities is closely linked to the Europe-
an Union's aim of strengthening the economy of EU member states through
trade and, amongst other, the opportunity of free movement for EU-citizens.

The increase in the number of women in the workforce, as well as minority group members, is seen to be one prerequisite to this end. Moreover, demographic change poses a sufficiently present and threatening development for many EU member states such that women's and minority group members' access to the labor force is at stake. As a consequence, equal opportunity and human rights endeavors in the European Union go together – or rather *only* go together, as some authors have pointed out – with economic reasoning (see the contribution by Streckeisen and the contribution by Ahrens and van der Vleuten in this volume).

For example, findings of the encompassing Europe wide research on gender equality policies, QUING, reveals that policies that are based on a solely economic argumentation do not only limit but may even deteriorate gender equality policies (Verloo 2010). If equal opportunity policies related to gender are framed only as an issue of women's participation in the labour market or with regard to labour power shortage and economic disadvantages that follow, dominant norms and ideals of gender and gender relations are not challenged (Verloo 2010:54ff.). These policies do not sufficiently question a stereotypical division of paid and unpaid work between men and women (or genders) and gender based power relations. On the contrary, in certain states of the EU, gender policies were linked to political agendas, promoting nationalistic politics by connecting gender equality policies to demographic change and family related policies (ibid.:62ff.).

The orientation of EU policies towards market requirements is challenged in a more general sense, for example by Streeck (2015). He argues that, within the context of global developments through which the nation state and capitalist economies are linked differently, the EU – specifically the European Monetary Union (EMU) – works towards strengthening the market orientation of nation states. While the (former) type of the 'debt state' is seen to be based on conflicting interests between the constituency (*Staatsvolk*) and the creditors of a national economy (*Marktvolk*), in the emerging 'consolidation state' (ibid.:11), the conviction is that the commercial debts have priority over other debts of the nation state and the welfare state towards their citizens. Streeck is describing a worldwide development in wealthy capitalist economies and nation states. In the European Union, he argues, the EMU is most influential in shaping this "political-economic regime" of the "consolidation state" (ibid.:16). This finally leads to "a far-reaching rationalization, or 'economization', of politics and society" in Europe (ibid.:20).

These tendencies of economization of politics and society as well as the described co-optation of gender related equal opportunity policies through nationalist political agendas in the context of the European Union stand in contrast to the ideals and values that are often related to Europe. Ideals of the

human rights and equal opportunities policies as well as democracy are, consequently, not the only discourse of Europe. Instead, the two-sidedness of the discourse of Europe is pointed out by several authors. For example, Griffin and Braidotti (2002) refer to Europe's history of colonialism and fascism. Similarly, women and migrants are, according to Griffin and Braidotti (2002: 10), "an antidote to the notion of democracy".

Against this background, what can be 'European perspectives' of gender and diversity studies? Griffin and Braidotti emphatically argue that, in the wake of Europeanization in the sense of post-nationalism (ibid.:12), gender studies can work as a model for the process of 'dis-identification' from dominant and essentialist forms of identification with the nation and a step towards a more process-related as well as in-between conception of identification that would be necessary. Moreover, 'European perspectives' refer to geographical locatedness, taking into account a dynamic conception of Europe (Griffin and Braidotti 2002:9), characterized by 'shifting boundaries', including and excluding geopolitical spaces and peoples at its borders. Different from other continents, Europe is characterized by diversity with regard to the spoken languages and cultures (ibid.:10). Similarly, Bauman points out an open and dynamic character of 'Europe' (Bauman 2004:129). A combination of values of rationality, justice and democracy, can be seen to be 'European', Bauman insists.

Taking critical perspectives on values such as rationality into account, rationality would include reflexivity of its geographical and historical location, while claiming universalism and incorporating all humans in these values (ibid.:125). Consequently, justifying actions "in the court of reason" (ibid.: 126) as well as "criticism and disaffection" (ibid.) are put forward as important in this regard. Justice and the continuous endeavor towards a just society refers to guarding a "common good" instead of "egoistic self-promotion" (ibid.:127), being the foundation for solidarity and society (ibid.). Democracy should enable political participation of different groups. At the same time, the contribution of citizens is a necessary requirement which can be ensured through granting citizens individual liberty and responsibility (ibid.:129). Based on these values, Bauman argues that it would be the "function" of European institutions to work against the undermining of the political power of nation states through economic actors: "arresting the capital assets that have escaped from the cages of the nation state inside the continental stockade and keep it there" (ibid.:136).

Finally, we focus on the link between anti-discrimination, equal opportunities policies and the institutions of the European Union which have furthered and supported these policies. At the same time, we investigate the consequences of these policies. This requires self-reflexivity with regard to the limits and boundaries that are drawn through these policies as well as to the consequences of politics that are not necessarily intended, emerging when several actors are

interacting on an increasingly global scale. In this context, gender and diversity studies can provide theoretical and methodological approaches for a critical investigation of the production of knowledge and its conditions.

5   The Contributions

The book examines the development of gender and diversity studies in the fields of equal opportunities and human rights (1), practices, concepts and methods of gender and diversity studies (2) and changing social inequalities: work and organizations (3). In the first section *Equal Opportunities and Human Rights* are examined from different disciplinary and geographical perspectives. Petra Ahrens and Anna van der Vleuten introduce in their chapter, *EU Gender Equality Policies in Times of Crisis: Different Instruments, Different Actors, Different Outcomes,* EU policies promoting gender equality giving an overview of the development of these programs. They argue that a multi-level setup in EU gender equality policies including supra-national and intergovernmental actors as well as civil society organizations and experts have furthered gender equality in a considerable manner. Nonetheless, more recent developments have replaced 'hard law' by 'soft' new public management measures and moreover restricting the access of actors to policy making in this regard. This is a consequence of the weakening of EU gender policy programmes since 2006, on the one hand, and changes in responsibilities for gender equality policy within EU institutions, on the other. Ahrens and van der Vleuten argue that, under the conditions of the financial crisis, the influence of new member states in the European Union since 2004 and conservative populist parties, the "variety of tools" of EU gender equality policy have come under pressure and claim a "revised feminist utopia" of a "more gender equal European society" (p. 54).

The following chapters discuss legal regulations and policies referring to antidiscrimination and equal opportunities in different European states enabling cross-national European perspectives. Two examples of legal regulations referring to antidiscrimination and equal opportunities, in Germany and in Great Britain, are presented and discussed. They are transnational to the extent that antidiscrimination and equal opportunities policies have led to the establishment of, not only norms and laws in this regard, but also ideals which hold true for these societies. Doris Liebscher introduces in her article, *Opening Doors: how the German Act on Equal Treatment advaces racial equality,* the German *Allgemeines Gleichbehandlungsgesetz* (AGG, General Act on Equal Treatment) which was passed in 2006. The law was implemented after an extensive public debate during which the planned law was criticized by "the business community" as well as the "mainstream legal field" (p. 52). Meanwhile

research has been carried through on the AGG, jurisprudence according to the AGG and institutionalization exists. Liebscher argues that the opportunity for legal claims established by this law specifically in cases of discrimination, goes beyond the German Basic Law that includes the prohibition of discrimination in "the traditional understanding" as "not directly applicable to the horizontal relationship between individuals" but rather to a "vertical" relationship between the state and the individual (p. 56). Consequently, the private sector including companies as employers, for example, is now covered which was not the case previous to the establishment of the AGG. Deficits in the law are related to the different responsibilities at the national level and the level of the federal states. Nonetheless, Liebscher points out the empowering effects of the law (p. 69) for persons with experiences of discrimination.

A different case of equal opportunities legislation in the UK is presented by Hazel Conley in the chapter, *Gender Equality in the UK Public Sector: is reflexive legislation the way forward?* Here, equality law is "underpinned" by European directives without being "prompted" by these (p. 71). For example, gender mainstreaming principles as part of the Equality Act (2010) included additionally age, sexual orientation, gender reassignment, religious belief as well as pregnancy and maternity. Critique against existing regulations was that equality law was "fragmented" in several regulations and was, moreover, not working well by the end of the 1990s (ibid.). Conley argues that, in order to overcome limitations of "traditional anti-discrimination legislative approaches", the involvement of "women's and other civil society groups seeking equality" is required (ibid.). With reference to concepts of 'responsive and reflexive legislation' by Nonet and Selznik (1978/2001) as well as 'reflexive legislation' by Teubner (1983), she examines the implementation of the equality law in the UK regarding gender equality in the public services in form of the 'gender equality duty'. This approach towards equal opportunities legislation is specifically interesting, since it can be regarded as a response to the critique of the European Union's policy to be too bureaucratic or not considering sufficiently its constituency in the member states, and has opened up the perspective for the involvement of civil society organizations, such as women's lobby or feminist organizations, in the legislative process and the impact they can exert.

Hülya Şimga and Zeynep Oya Usal, in their contribution, *A Case of Collateral Damage: widows of religious weddings in Turkey*, focus on a further European institution, the European Convention on Human Rights, and the question to which extent it can be, in connection with the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), a foundation for the protection of women against discrimination. They examine this question by referring to the specific case of women in Turkey being married solely on the basis of religious marriage. They argue that these women can suffer indi-

rect discrimination by taking up the case of Şerife Ygit, a widow who was declined retirement benefits because of a solely religious marriage. Şimga and Usal show how the ambiguous position of the Turkish authorities towards religious marriage and secular laws led to indirect discrimination for these women. While secular law is in place in Turkey, and as a corollary religious marriage alone not legally binding, it is not enforced sufficiently, to the detriment of women who are denied social benefits such as the pension.

They base their argumentation on the concept of 'hermeneutical injustice' by Miranda Fricker (2007), arguing that specifically women lacking resources like education can become objects of discrimination because they cannot "make sense of their experience" (p. 89) and are unable to claim certain rights and justice. At the same time, their social reality of *de facto* partnerships is disregarded by Turkish courts and the European Court of Human Rights, ECHR, where the case was decided in favour of the Turkish state and against Şerife Yigit. Şimga and Usal argue that the justification of the ECHR as well as the Turkish courts based solely on formal argumentation is neglecting the social reality of Turkish women who live in families based on religious marriages. The case exemplifies contradictions which may be connected to Human Rights, if factual realities are disregarded, as in the case of women in religious marriages in Turkey discussed in this article. The European Convention on Human Rights is, moreover, an example for the institutionalization of such general rights as the human rights, which are binding to the member states of the Council of Europe, Turkey being one of them.

Amel Grami's chapter, *The Parity Law: Tunisian women's next battle*, adds a case study of equal opportunities law and its impacts on women's political participation in Tunisia at the border of Europe, in Tunisia. Referring to the 'Revolution of 14 January 2011', which was the start for a number of social and political upheavals of the so called 'Arab Spring', the article gives insight into a highly topical instance of political change of our time. While focusing on the political participation of women, she examines related ambiguous developments in Tunisia. Moreover, the chapter provides an overview of the considerable engagement of feminist activists at different levels.

Tunisia being a precursor for women's rights in the Middle East and North Africa since the 1950s, the ideal of gender equality was linked to the state's policies. At the same time, the 'woman question' was instrumentalized by authoritarian regimes and dictatorships such as Ben Ali's in Tunisia (p. 113). After the revolution of 2011, a new law was introduced with the intention to improve women's access to active political participation in the parliament. The ideal of women's equal political participation as a motor for gender equality was pursued by feminist activists, following "the success story of Nordic gender equality" (p. 115). Grami describes the political processes under which the new 'Parity

Law' was implemented and the political discourses accompanying the elections of 2011. According to this law, every other name on an electoral list should be a woman's. The elections to the NCA (National Constituent Assembly) had a result of a women's share of 24%, falling below expectations. According to Grami, this is a consequence of "the divide between laws and cultures at all levels of practice, social structures or even institutions" (p. 126). While some women were encouraged to run for elections, they were not given favourable positions at the top of electoral lists. In connection to "religious norms and patriarchal ways of interpreting religious texts" (ibid.), Grami argues that women's participation was restricted by the political parties. As a consequence, by far most of the elected women were from the relatively popular Islamist party *Ennahda* that gained many votes. She concludes with the claim for continuous political engagement of women activists and members of civil society.

The following section, *Gender and Diversity Studies: practices, concepts and methods*, gathers articles on gender and diversity studies, its implementation as well as specific concepts and methods. The chapter, *Adventures of Gender Studies in the Russian Political Context – From Discovery to Politicization: the trajectory of Russian gender studies*, by Anna Temkina and Elena Zdravomyslova gives insight into the development of gender studies in Russia, its interrelatedness to political conditions, such as the *perestroika* at the beginning of the 1990s. The establishment of gender studies in Russia was informed by the interrelations to gender studies on an international scale, on the one hand, and civil society engagement as well as feminist activism in Russia, on the other hand. Moreover, the authors describe how the institutionalization of gender studies was connected to both, sociology and its theories and empirical methods, and international financial support.

The political and social changes at the beginning of the 1990s created opportunities for new scientific and institutional developments on the grounds of which a critical reflection of gender relations in the Soviet era as well as the post-Soviet era was enabled. More recently, gender studies have been again challenged to come up with the analysis of "new cultural conservatism" and "gender ideology" connected to that (p. 132). Interestingly, the concept of gender was also used by anti-feminist standpoints in the 1990s. Gender had developed into an "umbrella category" containing "both critical and opportunist positions" (p. 139). Gender expertise was now demanded also by a coalition of conservative actors in politics and religion, such as the Russian Orthodox Church, promoting a "conservative turn" in Russia (p. 142). This inversion of the concept of gender links to the findings of the European wide research on gender equality policies QUING, cited above, which also came up with the result that the concept of gender was used by nationalistic political agendas as well (Verloo 2010).

In Russia, since the years of 2000s international institutions, which had formerly supported gender studies, increasingly withdrew funding leading to several centers of women's studies shutting down. As a consequence, gender studies in Russia had a smaller financial basis. At the same time, as Temkina and Zdravomyslova argue, they became "more critical" and enjoy increasing support in civil society (p. 146). The case of gender studies in Russia shows, just as the other case studies presented in this book, to which extent social and political debates and changes are relevant and taken up in gender and diversity studies and how in turn they can have an impact on society.

The following chapters deal with concepts and methods that have been developed in the context of gender and diversity studies. Martina Tißberger addresses in her text, *At the Intersection of Gender and Racism: critical whiteness as a method of hegemonial self-reflection,* the interrelations between racism and sexism, and by this complying with the claims of feminists and gender studies scholars for intersectionality, instead of making one form of discrimination, for example based on gender, to the one that counts more. Focusing on the subject's experiences of sexism and racism, Tißberger draws on critical whiteness studies and their endeavor to put "the signifying rather than the signified of race" at the center of interest (p. 149). In this context, "whiteness as a method and didactics of self-reflection" is sketched (p. 150.). Referring to psychoanalytic theory, the text points out how processes of becoming a subject are not only based on gendered differences and their "inscription [...] into the 'nature' of individual psyche", as analyzed by Judith Butler and Gayle Rubin, for example, but "how psychoanalysis is an example for the inscription of racism, evolutionism and the normativity of whiteness into the theories of the social sciences" (p. 157). In this process Tißberger analyses "ontologization" as an essential mechanism that makes the social construction of differences of gender and racism invisible (p. 158). The objective of gender and diversity studies as "critical scholarship" is (p. 159), consequently, to uncover these mechanisms.

Additionally to an overview on critical whiteness studies in the Anglo-American context, the contributions to critical whiteness studies in the German speaking discourse are outlined. Critical whiteness studies may inform self-reflexivity with regard to constructions of race, for example in professional environments, such as counseling, and in our everyday life, the author concludes.

In the chapter, *Social Justice Trainings: a dialogic approach to diversity education*, Heike Weinbach describes characteristics of the training. Diversity trainings – as a general term for trainings concerned with education on anti-discrimination issues and attitudes – have been one outcome of the establishment of gender and diversity approaches also outside academia. Often developed in certain professional contexts, such as educational institutions and development policy, in connection to activism, diversity trainings make up a

field that is directly connected to putting into practice insights of gender and diversity studies. Approaches such as the social justice and diversity training and the anti-bias training, which are covered in this volume, refer to ethical and political questions. They relate to human rights and have the objective to overcome discrimination in educational organizations, work organizations, political and civil rights organizations, profit and non-profit organizations, by coming up with educational means to address individuals.

The social justice and diversity training which was taken up by Czollek, Perko and Weinbach, has been transformed by the inclusion of a different method, compared to the foundations created by Adams, Bell and Griffin (2007) at the University of Massachusetts, the "dialogic concept of *Mahloquet*" (p. 176). Dialogic exchange is emphasized in this approach which is described in detail in the article. The specificity of this approach is the emphasis put on the development of empathy as well as understanding which includes a "metacognitive reflection" (p. 183).

In gender and diversity studies, which is not confined to the limits of one discipline, the question of methods is crucial. Dagmar Vinz discusses in her contribution, *Transdisciplinarity with 'Science & Fiction'*, the concept of transdisciplinarity as an approach that spans not only different disciplines but also academia and the social world. The concept of transdisciplinarity presented in the chapter has been developed in environment studies as well as in gender studies and gender and diversity studies in the German-speaking context. Drawing on her experiences of teaching in Gender and Diversity studies, Vinz presents an approach of 'science & fiction' with the intention to bridge "the gap between academic feminism and popular culture" (p. 187). She addresses change agents in organizations by linking theoretical contents with fiction, in order "to engender transformations in organizations" (ibid.). She states that by use of this approach, the participation of a broader public in the political as well as scientific debates in the context of gender and diversity studies should be promoted.

After sketching in a first part concepts and models of transdisciplinarity (TR), she distinguishes between a first approach of "TR as Super-Interdisciplinarity" as it is being discussed, for example, in gender studies, a second approach of "TR as Participation", going back to ideas of empowerment and action research. The third approach is Vinz' approach of 'Science & Fiction' (p. 195). Vinz links this to ideas that have been developed earlier by Donna Harraway (1991). The second part of the chapter is dedicated to the discussion of several novels and how they can be included in the work with students on equal opportunities and change in organizations. The novels have been published in German, some of them have been translated into English, and the author gives suggestions on how to apply them in teaching gender and diversity studies.

Another type of diversity training is presented by Constanze Schwärzer-Dutta in her article *Unlearning Discrimination: experiences with the anti-bias approach in adult-education in Germany*. She describes the development of the approach in early childhood education in the United States and how it has been adapted for adult-education in South-Africa in the post-Apartheid era. The concept has been transferred to the German context in the 1990s, when the divide between East and West Germany was becoming a widely recognized issue, shortly after the fall of the wall in 1989. Apart from that, violent racist attacks in this period made apparent that dealing with racism on an individual level is a requirement, which was launched together with policy programmes at that time. The specificity of the anti-bias approach is, according to Schwärzer-Dutta, to start with the participants' individual experiences of holding biases and to make them aware of how they can be suffering discrimination and exerting discrimination in certain situations. Power relations and the link between individual experiences and structural conditions are emphasized with this approach, similar to the social justice and diversity training. In fact, this distinguishes these types of trainings from many other diversity trainings in which power relations may be left out with more short-term and superficial aims for trainings. An additional distinguishing factor is the inclusion of exercises in which future action is planned, making changes of existing structures and discriminating attitudes concrete and palpable.

The text gives an overview on the political discourse on racism in Germany and describes the specificities of the history of racism. In addition to the Nazi-regime, Germany has a history of colonialism, the genocide of Herero and Nama of this time contributes to this history, as well as the holocaust of Jews and Roma and Sinti (p. 218). After sketching key concepts and procedures in anti-bias trainings, Schwärzer-Dutta presents a revised model on the connection between power structures and attitudes and behaviour on the individual level (p. 226). The chapter reveals ongoing conceptual developments and open questions, such as the assumption that individuals have one or more identities at their disposal in the sense of set entities that have to be taken into account and made compatible. This line of thought has been challenged by poststructuralist, queer, feminist, postcolonial and social theories, while it remains a challenge to transfer this into practice.

The third section of the book presents recent research on *Labour Markets and Organizations: changing social inequalities in Europe*. Peter Streckeisen's contribution, *The Business Case for Diversity: Europe 2020, the economic approach and antidiscrimination policy*, examines the labour-market policy of the European Union which sets norms and requirements for the EU member states. He critically assesses how these policies are not only in line with social movements' claims for equal opportunities but also create "new forms of social ex-

clusion and social control" (p. 239). Streckeisen argues that "EU labour market policy embodies a rising form of power that rests on the individual responsibility of every person able to participate in the labour market" (ibid.). Equal opportunity policies, he points out, "go hand in hand with economic reasoning" (ibid.). The chapter contains a description of the Europe 2020 policy framework and an analysis of interrelations between diversity management and anti-discriminiation policy and a "new conception of full employment" (ibid.). Analyzing governance instruments, such as the Open Method of Coordination and the European Semester, Streckeisen argues that these are "quite evocative of what Foucault calls the economic tribunal" (ibid.). In this regard, the labour market integration of groups that were marginalized under the Fordist regime, such as women and members of minority groups, remain ambivalent. If the Fordist model of employment was based on the male breadwinner model, restricting the scope of action, specifically for women, the question put forth, is the extent to which the current regime aiming at full employment restricts our scope of action similarly to the model, according to which "both parents maximiz[ing] labour market participation" becomes the only rationale (p. 256). This argument follows concerns raised in feminist and critical social science literature with regard to the subordination of action to economic reasoning.

The article *Boundaries that Matter: workforce diversity in the STEM field in Germany* presents findings in research on highly qualified migrant women in the technological branch in Germany, 'STEM' standing for science, technology, engineering and mathematics. It offers an approach to diversity studies by considering multiple dimensions of social inequality, namely gender and migration in their interrelations. Moreover, Bourdieu's concept of the social field is taken up, going beyond organizational studies and taking into account the reproduction of norms and standards in a certain professional context, not only within organizations but also in interaction between actors in different organizations in the field. A relational perspective on migrant women's experiences in the world of labour is enabled by relating them to other social actors, the social groups and positions they inhabit in the social field.

In the chapter Ingrid Jungwirth gives an overview of the technical field in Germany which is less accessible for women than in several other countries, for example some new member states in the European Union. Bourdieu's concept of 'distinction' is applied in regard to the exclusionary mechanisms women may experience in the STEM field.

The empirical research, which included highly qualified migrant women in the STEM field, having immigrated from post-socialist countries, reveals normative constructions of gender that make it difficult for many migrant women to be occupied according to their qualification. Moreover, exclusionary mechanisms in interactions within the workplace and other encounters,

such as the employment agency, were experienced. Based on qualitative, in-depth interviews, several forms of direct and indirect forms of devaluation of qualifications were analyzed. In addition to gender being used as a sign of distinction, high proficiency of German language, amongst other, was used to marginalize highly qualified migrant women. To sum up, a relational perspective on experiences in the labour market and the work place, reveals how barriers in the career of highly qualified migrant women are related to advantages of the dominant group.

Another professional field is analyzed in the article *Female Physicians in the Medical Profession: a case study in a German hospital* by Sarah Vader. While women increasingly have entered the medical profession as physicians in Germany, making up a majority in younger age groups (under the age of 35 years), a discourse on the 'feminization of medicine' has evolved within the profession's publications at the same time. On the basis of gender theories, Vader analyzes how, in fact, gender differences are being reproduced in the work sphere in the hospital. This approach is used against the idea of women being "essentially different from men" and will change medicine (p. 283), when they enter the medical profession. The article presents findings from qualitative research on how these changes in numbers and the discourse on 'feminization of medicine' have impacted the work place in the hospital as an organization.

With her chapter, *Leadership and Cultural Identity*, Victoria Showunmi focuses on Black Minority Ethnic (BME) women leaders in the UK, filling a gap in existing research on gender and leadership in organizations. Women leaders belonging to a an ethnic minority have so far not been taken into account sufficiently. She presents insights from an ongoing study about "leadership and constructions of identity" (p. 301). The question of the extent to which constructions of race and constructions of whiteness determine the concept of leadership still needs further exploration. Based on a large number of interviews, important themes in the interviews are sketched in the article. For example, BME women leaders experience ambivalence in considering themselves in the position of a team leader and, similarly, the necessity to "affirm to everybody why they have the right to be in the leadership position and the right to be considered an expert in the field" (p. 308). Other issues are issues of stereotyping; BME women leaders being confronted with difficulties within teams, who perceived them as not being competent (p. 306). All in all, further research is needed on BME women leaders and the question of the extent to which leadership is based not only on constructions of gender but also on constructions of race and ethnicity.

In conclusion, several fields of research and teaching in gender and diversity studies are presented in the chapters. They show the success of institutionalization of equal opportunity policies as well as draw backs in this re-

gard. The influence of political actors in different geographical regions and civil society engagement become visible and to which extent social movements' claims have been co-opted during the process of institutionalization. Continous engagement remains a political demand of equal opportunity policies. The analysis of knowledge production, and self-reflexivity connected with this, and as well as methods of equal opportunities have been identified as important fields of gender and diversity studies. Critical issues of gender and diversity studies are the further development of concepts and theories for the analysis of diversity. In this chapter it has been argued that diversity studies can draw on the sociology of social inequality in connection with the process related approaches in gender studies, queer studies, migration studies, racism studies and disability studies. The focus on the multidimensionality of social inequalities and their interrelations as well as a relational perspective is a common claim of gender and diversity studies. How these diversities are reproduced in the context of an increasing differentiation, is a central concern for an emerging field of gender and diversity studies.

Discussion Questions

1. How are the law and legal regulations in the nation states, on the one hand, and directives and other measures on the EU level, on the other, influential for the development of gender and diversity studies? Give some examples from different countries.
2. Which levels of analysis have been identified for diversity studies?
3. To which extent is self-reflexivity a characteristic of gender and diversity studies? Give some examples.

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