'No reporting about us, without us': Exploring the Impacts of UK Surveillance Practices on Gender Inequality in London's Financial Services Sector.

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I, Rachel Wibberley

Hereby declare (a) that this dissertation is my own original work and that all source material used is acknowledged therein; (b) that it has been specially prepared for a degree of King's College London; and (c) that it does not contain any material that has been or will be submitted to the Examiners of this or any other university, or any material that has been or will be submitted for any other examination.

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ABSTRACT

Stagnant gender pay gap progress suggests that monitoring practices have not gone far enough in generating substantive progress towards gender equality – a fundamental human right. This study draws upon qualitative evidence from female employees in London's financial services sector, alongside corporate narratives to explore the impacts of surveillance on everyday attitudes and behaviours. Through the construction of a feminist consciousness, the study reveals that the narrow, numerical parameters of traditional monitoring theory and practice are limiting the progression of gender equality. This supports recommendations towards additional qualitative benchmarking criteria to both measure and drive cultural change against current patriarchal norms.

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"Representation of the world, like the world itself, is the work of men; they describe it from their point of view, which they confuse with the absolute truth."

- De Beauvoir (1949)
(Cited in Khan, 1997, p.27).

An interest in the everyday experiences of women's lives is crucial to the reconstitution of knowledge within feminist geography (Dyck, 2005). Current UK surveillance practices – defined as the monitoring and measurement of data in order to influence those whose data have been amassed (Lyon, 2001, p.2) – fail to represent the social embodiments of women's lives due to their insufficient qualitative insight. This results in a masculinisation of space (Monahan, 2018) and a reinforcement of gendered regulatory fictions in which women are deemed inferior within the capitalist realm (McDowell, 2001).

Women continue to experience everyday instances of gender discrimination due to structural, occupational and cultural barriers (Padavic *et al*, 2019). This leads to a lack of female representation in key decision-making positions, a continuation of the reproductive tax and poorer economic performance (Ziman, 2013). The 2010 Equality Act established a transparency within gender policy which had previously been hampered by a fear of persecution (Milner, 2019). Moreover, it prompted the principle of legal gender pay gap reporting in 2017, as a mode of surveilling gender inequality (Perraudin, 2019). Women in the UK continue to earn an average of 17.3% less than their male counterparts for the same work (ONS, 2019a). Though the introduction of gender pay gap reporting has illuminated economic inequality, its quantitative measurement approach offers little visibility into the complexities of gender subordination (Fuentes and Cookson, 2019). Grosser and Moon (2008) argue that genuine gender progress relies upon closing the gender data gap and changing cultural assumptions through the increased monitoring and understanding of women's lives.

Previous research on gender and monitoring has assumed a Foucauldian genealogy of surveillance as a panoptic 'all seeing' mechanism of control (Lyon, 2003). Bentham's (1995) panoptic *dispositif* maintains that the prospect of punishment under the eye of surveillance

prevents undesirable behaviours and causes individuals to exercise power over themselves, referred to as 'technologies of the self'. These traditional theorisations of surveillance have informed institutional principles of discipline and control. By this same logic, they have legitimised the surveillance of gender pay gap data as an effective means of changing behaviours to achieve gender parity (Healy and Ahamed, 2019). However, Bauman and Lyon (2013) posit that contemporary surveillance societies are 'post-panoptic', characterised by the measurement of data from previously unreachable realms (Haggerty and Ericson, 2006). These changes in the sociologies of surveillance are currently understudied, and their impacts on human behaviour remain relatively unknown (Chenney-Lippold, 2017).

Traditional surveillance cultures can be credited with reproducing patriarchal structures by promoting a masculinist logic of classification and control in which feminist social contexts are excluded (Woodward, 2003). The limits of this narrow, quantitative dataset in relation to gender inequality have been expounded by feminist geographers (Bradshaw *et al*, 2019; Gideon, 2019; McDowell, 2001). Butler (2005) for example, argues that by taxonomizing the myriad performances of gender via a single trope, gender pay gap monitoring ostensibly obscures the realities of female experiences (King, 1994).

1.1 Research Aims

This research seeks to analyse the connections between unmonitored gendered experiences and the monitored actions of organisations under the scrutiny of public surveillance. Unlike the current literature, which examines surveillance as a form of 'masculine control' (Koskela, 2002; Haraway, 1998; Graham and Marvin, 2001), this feminist critique seeks to establish conditions that could support power equalization along gendered lines (Monahan, 2018). This alternative epistemological approach will draw upon Haraway's (1998) concept of 'situated knowledges' by positioning current knowledge on gender data within its social, political and economic contexts. From here, the research hopes to challenge the nature and construction of knowledge on gender inequality and provide clarity on the gendered impacts of surveillance (McDowell, 1993). This has led to the construction of the following research aim:

'Exploring the Impacts of UK Surveillance Practices on Gender Inequality in London's Financial Services Sector.'

It is unclear whether gender pay gap reporting has mobilised substantial positive impacts on gender inequality or has simply projected societally approved views within surveilled settings, ergo masking continuing forms of discrimination (Haraway, 2006). To address this knowledge gap, the following secondary aims have been adopted:

1. Examining the impacts of gender pay gap reporting – the primary form of gendered surveillance in the UK.
2. Exploring the differences between monitored and unmonitored gendered interactions to provide an indication of how surveillance influences behavioural change
3. Investigating how surveillance could be optimised to better support gender equality.

London's financial services sector was selected as the focus of this research due to its ranking as the UK's most economically unequal region and sector in terms of gender (Francis-Devine and Pyper, 2020). The first aim draws upon a critical discourse analysis of corporate gender reports to examine the surveilled response to gender pay gap reporting. Through semi-structured interviews with female employees within the financial services sector, the second aim hopes to elucidate the unmonitored impacts of surveillance. When combined, these aims endeavour to demonstrate the extent to which surveillance cultures have established internalised behavioural controls (Payne, 2018), or simply encouraged behavioural compliance in the eyes of the surveillant gaze.

This research will provide significant contributions to the debates of surveillance and gender, addressing the limitations of traditional theory within current contexts. Gates (2013) asserts that surveillance efforts tend to fail because they don't focus on the appropriate measures, nor do they invest in accurate data collection. Regardless of location, occupation or social status, gender equality is a fundamental human right (UN, 2020). Addressing the implicit associations that can form invisible barriers towards equal opportunity is crucial to the health, education and well-being of women and men (Sen, 2001). Ultimately, this research seeks to broaden conceptualisations of surveillance to acknowledge its gendered social controls, and to understand precisely how these controls work to sustain or deconstruct patriarchal hegemony (Ritter, 2009). This will provide a critical insight into how gender data could be garnered to ensure more effective gender outcomes.

CHAPTER 2 – SURVEILLANCE AND THE GENDER PAY GAP: EXPLORING THE LITERATURE

Arguably, progress on gender equality hinges on the ability to eliminate the gender data gap – which demonstrates how monitoring practices privilege statistical information about men's lives (Fuentes and Cookson, 2019). Internationally, this lack of sex-disaggregated data reinforces the invisibility of female needs and leads to a misallocation of resources (Dincu and Malambo, 2019). Bradshaw *et al,* (2019) fear that calls for a 'gender data revolution' risk simplifying gender inequality through narrow numerical monitoring practices, thus limiting understandings of the nuanced realities of women's lives. This chapter provides a conceptual foundation for this project in relation to existing debates on gender discrimination and surveillance in the UK and will adopt a feminist geographical approach to bring the limits of monitoring mandates into sharp focus. This combination of research hopes to evidence the contested nature of the monitoring regimes that seek to govern us (Rose, 1999) and aims to demonstrate the need to question gender data in the name of greater vigilance of marginalised voices.

2.1 TRADITIONAL THEORIES OF SURVEILLANCE

Through the collection, processing and classification of data, surveillance aims to make intelligible the uncertain attributes of our times (Lyon, 2001). Surveillance draws connections between space, knowledge and machineries of power, to target the mind through internalised social controls (Manokha, 2018). Foucault (1988) assumes that intrusive surveillance systems facilitate regulation at a distance, their ubiquity causing individuals to exercise social discipline over themselves, without duress. McCahill (2007) adds that these attempts to filter out undesirable behaviours may reinforce existing social divisions along gendered, ethnic and class lines through institutionally codified biases. Antithetically, Mason *et al,* (2002) draw upon behavioural transformations to suggest that micro techniques of discipline and monitoring can also be utilised as a force for good. Rofeldt *et al,* (1998) posit that in societies seeking equality, monitoring practices can provide an effective instrument to dismantle divisions and mobilise marginalised groups.

Foucault's (1979) trope of the 'panopticon' – an all-seeing structure of control – underpins traditional surveillance studies. Bentham (1791/1995) states that successful control within the

panopticon is based on the assumptions of an omnipresent inspector, universal visibility of the objects of surveillance and constant observation by the watched. However, the extent to which these 18th century theories of surveillance and control can be accurately applied to contemporary social issues is a topic which is neglected in current academic literature.

2.2 Post-panoptic Surveillance

Advancement in technology has marked a situated development of monitoring practices (Manokha, 2018) whereby ceaseless data collection – dataveillance – is described as the new omnipresent inspector (Johnson, 2010). Pasquale (2015) states that 'post-panoptic' surveillance has created a 'black box society' in which encoded computer algorithms determine the contours, values and prerogatives of everyday life. Feminist scholars argue this dataveillance continually fails to account for the non-representational attributes of our being (Haraway, 2006; Dubrovsky and Magnet, 2015; Brathwaite, 2016). In this respect, the 'undesirable behaviours' which surveillance seeks to eliminate can be misrepresented or even ignored by binary data forms capturing a taxonomized extract of reality (King, 1994).This further supports the need to hold gender pay gap monitoring to account as an effective means of social control.

Discrimination by abstraction is a key concern of post-panoptic surveillance (Monahan, 2009). Both who we are in the face of algorithmic surveillance and how this data is used to govern is beyond human objection (Lever and Poama, 2018). Galloway (2006) asserts that what is surveilled and not surveilled also reinforces structures of domination and oppression through the determination of who is empowered to look and what is deemed important enough to be made visible. As a result, binary categorisations of inclusion and exclusion have become the basis of post-panoptic surveillance systems (Chenney-Lippold, 2017). These theories are pertinent to the surveillance of gender whereby aspects of women's lives are selectively censored or sanctioned, resulting in their correspondent inclusion or exclusion in reported gender data (Rouvroy, 2013).

2.3 Behavioural Impacts of Monitoring Practices

The significance of social media and the commodification of body data has blurred the boundaries between the watchers and the watched (Bauman and Lyon, 2013), leading to more cautious behaviours both online and offline known as the 'chilling effect' (Roloff and

Cloven, 2013). Marder *et al* (2016) purport that in monitored spaces humans become the principle of their own subjection, self-editing their behaviours in fear of the future consequences of our everlasting online data doubles (Ellison *et al*, 2006). According to Brunon-Ernst (2015), unmonitored face-to-face interactions often deal with smaller, more homogenous groups and remain dependent upon unfiltered individual values and anticipated audience reactions.

Recent research indicates that the chilling effect of mass surveillance has established fundamental discrepancies between the individual's surveilled self and their uncensored real-world interactions, whereby continuing forms of discrimination may prevail (Manokha, 2018). In the context of this research, Haraway (2006) argues that these discrepancies lead to the streaming of false consciousness in relation to society's most prevalent issues, thus masking unmonitored forms of gendered oppression on an institutional scale. Scholars have failed to examine the impacts of excessive monitoring on the effectiveness of surveillance as a biopower (Ceyhan, 2012). Bauman and Lyon (2013) allude to the declining power of contemporary surveillance; its pervasiveness resulting in the melting of social forms, a rebalancing of power and a general apathy towards the subliminal surveillance of life itself (Goold and Neyland, 2013). These hypotheses therefore lead to concerns over the validity and impact of gender monitoring measures, which forms the basis of this research.

2.4 Gendered Surveillance

Gender is embedded within intricate relations of authority and oppression associated with techniques of watching (Koskela, 2012). Norris and Armstrong (1999) believe that surveillance practices privilege the masculine gaze and reinforce gender norms through pressures of self-regulation. Koskela (2002) argues that patriarchal assumptions of female inferiority are used to justify the masculinisation of space, whereby women in both public and private spheres are more heavily scrutinised in order to 'protect them' from harassment or assault. Rather than accepting surveillance as a form of masculine control, postfeminist genealogies theorise conditions that lend themselves to power equalisation (Haraway, 1998). Fraser (2013) discusses the potential for power and wealth distribution centred upon the measuring of difference. McGrath (2004) hopes that this may lead to reconsiderations of democracy and justice along gendered lines.

Megarry (2018) suggests that monitoring has become an important means of mobilisation by reconstructing hierarchies of observation by allowing the general population to scrutinise the 'powerful' (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000). Haraway (2006) claims that women should utilise reporting platforms, such as social media, as a form of 'sousveillance'. Defined as visual monitoring from below, sousveillance has the potential to bring women's politics into public spaces (Mann and Ferenbok, 2013). For example, the #MeToo movement has recruited embodied forms of online expression to demonstrate how unmonitored discrimination can be made visible through virtual sharing (Megarry, 2018). Leopold (2019) argues that the #MeToo movement has both created opportunities for men to listen and understand gender discrimination and caused further divisions between men and women at work due to male fears of repercussion. This can further exclude women from dominant male circles, dissuade them from leadership roles and entrench gender bisections (Thomson, 2018). This research aims to add to current gendered monitoring regimes through its illustration of these qualitative forms of discrimination.

2.5 Gender Inequality in the Workplace

Connell's (2016) patriarchal dividend illustrates the socio-economic inequalities between men and women at work. Men yield higher incomes than women for the same work, have easier access to education and retain control over the means of institutional power (Paechter, 2006). Meanwhile women, despite their increasing labour force participation and education rates, continue to be socio-economically repressed by expectations around unpaid labour in the home, childcare and social exclusion (Street *et al*, 2007). Schiffel *et al* (2013) argue that women, aware of their inevitable disadvantage, become frustrated and decide to opt out of career advancement opportunities or withdraw from the workplace entirely. This loss of women damages organisations both culturally and economically (McDowell and Court, 1994). Profits of the most gender equal firms are 34% higher than companies with few women at the top (Ziman, 2013). Tuhus-Dubrow (2009) also found that women benefit organisations through their increased collaboration and risk aversion.

Despite working in the same environment, men and women have extremely different workplace encounters (McGuinness and Pyper, 2018). It has been shown that men look upwards to see male role models with whom they are confident to develop relationships (Jaffe, 2018). Grubb and Billiot (2010) describe how women who seek such sponsoring relationships with male mentors are often treated with conjecture, based on assumptions of

unfair gendered favouritism – trivialising women's professional aspirations by a chauvinistic objectification of women as merely sexual beings. Ragins (1996) asserts "mentoring relationships are the chisels that help women break through the glass ceiling" (*Cited in* Thomson, 2018, p.1). Yet, alongside a desperate lack of female role models in leadership positions, research suggests that women are increasingly excluded from potential mentorship by senior men in fear of their misjudged motives (Sealy, 2009). These fraught relationships can make it increasingly difficult for women to gain sponsorship for senior positions, thus intensifying the pre-existing gender divide (Barsh and Yee, 2012).

2.6 Gendered Paradoxes

Heilman (2001) posits that gender stereotypes are so deeply engrained that, despite active female marginalisation (Hearn, 2000), many people believe their workplaces to be egalitarian and their policies to be gender neutral. Kelan (2009) coins 'gender fatigue' in order to describe the ideological phenomenon of individuals both acknowledging the existence of gender discrimination, whilst simultaneously claiming gender neutrality within their own work environments. Van den Brink and Stobbe (2014) suggest that organisations prefer to see an egalitarian environment in which gender inequality is non-existent and therefore, they attempt to construct the problem as external to themselves. Research suggests that undeniable examples of gender discrimination, such as gender pay gap data, are often referred to as isolated incidents rather than indications of deeper social issues (Benschop *et al* 2001; Blau *et al,* 2006; Gill, 2007). Lewis (2006) argues that this is because gender blindness seems more progressive than accounting for gender inequality. To overcome this gender fatigue, Dashper (2018) dictates that a gender mainstreaming approach is required. Gender mainstreaming could readdress group disadvantages and elucidate the experiences of women, as well as men (Rees, 2002).

2.7 The Honorary Male

McDowell and Court (1994) assert that, in the upper echelons of banking and finance, macho-masculinity operates as a disciplinary production to exclude women from key positions by emphasising their bodily differences. Acker (1990) discusses how women commonly aim to become honorary men, minimising their perceived differences through the performativity of gender. According to Adkins and Lury (1999) the honorary male adopts a variant of male dress, wearing dull colours to avoid the sexualisation of clothing. She also

parodies bolshie male behaviours; lack of emotion, instinctive responses and locker room humour. Acker (1990) argues that women are compelled to act like men, minimising the associations between the female body and fragility in order to achieve success. Murphy and Graff (2006) argue that this construction of the honorary male further marginalises female identities by restricting their authentic forms of expression.

2.8 Mandatory Gender Pay Gap Reporting

The above debates conceptualise both the issues that women face and the power of surveillance to spur behavioural change towards a socially desirable outcome. These conceptualisations contribute towards understanding how UK gender pay gap monitoring has influenced gender inequality. April 2017 saw the introduction of mandatory gender pay gap reporting for all companies with 250 or more employees. HM Treasury (2018) believe that this monitoring facilitates introspection and provides external impetus for change through the chilling effect of surveillance (Wisniewska *et al*, 2019).

Chevalier (2007) believes that character traits account for 50% of the UK gender pay gap. Men are argued to be more aggressively money orientated, confident and motivated to reach positions of leadership (Heilman, 2001). Women are thought to have a greater dislike for negotiation and competition, and place career fulfilment as the most crucial determinant of occupational choice (Babcock *et al*, 2003). However, the role of organisational culture and structural barriers in the reproduction of these gendered characteristics has ostensibly been omitted from academic literature. Often, character traits are side-lined as innate desire, rather than the reproduction of a strategic performance aimed to negotiate cultures of oppression. Gregory and Milner (2009) describe how the female work-life balance, often used as a legitimisation of pay inequality, is the product of organisational practices. Gambles *et al* (2007) purport that employers tend to cater towards traditional cultural norms of women as instinctive carers and men as capitalism's ideal worker, constraining individual choice in relation to the 'work-devotion schema'. This schema is the idea that work requires steadfast focus and unwavering commitment (Blair-Loy, 2009). Williams *et al*, (2016) believe that this creates a flexibility stigma, whereby women decline flexible working accommodations in fear of social disgrace. This contributes to the mid-tier 'perma-frost' where female career progression can stagnate, contributing to the increased gender pay gap at senior levels (HM Treasury, 2018).

Weldon and Htun (2013) state that gendered monitoring practices adopt an economic rationale as part of the patriarchal bargain to increase their likelihood of acceptance within a capitalist policy environment (Annesley and Gains, 2013). As such, the dataveillance of gender inequality focusses on a narrow, quantifiable dataset. It also limits public discussion to the inequality at the top of organisations, referred to as the glass ceiling (Howlett and Cashore, 2014). Yong (2018) argues that this undermines deeper qualitative analysis of the everyday moments of distance and disdain which place a heavy social burden on women at all levels of the organisational hierarchy. Georgeac and Rattan (2019) agree that the lack of monitoring practices at the lower level overlooks the underlying reasons for gender disparities, thus hindering the fundamental realignment of gender inequality.

2.9 Corporate Gender Reporting

Following the influence of the Public Sector Equality Duty (EHRC, 2019), many international corporations committed to additional voluntary gender progress reporting. These voluntary reports commonly offer commentaries on the organisation's pay gap and provide strategies for change (Grosser and Moon, 2008). They adopt an authoritative writing style to evaluate data and certify aspects of corporate activity by making them more transparent to external stakeholders (Yeung, 2007). The chilling effect of providing stakeholders with the surveillance tools to hold organisations to account can facilitate corporate responsibility towards a more inclusive working environment (Owen, 2003). Antithetically, Adams and Harte (1999) argue that organisations may use reporting as a way of maintaining oppressive ideologies through the selective incorporation of women's exploitation. They posit that "corporate reports have the ability to both reflect and construct the realities of gender inequality" (Adams and Harte, 1999, p.1). Whilst this could indicate the power of corporate surveillance strategies to construct positive change through transparency initiatives, it may also be an inference to the opportunities for large companies to reconstruct or manipulate their own public image. This project's analysis will endeavour to add clarity to this statement.

Adams and Nicholas (2007) argue that voluntary reporting allows business to assume narrative control, neglect negative information and present socially desirable accounts to online audiences. Consequently, many aspects of gender and diversity within the workplace may be omitted (Adams and Harte, 2000). Feminist development scholarship states that

gender progress is intrinsically related to the power that governs knowledge production (Radcliffe, 2015). Accordingly, Fuentes and Cookson (2019) assert that further silencing authentic female accounts within corporate reports, reflects the wider hierarchies of geography, gender and power.

CHAPTER 3 – METHODOLOGY

The study employed a constructionist, mixed-method approach to gain a comprehensive insight into participants' experiences of gender inequality (Lowhorn, 2007). The qualitative approach comprised of semi-structured interviews, critical discourse analysis and a thematic analysis, enabling the exploration of areas and connections that had not yet been thoroughly researched (Corbin and Strauss, 2014). Using multiple points of analytic entry enabled an in-depth focus on the social constitution of texts and the patterns, contradictions and ideological positions they imbued (Gilbert *et al,* 1984). In neglecting pre-determined concepts and deriving theory from the data alone, this grounded theory approach provided a fresh perspective into emerging areas in need of further action (Khan, 2014). The final analysis of both interview data and online reports refers back to the research objectives; juxtaposing the themes of both monitored and unmonitored interactions to assess the role of surveillance in facilitating genuine, positive changes towards gender equality.

3.1 CASE STUDY SELECTION

Case selection was guided by the aim of providing a purposive sample with useful variations on the dimensions of the research. The gender pay gap in the UK remains the highest in the finance and insurance industry at 28.8% (*see Figure 3.1*). UK rankings also pinpoint London as the most unequal region in terms of gender pay gap statistics at 13.8% (ONS, 2019b). Consequently, financial services corporations in London were chosen as the case study based on their deviancy from London's mean gender pay gap figures (Gerring, 2007), and their ability to cross-reference the relationship between gender inequality and monitoring practices (Seawright and Gerring, 2008).

The four organisations selected for the sample are PwC, Lloyds, HSBC and RBS, as these are amongst the largest gender pay gaps in London (*see Figure 3.2*). Feminist scholars have drawn upon the financial sector in their analyses of occupational segregation and gendered capitalism (Hepple, 2011). However, the economic focus of previous research omits the exploratory potential of qualitative accounts in examining the embodied experiences of gender discrimination (Gray and James, 2007).

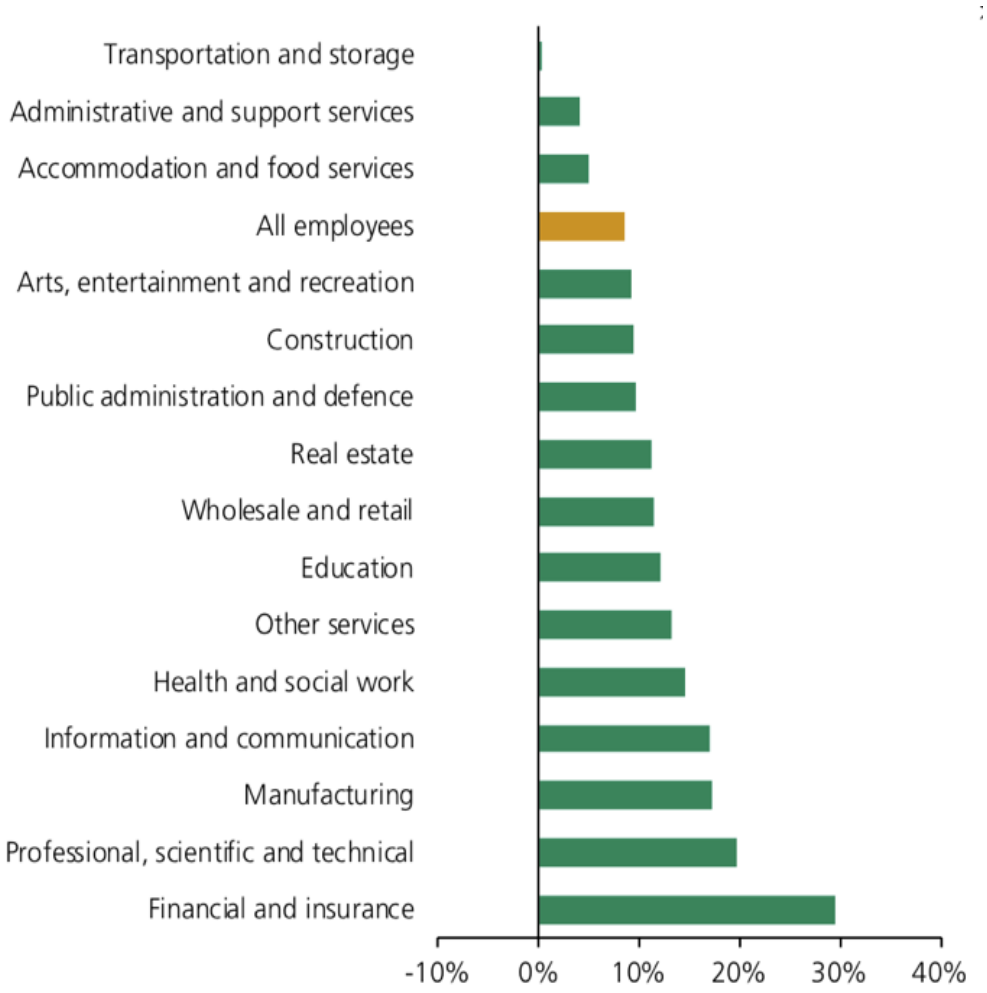

Figure 3.1: Gender pay gap by industry (McGuinness and Pyper, 2018).

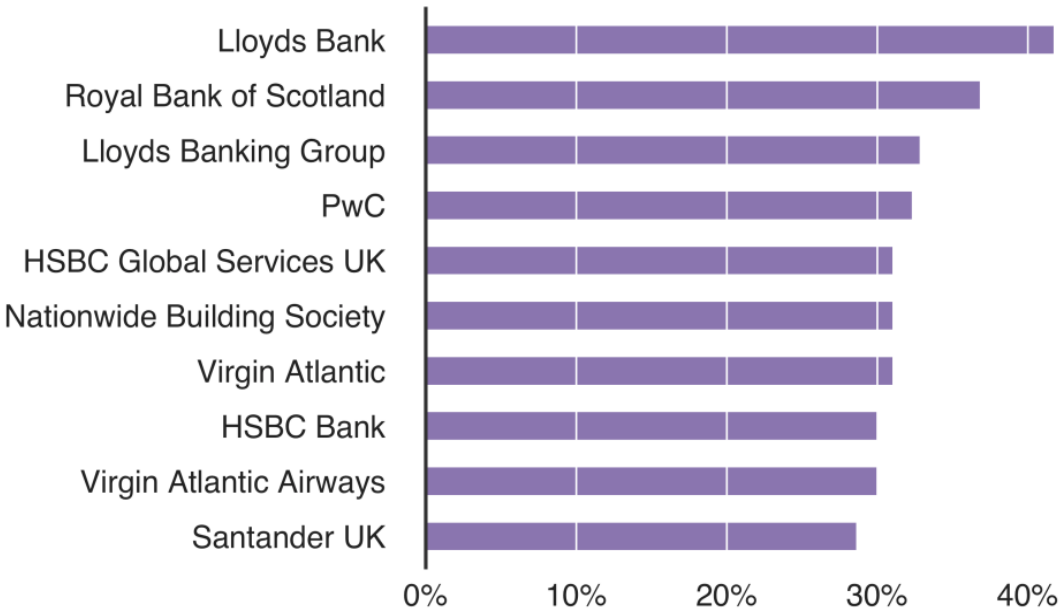

Figure 3.2: Gender pay gap rankings in companies with 5,000+ employees (Lawrie and Guibourg, 2019).

3.2 LinkedIn Sampling

Online participant recruitment methods were deemed the most appropriate as they provided easy access to wide audiences, which may not have been possible in the non-virtual realm (Chen and Hinton, 1999). Searches on the professional networking site, LinkedIn, enabled the filtering of individuals who did not meet the purposeful sample criteria *(Table 3.1).* LinkedIn messaging enabled connections with a diverse group of women who were not bound by a particular area, role or network but share a common theme of employment (Madge and O'Connor, 2002). The data profiles of these women, alongside their educational and occupational history, enabled the consideration of wider sampling factors prior to the purposeful selection of participants *(Table 3.1).*

LinkedIn profiles also offered researcher credibility by providing insight into their background, interests and visual appearance (Oakley, 1981). This helped to establish trust between the researcher and participants – arguably creating a more comfortable environment for the sharing of information (Chen and Hinton, 1999). The immediacy of online messaging allowed for prompt and straightforward interactions between the researcher and participant (Marshall, 1996). However, the lack of face-to-face interaction has been attributed to lower response rates within online participant recruitment methods (Wright, 2005).

Table 3.1. Interview sampling criteria and considerations.

Sample Criteria:	• Female • Employed by or recently employed by (within the last 18 months) PwC, HSBC, Lloyds, RBS in London.
Sample Considerations	• Ethnic diversity • Age diversity • Educational diversity, university background • Role diversity • Seniority level

Initial communication with participants outlined the intentions of research, the importance of interview data, time required, location and assurance of anonymity (Goldstein, 2002). The final sample included 10 women with between 2-35 years of industry experience (*see Table 3.2)*. Since cohesive groups comprised of similar members are more likely adopt a similar pattern of defensive avoidance (Janis and Mann, 1977), the sample purposefully incorporated a range of educational and ethnic backgrounds to disperse this potential groupthink mentality and achieve more inclusive results.

Table 3.2. List of participants.

Participant (P) Number	Organisation	Role
P1	PwC	Associate
P2	HSBC	HR Manager
P3	PwC	Partner
P4	PwC	Senior Manager
P5	HSBC	Associate Director
P6	Lloyds	Associate
P7	HSBC	Analyst
P8	RBS	Director
P9	Lloyds	Associate
P10	RBS	Associate

3.3 Semi Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews are flexible two-way dialogues, whereby the interviewer hopes to elicit information from the participant by asking open questions (Longhurst, 2003). Their emphasis on reason, identity and emotion rendered them pertinent to the understanding of individualised experiences (Bryman, 1988). Though similarly effective, focus groups were discounted here due potential confidence breaches and social desirability within group settings impacting the authenticity of responses (Kitzinger, 1995). Whilst pre-determined interview themes were formulated *(see Appendix 3)*, the flexibility of a semi-structured approach actively encouraged participants to introduce issues that were important to them (Dunn, 2005). Karnieli-Miller *et al* (2009) postulate that the fluidity of this collaborative approach creates a more equal, less intimidating power dynamic between the researcher and participants, therefore encouraging more comprehensive responses. Audio recording these interviews enabled full concentration on participants responses, whilst maintaining the specificity of data for subsequent analyses (Kitchin and Tate, 2000).

Following Knox and Burkard's (2009) interview guidance, participants were given control over the interview location, allowing them to select the setting in which they felt most at ease. This comprised of company offices, quiet cafes and telephone interviews. Interviews lasted an average of 50 minutes, providing ample time for in depth two-way discussion of participant narratives. Conversational warm up questions were adopted to establish wider context and encourage interviewees to feel at ease before asking more thought-provoking questions (Hay, 2010). This helped to explore the unspeakable geographies of gender discrimination that participants may find more difficult to articulate, or to separate from what has been inscribed as 'normal' (Del Casino, 2016). Introspection on researcher positionality was maintained throughout the interviews. For example, positive body language and the establishment of commonalities helped to mimic a traditional conversation and obtain unfiltered responses (Wiles *et al,* 2005).

3.4 Data Analysis

3.4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

A critical discourse analysis (CDA) was utilised to examine the online diversity pay reports of the financial institutions in question. Discourses are defined as meaning-making resources that inform power relations within modern societies (Jager and Maier, 2009). They are both socially constructed and socially influential in the reproduction of inequality (Fairclough and Wodak,1997). Through an emancipatory bottom up agenda, the CDA aimed to make visible the opaque aspects of virtual texts, in relation to gender inequality (Van Dijk, 1993). This methodological approach neglected a pre-determined theoretical stance and opted to code in relation to the wider research frameworks of gender and ideology (Fairclough, 2013).

Accounting for the situated knowledges of corporate diversity monitoring (Haraway, 1998), the reports were micro-analysed through open coding in order to explain how their meanings are constructed and negotiated (Janks, 1997). This involved multiple intensive readings of the texts and the careful noting of key ideas, topics and contradictions. Following this, the highlighted data was subdivided into themes to facilitate a deeper analysis of the relationships between discourse, gender and ideology through a process of axial coding (Johnson, 2014). This method, outlined in *Table 3.3,* proved useful by allowing the researcher to position them self on the side of the dominated, and critical of the dominating groups without compromising scientific rigour (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Resultantly, the CDA

revealed aspects of the performative character of organisations and gave insight into the links between gender, discourse and power (Hook, 2007).

Table 3.3. Stages used in CDA (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997).

Stage	Description
1. Comprehension	Viewing the discourse as a body of statements that are systematically organised. Reading, familiarising and comprehending the text.
2. Identification	Identifying how statements are produced, patterns between statements and their effect
3. Interpretation	Interpreting how the language generates space for new statements and meaning.
4. Rules of Relevance	Analysing discursive power – what is said, what isn't said and why.
5. Establishing meanings	Discursive meanings generated

3.4.2 Thematic Analysis

Interviews were recorded and transcribed to extract meanings from the data using a thematic analysis (Nowell *et al*, 2017). The inductive approach of a thematic analysis captured information in relation to the research question and drew upon its patterns to generate knowledge grounded in human experience (Clifford *et al*, 2010). The method of coding for a thematic analysis was modelled on Braun and Clarke's (2006) step-by-step summary (*see Table 3.4).*

Table 3.4: Stages used during thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

Stage	Description
1. Familiarisation with the data	Transcription of data, reading and re-reading, annotating and noting ideas.
2. Initial coding	Open coding of the entire data set guided by the research question.
3. Theme search	Collating initial coding into potential themes.
4. Review of themes	Checking if the themes correlate with the coded extracts and the entire data set.
5. Definition of themes	Redefining themes and generating clear definitions
6. Report production	Final analysis, selection of relevant and compelling data relating back to the research question, writing up the analysis.

The research aims were used to guide the rigorous open coding of data, define essential concepts and identify recurring themes. Again, a process of axial coding was used to establish inductive connections between data (Allen, 2017). Tuckett (2005) argues that repeated coding can lead to the researcher's immersion and sensitisation to more subtle features of the data. Thoughts were noted after each coding process to negate this possibility and retain a nuanced and critical perspective. This methodological framework provided a flexible means of constantly comparing emerging ideas with the data set in its entirety in order to accurately define latent themes (Terry *et al*, 2017). Respectively, the analysis produced themes categorised by:

- The impacts of gendered monitoring.
- The pitfalls of current monitoring approaches.
- The ability of monitoring to advance gender equality.

These themes are used in *Chapter 5* to further explore the underlying ideologies within the interview data.

3.5 Limitations and Considerations

Valentine (2005) notes that when speaking to businesspeople, there is often no choice but to interview them in their own offices. In highly securitised institutional settings, an office environment can cause concerns regarding the institution as a gatekeeper. This can result in restricted responses, thus limiting the validity of data (Broadhead and Rist, 1976). The relative physical anonymity of telephone interviews created a more discrete setting in which participants could express parts of themselves that they otherwise wouldn't have (Morahan-Marton, 2000). Despite this, the concept of the institution as a gatekeeper ostensibly extended beyond the physical presence of the workplace, leading to overarching concerns over the social desirability of responses (Burgess, 1984). Within conversational interview contexts, the blurred lines between researcher and participant posed an ethical concern (Mayan, 2016). As such, introspection on researcher positionality was required to ensure sensitivity towards personal experiences (Dickson-Swift *et al*, 2007). Evidently, the representativeness of the current study is limited by the focussed sample. The research findings could be validated further by a greater number of in-depth interviews (Krueger and Casey, 2000).

CHAPTER 4 – GENDER AND DIVERSITY REPORTS IN THE UK: PERSPECTIVES FROM HSBC, LLOYDS, PWC AND RBS

This chapter explores the characteristics of UK company reports on gender and diversity through critical discourse analysis (CDA). The CDA draws upon the 2018 and 2019 UK gender and diversity reports from the 4 case study organisations: HSBC, Lloyds, PwC and RBS, in order to assess their value in facilitating wider cultural changes. The analysis recruits latent themes of nominalisation, justification and progress in order to evaluate the indiscernible aspects of language, power and ideology within corporate narratives. These reflections will facilitate a deeper understanding of the impacts of online monitoring on corporate behaviours. In the next chapter, these findings will be contrasted by a thematic analysis of face-to-face interviews conducted with women in the aforementioned organisations. This will provide insight into the discrepancies between monitored gender pay gap data and the unmonitored female experiences of gender discrimination, thus addressing the second aim of this research.

4.1 NOMINALISATION

The gender and diversity reports analysed within this study are seemingly united by a common goal of legitimising their organisations current inequalities. They seek to achieve this goal through nominalisation and passivization (Billig, 2008). This refers to the way that companies utilise passive voice and noun phrases to mitigate their agency and justify their conclusions (Fowler, 1991). The syntactic transformation of clauses has structural and ideological consequences, limiting the amount of information presented to its readers. For example, PwC's (2019, p.10) gender report asserts "organisations must implement an evidence-based approach." The omission of information regarding modality, time and participants creates an impersonal tone resembling factual, scientific reports. Additionally, the statement "organisations need to review and amend their people policies" (PwC, 2019, p.4) reifies the status and existence of "people policies" through nominalisation. Despite neglecting information on the nature of "people policies" or "evidenced-based approaches" their privileged discursive status ascribes tangibility and objectivity to these concealed processes, resulting in a lack of contestation from the report's readers (Fairclough, 2003).

Nominalisation also refers to the manipulation of language through generalisation and abstraction (Yeung, 2007). The reports demonstrate a tendency to describe human actions as abstract identities in order delete their agency (Fowler, 1991). They use references to "organisations" (PwC, 2019, p.10), "businesses" (HSBC, 2019, p.3) and "corporations" (Lloyds, 2018, p.4), permitting a discreet silencing of their own accountability. Moreover, the reports fail to give attention to the intricacies of their own initiatives in favour of a focus on passive recommendations aimed towards unspecified "organisations". This indicates a preference for self-preservation, rather than the provision of an accurate and responsible commentary on their own areas for improvement (Marwick and Boyd, 2011).

Recommendations often embraced specialised language such as "supporting the Hampton-Alexander Review in its commitments" (HSBC, 2019, p.9). This language acts as a gatekeeper to exclude those without extensive prior knowledge, thus maintaining the unequal power relations between the organisation and potential readers (Fowler, 1991). Lemke (2005, p.60) argues that companies adopt technical discourses to divide readers into "the initiates and the uninitiated." Exclusivity, in combination with the authoritative writing style and nominalisation, establishes an ideologically charged corporate narrative and leaves little room for readers to challenge the content or conclusions of the reports. This supports Lever and Poama's (2018) argument surrounding the inability of humans to object to both how they are depicted in the face of surveillance and how these depictions are used to govern us. It could be argued that the reports themselves are contradictory. Their language affirms the need for inclusion, equality and monitoring. However, the CDA pointed towards a mitigation of responsibility, a detached approach to the provision of monitoring solutions, and a reproduction of exclusion through the rigidity of nominal language. Consequently, the extent to which these organisations have implemented genuine strategies to tackle workplace inequality remains unclear.

4.2 JUSTIFICATION

The reports tended to adopt a rationalist approach, providing practical solutions to the given problem (Goodwin, 2012). The representation of the problem itself was unquestioned and often justified by oversimplified explanations such as "fewer women in senior roles" (HSBC, 2019, p.6) and "a higher proportion of women who work part-time" (Lloyds, 2018, p.3). The reports demonstrated a dualism between recognition and rationalisation, a problem statement

often disparaged by a succeeding corporate vindication. For example, after a graphical display of their slow-moving gender pay gap data, PwC (2019, p.2) argue that "there are good reasons why progress could appear slower than usual, especially if measures implemented focus on long-term results." HSBC (2019) and Lloyds (2018) also imply that these protracted action plans are the only way to achieve "sustainable change" by creating a pipeline of future female leaders (PwC, 2019, p.9). In overemphasising the assumption that the future presence of senior women will induce cultural change (Lloyds, 2018), the reports mitigated the prevailing problems of everyday discrimination and underemphasised the roles of latent masculinist values and structural impediments to female progress (Mills, 2015).

Reports sought to negate the value of gender pay statistics by justifying their accuracy and questioning their timing. PwC (2019, p.3) provide a plethora of "explanations, not excuses" such as the fact that figures published by around 5% of companies are implausible and inaccurate (HoC, 2018). PwC (2019) also claimed that their static gender pay gap data is not an accurate reflection of their internal organisational dynamics. The remaining reports supported this assertion, arguing that gender pay monitoring has increased individual awareness of gender discrimination and pushed organisations to put gender and diversity at the heart of their operational strategies (PwC, 2019). However, these attributes are not currently measured and therefore cannot be proved (HM Treasury, 2018).

Despite challenging the validity of data as justification for poor progress, the reports indicated an overall positive attitude towards monitoring, even arguing for increased data collection and scrutiny to provide more accurate indications of reality (Fuentes and Cookson, 2019). These justifications exemplify the onus on data to legitimate cultural, social and economic change (Lyon, 2001). Evidently data, produced by surveillance, plays a crucial role in helping businesses to understand their structural problems and implement appropriate solutions (Bradshaw *et al,* 2017). In criticising the validity of current data, these reports elucidated the unexplored remit of additional monitoring practices that are better equipped to understand the ways in which inequalities are sustained or deconstructed (Grosser and Moon, 2008). Not only would this additional monitoring capture a more comprehensive account of gender relations, it would also stifle contradictions surrounding the validity of data, eliminating it as a scapegoat for poor progress.

4.3 PROGRESS

The prosperity of an organisation is heavily dependent upon the semiotic face it presents to the wider public (Fairlough and Wodak, 1997). Respectively, the online reports draw upon the trope of growth, utilising positive lexico-grammatical choices to convey a culture of progression (Yang and Allison, 2003). Lloyds (2018, p.2) state "we are absolutely determined to achieve the broadest opportunities that a diverse workplace brings" and "this significant improvement is primarily driven by a greater gender balance." These examples demonstrate the reports' tendency to utilise boosters to inspire confidence in their progression towards gender equality. Comparatives such as "greater" and "improvement" also demonstrate the pattern of progression, both in the description of current data trends and in commitments towards future action, implying an earnest approach is underway (Van Leeuwen, 2013).

Bhatia (1993) argues that business reports exploit particular textual features within the public domain for private gain. Reflecting upon the symbolic loading of language within the business reports, it becomes clear that this overwhelmingly optimistic outlook reproduces resolute corporate narratives in which the views of women in the workplace are silenced and patriarchal cultures remain unchanged (McDowell, 2011). Rather than outlining current failings, the reports presented opportunities for further progression and foresight into the future of the business. HSBC (2019, p.4) pledge "we are deeply committed to fostering a work environment where people feel able to remove barriers to success." Here, HSBC marginally recognise that the present workplace environment does not meet this description, without elaborating on their current "barriers to success." Framing gender policies as a matter of future progress conceals the natural complexity of the current social phenomena (Tinker and Neimark, 1987) and avoids a comprehensive reconsideration of gender and justice (McGrath, 2004).

The repeated use of non-disclosure reveals much about patriarchal attitudes towards gender, whereby progression is regarded as a game of statistics, often used to negate social responsibility (Adams and Harte,1999). Non-disclosure of the experiential aspects of gender inequality dislocates the female experience from space and time and implies a lack of interest in feminist productions of knowledge (Haraway, 2006). Businesses may be motivated to report in this way, neglecting their potential pitfalls, in order to avoid further scrutiny, bolster

their public image and pacify online audiences calling for greater corporate social responsibility (Adams and Harte, 1999). The implication is a vagueness of references to "transparency" (RBS, 2019, p.2), and "care policies" (Lloyds, 2018, p.5), which gender equality slides into without discrepancy (Cornwall and Rivas, 2015). Accordingly, this analysis suggests that corporate reporting serves as a means to negotiate the pressures of gendered dataveillance and contributes to the gender data problems which gender pay gap monitoring seeks to supress (Haraway, 2006). Resultantly, the use of voluntary monitoring as a legitimisation of gender "progress" is called into question.

CHAPTER 5 – GENDER PAY GAP REPORTING: FEMALE EMPLOYEES' PERSPECTIVES

Through its epistemological intervention into masculinist logics of knowledge production, this chapter draws upon the thematic analysis of interview data to highlight 'female truths' and challenge corporate narratives of gender inequality (Fuentes and Cookson, 2019). The chapter is divided into 3 sections. The first explores the gendered effects of current surveillance cultures, with particular focus on the gender pay gap report. Next, descriptions of unmonitored gender injustices are recruited to assess the shortcomings of gender pay gap reporting. Finally, the thematic conclusions of participants narratives inform recommendations as to how organisational monitoring practices could be optimised to better support female needs.

5.1 EXPLORING THE IMPACTS OF GENDER PAY GAP REPORTING

5.1.1 BYPASSING THE PROBLEM

In accordance with the company reports, participants agreed that gender pay gap reporting has had a positive impact by encouraging organisations to take further action against gender inequality. However, participants added that these actions have been insufficient in facilitating the cultural changes required for sustained gender equality and they act as a "blunt instrument" (P3) for social change. Participants attributed corporate action to the surveillant pressures of upholding a particular public image spurred by the "fresh impetus of social awareness following the gender pay gap report" (P3). P2 stated "It's something which does go public and because of that kind of thing, it has driven the right actions to be taken." This indicates a chilling effect (Dolich, 1993) of surveillance, whereby the publicity of data acts as a biopower forcing companies to behave in the "right" manner, in accordance with social desirability (Adams and Nicholas, 2007). Yet, P2 also added that "It has served the purpose of getting a spotlight on the problem. What it hasn't done is helped to address the problem." Disparities between externally mediated intentions and the ineffective internal solutions contradict the overtly progressive corporate narratives (*see Chapter 4)* and suggest that the corporate angst of public scrutiny is contained to monitored interactions alone (Manokha, 2018).

Continuously bypassing the crux of the problem, despite institutionalised monitoring practices, indicates the declining role of surveillance as a biopower (Ceyhan, 2012). Responses showed that the earnest monitoring approach, conveyed in company reports *(see Chapter 4)*, has not translated internally. P10 stated "I haven't particularly noticed any differences in the company approach" whilst P8 stated "we don't look online at the reports, its meaningless." Government transparency regarding what data will be surveilled unravels depictions of a black box surveillance society (Pasquale, 2015) and influences organisations' approaches towards what is deemed important enough to be mediated, actioned and changed (Fuentes and Cookson, 2019). This contradicts traditional theories of surveillance as an omnipresent utilitarian power (Bentham, 1995) and suggests that contemporary dataveillance of gender inequality has had little impact on corporate attitudes and behaviours (Williams *et al*, 2012).

This is further supported by participants references to gender fatigue (Kelan, 2009) as both an explanation and consequence of the lack of change. P9 posits that "locker room humour" and "the unequal care burden" are just "fundamentally the way people are." These perceptions suggest that purely quantitative monitoring practices have evaded a large-scale re-evaluation of hegemonic masculinist norms. Instead, they merely accept the present narrative as a "fundamental" and unchangeable characteristic of capitalist working environments (Acker, 1990).

5.1.2 Reinforcing Gender Binaries

There was a mutual recognition of the duplexity of surveillance, simultaneously helping and hindering gender inequality (Haraway, 2006). Responses suggested that social media sites and reporting measures have provided opportunities for women to challenge male dominance within the public domain (Megarry, 2018). However, the threat of public challenge has reportedly resulted in the reinforcement of the female 'other' and more measured male-female interactions (Leopold, 2019). P6 described how:

> *"Men don't want to have that kind of close friendship with you because they're concerned about how that would be perceived. So actually, it is harder to be included now as a woman in some ways, because of that." (P6).*

Unbeknown in reported statistics, participants postulated that surveillant efforts to create equality have sparked further unequal treatment based on gender, simultaneously raising awareness and closing the dialogue in fear of further repercussions (Penney, 2016). Participants argued that discrimination continues in a way where "you can't really put your finger on it or call it out" (P7). This is because the nature of covert discrimination is more difficult to qualify within current statistics-based monitoring regimes. This certifies the continuance of female discrimination within unmonitored interactions and the antagonisation of gendered divisions in the workplace (McDowell, 2011). Hostile male comments such as "you only got to where you are because you're a woman" (P2) reflects a fundamental lack of understanding of the misogynistic undercurrents within organisations, which remain unaddressed by current reporting measures (Howlett and Cashore, 2014).

5.1.3 Female Reporting Opportunities

Contrary to academic discourses of female self-representation and empowerment through reporting (Haraway, 2006), participants actively avoided reporting discriminatory male behaviours in fear of potential negative career implications. When asked about reporting inappropriate behaviour, P6 said "No I wouldn't feel comfortable reporting. You report to HR and HR call the person that's made you feel that way, and they are very often the person who decides whether or not you get promoted." This response is emblematic of the structural problems within hierarchal, male dominated workspaces (Gregory and Milner, 2008). Speaking out about gender inequality is a risk, with potentially material consequences such as ostracism and stifled career progression (Dashper, 2018). In a 'post-feminist' society where gender is supposedly unimportant in business, the obstacles towards highlighting gender discrimination are conducive to the sentiment of gender fatigue (Kelan, 2009). Responses indicated that the mobilising potential of reporting practices (Haraway, 2006) cannot be fulfilled until women feel that a situation with no gendered economic or normative restrictions on the division of labour has been reached (Fuentes and Cookson, 2019). With men holding the majority of senior positions, participants felt that they had to remain silent in order to avoid stifling their prospects of promotion, granted by these more senior figures. Perhaps, the silencing of female perspectives within company reports (*see Chapter 4*) is representative of the lack of female reporting opportunities within the workplace more broadly.

5.2 Unmonitored Obstacles: What Gender Pay Reporting Cannot Do

5.2.1 Motherhood

Corporate reports omit details on how maternity leave plagues participants throughout their career. P8 expressed how "Mothers have it really hard and they can't really vocalise their struggle." Despite the unequal childcare burden (Dhar, 2020), women were expected to achieve the same performance benchmarks as their male counterparts. In some cases, participants felt that they were being held to a higher standard in order to justify their presence within the organisation and reach a senior level more quickly, before motherhood ultimately "caps their career" (P3). This female forfeit (Cabinet Office, 2000) led to subsequent economic decline through career stagnation or withdrawal, thus contributing to the gender pay gap (Grimshaw and Rubery, 2015).

According to P5, having a child "is just like a choice that women make which can stop them getting promoted." Whilst motherhood is usually a choice, assuming the majority of childcare is often a product of patriarchal societies, which has been normalised by social and economic structures (Gambles *et al*, 2007). Gender pay gap reporting has encouraged a number of return to work initiatives and maternal leave provisions in order to increase female retention rates and achieve a greater gender balance at senior levels. However, the interviews demonstrated that flexibility stigma influenced women's decisions to adopt individual coping strategies, rather than accepting additional support provisions (Swaffield, 2000). Participants emphasised the need to be a "strong performer" (P3, P4, P7) and "prove you're at the same level as men" (P6) and regarded maternity provisions as an indication of female weakness. Dashper (2018) posits that to accept women as deficient or to suggest they must adapt themselves to conform to their masculine work environment reproduces the patriarchal gender order. The mothers within this study often suffered in silence in order to reduce discourses of women as 'other' (Van den Brink and Stobbe, 2014). This reifies the inability of monitoring practices to illuminate the full picture of gender discrimination in a society where cultural beliefs, gender-blindness and flexibility stigma conceal the social realities of gender inequality (Leopold, 2019). Instead, solutions towards the motherhood penalty require reconsiderations of the role of gender both at work and at home to dismantle the associations of women with family and men with work (Williams *et al*, 2016).

5.2.2 The Honorary Male

Current monitoring also neglects the bodily changes that women undertake to adapt to the customs of masculine work environments. Women cited that they had to become more "bolshie, outspoken and cutthroat in order to get promotions" (P1). Consequently, senior women were often criticised for their defiance of traditional 'feminine' characteristics as they sought ways to fit in to the purportedly 'gender-neutral' notion of success (Butler, 2005). P4 stated "Women who are partners are the worst. I've worked with many women who are very aggressive, and sales focussed." This evidences the manifestation of Acker's (1990) 'honorary male', an embodied experience which cannot be captured by numbers alone. Corporate claims of gender neutrality (Kelan, 2009) were invalidated by the onus placed on women to self-edit in order to comply with masculine norms of business performance and temporal pressures of the female 'biological clock' (Healy and Ahamed, 2019). Participants expressed harsh criticism towards women who adopted traits typically ascribed to men, commenting particularly on their poor work-life balance and their lack of female mentorship provisions. The disapproval of these qualities relates to their deviance from traditional expectations of women as value driven, emotionally intelligent and less competitive (Butler, 2005). Noticing the intense criticism of women at 'the top' made some participants view it as a wholly unattractive place to be and thus placed invisible barriers upon their career course. These internalised biases emphasise how the issue of gender inequality runs deeper than the binary male-female divide posed in current measurement practices.

5.2.3 Selective Interpretations of Surveilled Statistics

Strategies of concealment and justification used in corporate reports (*see Chapter 4)* were identified as a contributor to poor progress. P4 proposed that the reasoning for little change is that "most accountancy firms have an ability to rationalise a situation." Participants argued that corporate understandings are borne from a selective interpretation of statistics and lack of awareness of internal conventions. P1 described how "Some men argue that because our graduate intake is more balanced that gender discrimination doesn't even exist." These dismissive attitudes depict the continuation of the very culture which monitoring practices seek to dismiss. Such comments caused participants to feel unsupported and frustrated by the ignorance towards their plight.

Justifications utilised in company reports were ostensibly internalised by the women themselves. P3 asserted "it doesn't quite highlight the things you want it to; you have to interpret it." These statements support the selective use of gender pay gap data to concurrently highlight and understate gender inequality. In both rationalising and "trivialising" (P1) reported statistics, organisational power attempts to supersede surveillance power by diminishing its conclusions (Collinson and Collinson, 1997). Despite this, HM Treasury (2018, p.26) support the continuing power of surveillance, stating that "what gets monitored gets managed." However, participants demonstrated that the management of gender data is not always geared towards enhanced progress. Often, corporate "management" reflected attempts to mitigate negative conclusions and avoid public challenge (Yeung, 2007).

5.3 Further Action: What Women Need

The needs of women are discordant with the current solutions offered by surveillance cultures (Grosser and Moon, 2008). Participants described the vulnerability of purely quantitative surveillance in dislocating experiences from their contexts and obscuring crucial components of the experiential. With it being "difficult to combine work and having a child" (P7) and one woman describing how she was "told to take off as little time as possible and put it down as sick pay" (P3) participants articulated the need for greater surveillance of parental leave provisions to dismantle the female work-family polarity (Padavic *et al,* 2019). Quantitative flexible working and shared parental leave targets should be combined with qualitative data that captures the experiential dimensions of female well-being, workplace satisfaction, post maternity promotion opportunities and flexibility stigma (Kalev and Deutsch, 2018).

Accessible mentoring programmes were also cited as an important contributor to female career development. Participants argued that it is hard to be what you cannot see. P2 stated that "having a relatable mentor who talks honestly about their challenges can really empower women." This supports Ragins (1996) conclusions on the benefits of formal mentoring; helping women to overcome gendered barriers and gain access to information and opportunities (Ramaswami *et al,* 2010). Organisations adopted numerical targets such as "aiming for 40% female partners by 2020" (Lloyds, 2018) to increase the number of experienced women able to offer career support (Fowler *et al,*2007). Yet, participants critiqued the current focus on women in senior positions, stating that "is not relatable for

women in more junior roles" (P2). Instead, participants agreed that it would be beneficial to see how their female counterparts at all hierarchal levels "harmonised the different aspects of their lives" (P1). These collective theories of experiences could create a sense of social inclusion and provide support to overcome the gendered obstacles of male hegemony (Cornwall and Rivas, 2015). Previous calls for improved female mentorship were met with paradoxical outcomes, often empowering women whilst also exposing them to further discrimination based on beliefs of "special treatment" (P7). As such, participants sought to equalise their opportunity through a gender mainstreaming approach and suggested that gender binaries could be dismantled by increasing the number of female role models within gender neutral mentorship schemes.

Participants agreed that by including marginalised voices, monitoring can produce useful knowledge and challenge oppressive silences (Hay, 2012). Women's experiences must be more accurately represented via a variety of indicators. Having the "right percentages", according to P1, "doesn't actually mean much." Statistics can be misrepresented, and targets act primarily as an indicator for external auditors (Mitra *et al,* 2015). This limits the power of gendered data to abridge the gaps in current knowledge for the purposes of eliminating gender injustices (Rouvroy, 2013). Women require a 'no research about us, without us' approach (Fuentes and Cookson, 2019, p.15). Gender inequality cannot be accurately reduced to data doubles, doing so overlooks the limiting factor of cultural change (Grosser and Moon, 2008). Participants believed that the monitoring of additional external benchmarking criteria such as inclusive mentorship programmes, a stronger focus on female role models and employee feedback would promote a feminist agenda and better illustrate experiential developments (Li, 2010).

CHAPTER 6 – CONCLUSION

This project's adoption of a feminist geographical approach has cast analytical attention beyond statistical sites of knowledge (Liebowitz and Zwingel, 2014) and onto the subjects and experiences within them (Hay, 2012). These qualitative insights have highlighted the pitfalls of surveillance cultures and suggested that current 'positive' gender transformations are often negated by a renegotiation of the ways in which women are disadvantaged.

Politicising the personal attributes of women's life through data, has drawn attention to the deep-seated, androcentric structures of capitalism (Paechter, 2006). Within self-surveilled, online corporate reports, gender inequality is constructed as an isolated, externalised incident, yet interviews evidenced the continuation of covert gender discrimination at all levels. This suggests that surveillance cultures misrepresent or dismiss undesirable behaviours through inaccurate, binary classifications (McCahill, 2007). Participants implicated these surveillance cultures in the reinforcement of unequal gender binaries, their exclusive approach rendering gender inequality a women's issue rather than a gender issue and contributing to sentiments of gender fatigue (Kelan, 2009).

The maintenance of a selective approach towards gendered monitoring has contradicted theoretical stances of unavoidable 'dataveillance' (Manokha, 2018), and suggested that it is inaccurate to apply traditional theories of surveillance as a 'utilitarian power' to the current contexts of gender inequality (Brunon-Ernst, 2015). According to participants, the role of surveillance power to establish discipline over gender inequality is diminished by misguided principles of social desirability and insufficient cultural change (Milner, 2019). In juxtaposition to current literature, this research has demonstrated how surveillance has not made intelligible the uncertain attributes of our times (Lyon, 2001). Rather, it has simply reinforced what we already believe to be true and obscured crucial components of the experiential (Fuentes and Cookson, 2019). The overly quantitative measurement trend, designed to facilitate comparisons, has diverted attention from the structural causes that determine unequal access to rights (Mills, 2015). This reifies Haraway's (2006) point of surveillance lending itself to the institutional streaming of false consciousness and supports the need to question gendered truths as a matter of continuous vigilance (Li, 2010).

Whilst this research has narrowed this gender data gap by providing a more just understanding of gendered discrimination, the experiences within the financial services sector

suggests that further regulatory sanctions are required to create a committed approach towards legitimate behavioural change. Participants contradicted Haraway's (2006) onus on female online reporting as the principles of 'cyborg writing' were prevented by the current patriarchal gender order (Leopold, 2019). Actively choosing not to report gender discrimination was deemed both a cause and a consequence of male hegemony (Healy and Ahamed, 2019). Participants also believed that the next step towards eradicating cultures of oppression is to utilise surveillance to target the minds of men and women through a gender mainstreaming approach (Perez, 2019).

Whilst HM Treasury (2019) argues that the greatest penalty for business is the public scrutinization of gender pay gap data, this research has proved that potential public stigma bears little relevance on covert, unmonitored discrimination. This project does not dispute the potential role of surveillance in disciplining, and classifying societies (Foucault, 1979). Instead, the report concludes that current surveillance powers have not extended far enough in generating gender equality due to their avoidance of qualitative measures and their lack of investment in more representative reporting (Mason *et al*, 2002). Measuring qualitative attributes could, much like this study has done, highlight undesirable behaviours and perceptions in order to spur the cultural change that women need to achieve complete gender equality (Grosser and Moon, 2008).

The evident discrepancies between monitored and unmonitored gendered interactions indicates the need to disrupt current, taken for granted measurement practices through qualitative intervention (Nelson, 2015). Responses suggested that this should include: gender neutral workplace satisfaction reports, evaluations of mentorship, parental leave and return to work schemes, monitoring the uptake and duration of both maternal and paternal leave and examining return to work promotion rates as a way of eliminating the motherhood penalty (Ridgeway and Correll, 2004).

A true gender data revolution must give equal privilege to the standpoint of the oppressed within data collection and classification (Fuentes and Cookson, 2019). Respectively, future action must be orientated towards dismantling culturally embedded masculinist perceptions through gender mainstreaming measurement practices, ensuring an inclusive approach by extending the recommended monitoring practices to both men and women at all levels (Rees, 2005). Contesting the monitored 'truths' presented by current authoritative regimes could

help to reshape the perspectives of policy makers and business ‘inclusion’ specialists collecting UK gender data. Extending and altering the criteria under surveillance has the ability to narrow the gender data gap and target persistent undesirable attitudes in an effort to eliminate gender inequality (Radcliffe, 2015). This reconstitution of the logics that govern knowledge production is paramount to the subversion of patriarchy and future progression of gender equality.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: RESEARCH ETHICS MINIMAL RISK APPROVAL

Research Ethics
Office

Franklin Wilkins Building
5.9 Waterloo Bridge Wing
Waterloo Road
London SE1 9NH
Telephone 020 7848 4020/4070/4077
rec@kcl.ac.uk

KING'S College LONDON

26/06/2019

Rachel Wibberley

Dear Rachel

How has self-surveillance impacted the gendered practices and everyday experiences of women in London's financial services sector?

Thank you for submitting your Research Ethics Minimal Risk Registration Form. This letter acknowledges confirmation of your registration; your registration confirmation reference number is MRS-18/19-13676

Ethical clearance is granted and you may now commence data collection for this project.

Please note: For projects involving the use of an Information Sheet and Consent Form for recruitment purposes, please ensure that you use the KCL GDPR compliant Information Sheet & Consent Form Templates

Be sure to keep a record your registration number and include it in any materials associated with this research. Registration is valid for **one year** from today's date. Please note it is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that any other permissions or approvals (i.e. R&D, gatekeepers, etc.) relevant to their research are in place, prior to conducting the research.

Record Keeping:

In addition, you are expected to keep records of your process of informed consent and the dates and relevant details of research covered by this application. For example, depending on the type of research that you are doing, you might keep:

- A record of the relevant details for public talks that you attend, the websites that visit, the interviews that you conduct
- The 'script' that you use to inform possible participants about what your research involves. This may include written information sheets, or the generic information you include in the emails you write to possible participants, or what you say to people when you approach them on the street for a survey, or the introductory material stated at the top of your on-line survey.
- Where appropriate, records of consent, e.g. copies of signed consent forms or emails where participants agree to be interviewed.

Audit:

You may be selected for an audit, to see how researchers are implementing this process. If audited, you will be expected to explain how your research abides by the general principles of ethical research. In particular, you will be expected to provide a general summary of your review of the possible risks involved in your research, as well as to provide basic research records (as above in Record Keeping) and to describe the process by which participants agreed to participate in your research.

Remember that if you have any questions about the ethical conduct of your research at any point, you should contact your supervisor (where applicable) or the Research Ethics office.

Feedback:

If you wish to provide any feedback on the process you may do so by emailing rec@kcl.ac.uk.

We wish you every success with this work.

With best wishes

Ms Laura Stackpoole

Research Ethics Office

APPENDIX 2: ORIGINAL IGS PROPOSAL

5SSG2063 BA Research Tutorials: IGS Proposal.

To what extent does post-panoptic surveillance impact everyday experiences? A comparative analysis of self-surveilled gender practices and the unreported realities of female experiences in the workplace.

Due Date: 22nd March 2019.
Student Number: 1713718.
Word Count: 1998.

Introduction

Rouvrouy (2013) posits that traditional surveillance – defined as 'the collection and processing of data' for control, discipline, and classification (Lyon, 2001, p.2) – neglects non-representational social geographies. Whilst Foucault's (1979) all seeing panopticon forms the basis of surveillance studies, technology has since blurred distinctions between observers and the observed (Andrejevic, 2010). Accordingly, Bauman (2000) argues that developed modern societies have become post-panoptical. Post panopticism describes the dichotomy between the ability of the many to surveil the few, and the few to surveil the many, enabling the relentless monitoring of everyday life, encompassing previously neglected social embodiments (Boyne, 2000).

Socialist-feminists have embraced the tools of surveillance technologies in their pursuit of egalitarian socio-economic relations by monitoring societal behaviours, including their own (Castells, 2012). Social media and online reporting are both forms of self-surveillance, whereby everyone can become both the 'expert' and the 'judge' through the ability to discipline, critique and classify gender discrimination online (Manokha, 2018). Humans – conscious of being watched – self-regulate with respect to accepted gender practices (Bauman and Lyon, 2013). However, in unmonitored face-to face interactions within the workplace, communications and behaviours remain dependent upon internalised values and perceived audience reactions (Goffman, 1959). Consequently, it is unclear whether self-surveillance has catalysed real world positive impacts on gender equality, or has merely facilitated the expression of societally approved views online, therefore disguising the realities of continuing forms of discrimination (Haraway, 2007).

This research aims to address this uncertainty by investigating the impacts of self-surveillance in relation to workplace gender equality. It will adopt a post-Foucauldian genealogy to explore the ways in which the power of the post-panoptic vision affects human behaviours both online and in person. Through comparative discourse analysis, the research hopes to understand and rationalise discrepancies between public and private behaviours. Results will then provide suggestions as to how self-surveillance could be optimised to establish female equality within the workplace, which is key to broader socio-economic progression.

Literature Review

Foucauldian Surveillance

Foucault's (1979) panoptic theorisation focussed primarily on the oppressive uses of surveillance as structures of domination over the masses (Poster, 1999). Foucault argues that a panoptic organisation is the most efficient mechanism of controlling workplace behaviours, enforcing compliance and achieving targets (Robbins and Webster, 1993). Interpretations of panoptic surveillance produce dualistic configurations of both authoritarian power over individuals, and individual self-discipline inscribed by the architectures of societal norms. Foucault (1980) later described this as 'technologies of the self' in which one begins to self-sensor in response to social surveillance (Kwon *et al,* 2015). Surveillance acts as a power which explores, sustains and rearranges the human body. In this respect, Foucault's conceptualisations of surveillance became intrinsic to the efficient functioning of capitalist society, whereby social issues are often subsidiary to the achievement of economic gains (Gandy, 1993). The rise in technology marked a situated development of self-surveillance, shifting the locus of control from humans' physicality to their online counterparts (Bauman and Lyon, 2013). This globalised surveillant gaze is transcendent of public space (Johnson, 2010).

Post-Panoptic Self-Surveillance

Bauman and Lyon (2013) believe Foucault's theories are outdated. The trope of panopticism, is replaced by the technological advances of 'liquid surveillance', which has the power to almost autonomously surveil countless aspects of daily life (Bauman, 2013). Rendering the human body accessible 'beyond ordinary levels of perception' has led individuals to exercise power upon themselves without duress (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000, p.611). Snowden's National Security Agency data leaks in 2013 brought mass surveillance systems to attention, resulting in what Dolich (1993) describes as 'the chilling effect', which – similar to Foucault's (1980) 'technologies of the self' – refers to changes in behaviour both on and offline due to surveillance (Manokha, 2018). Penney's (2016) postliminary investigation into the Snowden files indicated that 78% of individuals became more cautious of their online articulations. Hampton *et al* (2014) also found that with regards to the data leaks, 86% of people would discuss this person-to-person, compared to only 42% on social media. Fundamentally, this indicates a discrepancy between surveilled and non-surveilled actions,

suggesting that opinions expressed digitally are disparate to physical reality. Haraway (2007, p.51) suggests that this leads to a stream of surveilled 'false consciousness' of society's most prevalent issues, such as gender inequality, masking non-surveilled forms of oppression.

Female Mobilisation

Haraway's feminist 'cyborg writing' (2007) combines self-surveillance studies and socialist-feminist culture to present the ever-developing relationship between humans and technology as a mechanism to virtually rewrite the female identity. The cyborg is a human whose capabilities are extended by various forms of technology (Kirkup, 2000). Haraway (2007, p.53) states that 'cyborg writing is about the power to survive, on the basis of seizing tools to mark the world that marked them as other.' Cyborg feminists have utilised online data in conjunction with social media to self-surveil and monitor unequal gender practices, thus encouraging female mobilisation and enforcing the need for equality (Castells, 2012).

1960's socialist-feminists united in protests to achieve the expansion of waged labour to women (Gimenez, 2005). Despite their physical presence, MacKinnon's (1987) totalising analysis posits that women were alienated in the workplace, to the extent that visibility was subject to their sexual appropriation. Contemporary discourses evidence the existence of covert sexual discrimination in the workplace, with Larsen *et al* (2019) reporting sexual harassment, discrimination and aggression perpetrated against women. The '#MeToo' cyborg feminist movement of 2018 also highlighted a multitude of discriminatory gender practices, indicating the need for imminent, effective action to protect women at work (Dunham and Leupold, 2019).

The categorisation of gender itself is contested, characterised by ambivalent scientific and social consensus (Haraway, 2007). Virtual self-surveillance of gender equality has enabled a poststructural movement whereby the meaning and inclusivity of gender is under continuous scrutinization, elaboration and redefinition by cyborg feminist discourses (Bacchi and Eveline, 2010). However, Phipps (2007) asserts that organisations struggle to keep up with, or simply dismiss, progressive definitions of gender in favour of outdated approaches which taxonomise female experiences and deny individualised, intersectional issues.

Self-Surveillance in the Workplace

Workplace surveillance increased in April 2017 with compulsory gender pay gap reporting for organisations with more than 250 employees (GovUK, 2019). Organisations must report on 6 measures, outlined in *Table 1,* relating to the discrepancies in average pay between men and women. Datafying and self-surveilling these practices hopes to create a chilling effect by highlighting discriminatory behaviours in order to improve gender relations (McIntosh, 2018). Whilst a closing gender pay gap was to be expected, preliminary 2019 reports indicate an increasing gap in over 40% of private companies, with London's financial multinationals serving as the biggest culprits (McGuinness and Pyper, 2018). This contradicts Foucault's depiction of surveillance as a means of achieving targets. Perhaps, the ubiquity of self-surveillance has diminished its gravitas. Or perhaps, as evidenced by the lack of academic literature, the self-surveillance of social issues is deemed less pertinent to profit driven multinationals (Ball, 2010).

Table 1: Indicators required in UK gender pay gap reporting (GovUK, 2018).

Number	Indicator Calculation
1	Mean gender pay gap in hourly pay
2	Median gender pay gap in hourly pay
3	Mean bonus gender pay gap
4	Median bonus gender pay gap
5	Proportion of males and females receiving bonus payment
6	Proportion of males and females in each quartile.

Potential for Further Research

The geographies of self-surveillance are understudied. Whilst the role of surveillance technologies in recrafting social relations is undisputed, understandings of precisely how these tools impact the everyday experiences of subaltern groups are lacking (Haraway, 2007). In a post-human, post truth era, post-panoptic self-surveillance will play an increasing role in governance. Consequently, the social effects of such technologies must be investigated. With current self- surveillance techniques failing to achieve significant change with relation to

gender equality (GovUK, 2018) the establishment of collective theories of experience could ground substantive suggestions for improvement.

Methodology

The research utilises a constructionist approach, incorporating qualitative data and analysis techniques from interviews. Discourse analysis of both online materials and interview transcripts will compare surveilled and non-surveilled actions in relation to gender equality within the workplace. The project will be conducted between May 2019 and March 2020 following the timescale outlined in *Table 2*.

Table 2: Project Timescale

Time Frame	Stage	Operations
April 2019 – May 2019	Confirmation	- Finalising and confirming the research design based on supervisor feedback. - Obtaining permissions from the college.
May 2019 – July 2019	Organisation	- Contact with gatekeepers to arrange interviews. - Additional focus group preparation research. - Finalisation of themes and prompts. - Pilot focus group interviews.
June 2019 – August 2019	Collection	- Data collection during focus group interviews. - Transcription and initial familiarisation with the data. - Data collection through content analysis. - Initial analysis of patterns and discrepancies between datasets.
September 2019 – December 2019	Drafting	- Further analysis and writing - Progress meeting with IGS supervisor - Adaptations based on feedback
January 2020 – February 2020	Finalising	- Finalise first draft of IGS - Meet with IGS supervisor - Adaptations based on feedback

Justification of Case Study

Financial services corporations in London have been selected as the case study based annual gender pay gap reports. The Financial and Insurance industry has consistently ranked poorly, with a current gender pay gap of 29% as shown in *Figure 1* (Jones, 2018). The region of London also maintains the highest gender pay gap within the UK. Organisations chosen are amongst the 10 largest gender pay gaps in businesses with over 5,000 employees including PwC, HSBC, RBS and Lloyds (Lawrie and Guibourg, 2019). Focusing investigations in areas where levels of gender inequality and surveillance are evidently high, both targets the epicentre of the problem and provides stronger indications of the inherent issues in such environments.

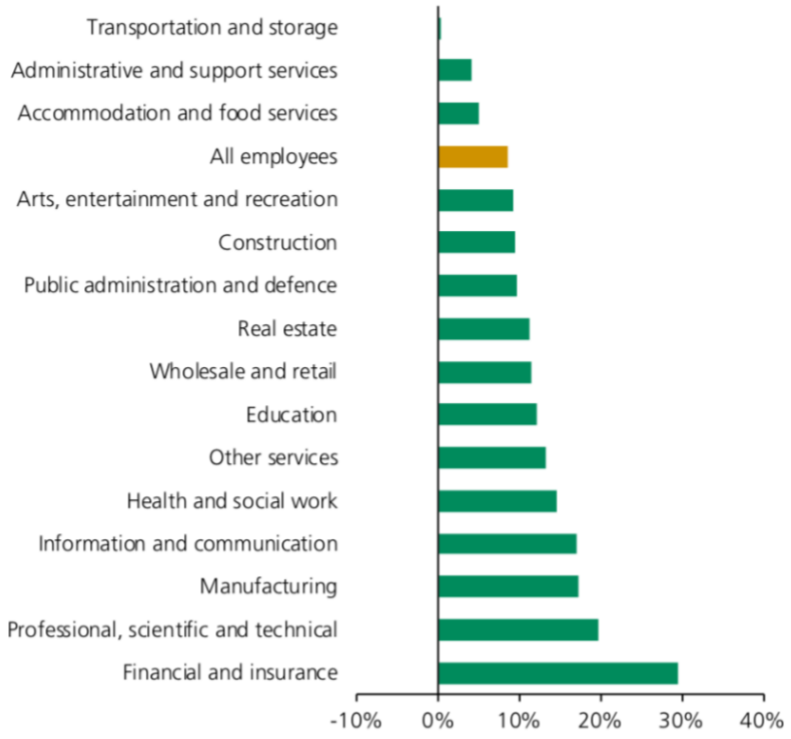

Figure 1: Gender pay gap by industry (McGuinness and Pyper, 2018).

Focus Group Interviews

Focus group interviews will be conducted with women from each financial institution, enabling the collection of a large range of data whilst exploring thoughts, meanings and internal dynamics (Krueger and Casey, 2002). A purposeful sampling technique will be used to select diverse and representative groups of between 6 – 10 women (Marshall, 1996). Semi-structured interview prompts will focus on the theme of gender equality – defined as equal rights, opportunities and treatment of all genders (UN, 2016) – as well as social and economic inclusion.

Interviews will be audio-recorded, allowing focus on interview conduction and retention of the details of participant responses, which are often omitted with transcription alone (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Introspection of researcher positionality will be maintained to ensure that personal biases are absent in the discussion. Access will be gained through the use of gatekeepers – predominantly HR managers. Preliminary contact has been established in order to indicate company response. Upon ethical clearance, the development of industry networks will be crucial to gaining access (Burgess, 1984). Framing of the research, as an attempt to improve female workplace conditions, aims to incentivise participation.

Discourse Analysis

Meaning will be drawn from both online content and transcribed focus group interviews using discourse analysis. Online materials analysed will include company reports, gender policies, and social media profiles. The use of language, both spoken and written, acts as a referential function of the world around us (Cárbo *et al*, 2016). Resultantly, the study of discourse – an 'ensemble of linguistic practices' (Iniguez and Antaki 1997, p. 63) – facilitates the study of the social, cultural and historical constructions of reality through understanding the functions and effects of language. The discourse analysis will be conducted following Kendall and Wickman's (1999) 5 step process outlined in *Table 3.* Analyses will emphasise intertextuality by establishing patterns and discrepancies both within and across texts. Reflexivity will be maintained to account for researcher bias in the interpretation and selection of relevant data (Wall *et al,* 2014).

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Table 3: Stages of discourse analysis (Kendall and Wickman, 1999).

Stage	Description
1. Comprehension	Viewing the discourse as a body of statements that are systematically organised. Reading, familiarising and comprehending the text.
2. Identification	Identifying how statements are produced, patterns between statements and their effect
3. Interpretation	Interpreting how the language generates space for new statements and meaning.
4. Rules of Relevance	Analysing discursive power – what is said, what isn't said and why.
5. Establishing meanings.	Discursive meanings generated

Limitations

Despite initial connections with several case study organisations, relentless workloads, high security measures and a simple lack of care from gatekeepers may prevent access. Focus groups, although selected due to their efficiency, may prove to be limiting if group schedules are conflicting. In response, individual semi structured interviews will be suggested as a fall-back method. If despite persistent networking, access is withheld, adaptability to an alternate form of access - such as through social media or the networks of the National Council of Women - is paramount. Time constraints may lead to interviews being conducted within the place of work which may impact the social desirability of responses, in accordance with the institution as a perceived gatekeeper.

Expected Findings

The research is expected to conclude that the self- surveilled indications of gender equality within the workplace promote progressive and inclusive gender relations. Whilst women may recognise the opportunities presented by online technologies as mobilisation tools, it is hypothesised that their unmonitored everyday experiences remain beleaguered by forms of socio-economic discrimination, rendering them unequal to their male counterparts. Discursive analyses will enhance the literature on self-surveillance particularly with relation to the chilling effect, whilst exploring aspects of gender equality not wholly visible through the disembodied online gaze. Findings will conclude with valid suggests as to how self-surveillance could be optimised in order to incite gender equal initiatives.

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Interview Themes and Researcher Prompts:

Introduction:

Prompts

- Researcher introduction - background, research purpose and explanation of interest in this area of research.
- Tell me a bit about yourself and your role.
- What made you want to go into Finance?
- Tell me about the team that you work in (structure and composition).

How surveillance could be optimised as a way of ensuring gender equality in the workplace

Prompts

- Draw on gender pay gap monitoring as a starting point
- Cultural changes
- Challenging inequality
- Behaviour of leadership figures
- Senior level accountability
- Fair work allocation
- What measures are in place in your organisation
- Extent of monitoring in your organisation - at what point does surveillance become too much?

The Honorary Male

Prompts

- Socialising opportunities for men and women
- Behavioural changes in male dominated spaces
- Valuing different personality types and character traits
- Female dress
- Potential barriers from reaching senior roles
- Equal opportunity at all levels

The performance of Gender

Prompts

- The impacts of monitoring on the performance of gender
- How maternity leave is perceived
- Unintentional discrimination
- Social events
- Company 'fit' in relation to gender
- Interview bias and how to eliminate it
- Bringing your true self to work – how organisations can encourage this

Female Networks

Prompts

- Are there networks for women – if so, tell me more about them
- What do they do?
- Effectiveness in supporting women
- Uptake of network support, who uses them?

Reporting issues in the workplace

Prompts

- Mechanisms and structures for reporting
- Confidence in using these structures
- How are the issues dealt with?
- What impact does this reporting have on gender relations?
- Social media as a reporting tool
- Impact of technology

The Chilling Effect

Prompts

- Company's online image vs internal face
- Face-to-face gendered interactions
- The impact of gendered surveillance on unmonitored interactions
- Changing attitudes
- Social change as well as economic change
- Self-regulation

Current Surveillance practices

Prompts

- Current monitoring practices
- Effectiveness of current monitoring practices and gendered initiatives
- Additional monitoring that could benefit women
- Surveillance overall – is it a help or a hindrance?
- Impact on feminism
- Perception and role of gendered monitoring – how does it influence deeper structural issues?