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Tourism's lost leaders: Analysing gender and performance

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ABSTRACT

Higher education is increasingly engaged with diversity initiatives, especially those focused on women in academic leadership, whilst there is an evolving literature across the humanities and the social, management and natural sciences, critiquing academia's gendered hierarchies. In contrast, senior academics in the field of tourism management have largely eluded similar sustained analysis. This paper builds on recent gender-aware studies of tourism's leading academics with three aims. Firstly, to widen evidence of gendering in tourism's academic leadership by scrutinizing and contextualizing performance indicators, which make and mark its leaders and shape its knowledge canon. Secondly, since critique alone cannot lead to transformation, the paper seeks to 'undo' gender in tourism's academy. Thirdly the paper presents interventions to accelerate academic gender equity.

Introduction

The diversity and inclusion agenda is increasingly concerning global higher education and recent studies highlight a significant gender and race leadership gap (see AAUW, 2015). Whilst academia is popularly considered a realm of thought-leadership, it has been slow to address diversity and equality and an evolving literature demonstrates the multifaceted ways in which it "is profoundly gendered" (Savigny, 2014, p. 794). Disciplines and fields across the humanities and the social and management sciences (Marcus, 2015; Ozbilgin, 2010; Wylie, 2007) and the natural sciences (Rees, 2011; Van Arensbergen, Van der Weijden, & Van den Besselaar, 2013) are progressively identifying and challenging their own gender inequalities. These studies have provoked much debate, particularly in male-dominated science, engineering and technology (SET) subjects (Conley & Stadmark, 2012). Academic fields are not monolithic or hierarchical and in tourism, enquiry is "enacted in multiple versions... across and within different knowledge communities" (Ren, Pritchard, & Morgan, 2010, p. 886). These communities overlap; some are open and others closed "invisible colleges" (Tribe, 2010, p. 19), whether they are well-established, such as the International Academy for the Study of Tourism (IAST) or emergent, such as Women Academics in Tourism (WAiT). Knowledge is continuously (re)constructed, (re)negotiated and (de)stabilised within and across these communities and their senior academics are extremely influential (Dredge & Schott, 2013). Yet whilst the "patriarchal power" (Tribe, 2006, p. 631) of many senior academics has been identified, they long escaped sustained scrutiny. Recently, however, we have seen a significant mapping of women's under-representation in leadership positions (Munar, 2015) and a study, which revealed tourism's UK professoriate to mirror the heavily male-dominated fields of mathematics and accountancy (Figueroa-Domecq, Pritchard, Segovia-Pérez, Morgan, & Villacé-Molinero, 2015).

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This paper widens this evidence of tourism's gendered academic leadership and organizing structures, challenges the field's gender-blind meritocratic discourses, and focuses debate on why most of its visible leaders are men (Tourism Education Futures Initiative (TEFI), 2014). The paper inspects editorial board memberships, professorial positions and publication metrics – performance indicators, which typically make and mark academic leaders (Hunt, Gao, & Xue, 2014) – and evaluates a broad literature to provide a critical reading of how gender has shaped the field's knowledge domain. Its analysis encompasses examination of all 677 editorial board positions in 12 prominent tourism journals and all tourism professors in the United Kingdom (UK), New Zealand and Australia, three leading tourism knowledge-generating countries (Pritchard & Morgan, 2007). This is followed by a gender-aware evaluation of publication metrics, frequently employed as proxies for research productivity and influence (Benckendorff & Zehrer, 2013). In doing this our aims are threefold. Firstly, to widen evidence of gender as a constituent of tourism's organisational practices, which shape its knowledge canon (Martin & Collinson, 2002; Poggio, 2006); secondly, to disrupt and 'undo' gender (Butler, 2004) in the academy; and finally, as the undoing of gender necessitates an undertaking of something else (Brink & Benschop, 2012), to outline potential gender equity interventions.

Literature review

Academic leadership is a contested concept with negative managerialist connotations (Bolden, Hawkins, Gosling, & Taylor, 2011), although distinctions are made between organizational and subject leadership (Macfarlane, 2012). We focus on the latter, a leadership associated with patronage, mentoring and career opportunities (Bolden et al., 2012). Such academic leaders are knowledge power-brokers, setting the "parameters in which individuals are encouraged to work if they wish to be at the centre of issues in their discipline" (Spender, 1981, p. 186), their positions conferring an authority to define; to demarcate; to deprecate or to elevate; to dismiss or to legitimize; to delineate their research field. A developing literature reveals a worldwide under-representation of women in such positions (Thomson-Reuters THE Global Gender Index, 2013), even after decades of socio-economic change, gender equality legislation and diversity initiatives (Bawden, 2014). In European business and management and social science schools women constitute 55% of students, 59% of graduates and half of doctoral students and faculty (European Commission, 2012), figures mirrored in tourism studies (Munar et al., 2015; TEFI, 2014). Worldwide, women constitute 45% of academics, a figure that rises to 52% in non-SET subjects, yet they constitute just 20% of senior academics (Morley, 2014) and earn 80% of men's salaries (West, Jacquet, King, Carroll, & Bergstrom, 2013).

Gender inequities have been mapped in: research grants (Watson & Hjorth, 2015); sabbaticals (Else, 2015); teaching evaluations (MacNeill, Driscoll, & Hunt, 2014); salaries and journal editorships (Morley, 2014); citation rates (Knobloch-Westerwick, Glynn, & Huge, 2013); selection processes (Benschop & Brouns, 2003); tenured and professorial appointments (Brink & Benschop, 2012). Yet, despite their importance, researchers have found it challenging to penetrate the opaque appointments of the academic gatekeepers making many of these decisions (Bedeian, 2008), such as professors and editors-in-chief. Professors are "the most influential people in academia" (Brink, Brouns, & Waslander, 2006, p. 524), shaping structures and agenda, whilst editors determine journal boards and publication policies, select papers for review, identify reviewers and settle disputes (Bakanic et al., 1987). In short, editors play a crucial role in determining women's editorial appointments (Metz et al., 2016) and publication rates in their journals (McElhinny et al., 2003). Yet a 'maternal wall', 'glass ceiling' and 'sticky floor' matrix halts many women's careers before they attain these gatekeeper positions. For example, men hold 75% of US professorships (West & Curtis, 2006), whilst 2,800 of the UK's 14,000 professors are women, just 17 of whom are black (Garner, 2015). Across Europe, women account for 15% of professors (Ledin, Borrimann, Gannon, & Wallon, 2007), with 7% in engineering; 19% in the social sciences and 27% in the humanities.

A pipeline argument suggests that today's leadership is skewed by historic male dominance and that tomorrow there will be more female leaders once there are enough suitably qualified women in appointments pools. However, studies suggest that this is a very leaky pipeline (Heijstra, Bjarnason, & Rafnsdóttir, 2015; Van Anders, 2004) and that increased numbers of qualified women alone will not lead to a proportionate rise in female academic leaders (Monroe & Chiu, 2010). Instead, whilst some of the pipeline leaks are being plugged, "parity is unlikely to emerge without significant changes in employment patterns" since, based on equal appointments to a constant number of posts, it would take 60 years in the US (West & Curtis, 2006, p. 7) and 119 years in the UK to achieve (Savigny, 2014). This professorial imbalance reflects "impermeable academic practices" (Brink & Benschop, 2012, p. 86) that stall women's careers through gendered social closure (Brink et al., 2006). Although institutions claim to appoint through open processes, in more than three-quarters of professorial appointments a preferred candidate is already known (Brink & Benschop, 2012) as appointments committees rely on the 'old boy network' (Bagilhole & Goode, 2001).

The so-called 'John-Jane effect' (Steinpreis, Anders, & Ritzke, 1999) suggests that men are more likely to be appointed and/or offered higher salaries than women with identical resumés and to receive more senior colleague mentoring (Moss-Racusina et al., 2012). In output-driven cultures, academic performance and influence hinge on publishing rates, yet a study of 1.8 million articles across the sciences and humanities reveals women's under-representation in the prestigious first and last authorship positions (West et al., 2013). Women are more likely to shoulder heavier teaching, mentoring and pastoral care (Ceci, Ginther, Kahn, & Williams, 2014) and domestic responsibilities (Klocker & Drozewski, 2012). As a result women tend to publish fewer papers than men, who focus on volume (Symonds, Gemmell, Braisher, Gorringe, & Elgar, 2006). This parenthood 'productivity puzzle' is well-documented, although poorly understood as it only applies to women since fathers publish more than men without children (Cole & Zuckerman, 1984). What seems evident however, is that family formation

stalls their women's careers and they are disadvantaged in countries adopting volume-driven metrics (Jump, 2015). Women who advance through faculty ranks are less likely to be married with children (Mason, Wolfinger, & Goulden, 2013), whilst more women than men reject academia due to perceived parenthood barriers (Van Anders, 2004). Men with children are more likely to receive tenure than women with children (Mason et al., 2013), their careers positively advantaged by fatherhood, which results in a wage bonus, whereas motherhood incurs a career/wage penalty (Budigz, 2014).

In many countries performance metrics are not only based on the number of one's publications but the extent to which they are cited and here again a complex gender picture emerges (West et al., 2013) as, whereas reviewing is gender-blind, citation is not (McElhinny et al., 2003). Whilst there is no evidence for gender differences in acceptance rates (Abrevaya & Hamermesh, 2012) and some studies have found no significant gender differences in citations per paper (Aksnes, 2011; Borrego et al., 2010), many others (e.g. Hakanson, 2005), suggest that men's publications are more highly cited. In international relations, for example, the average paper published by an untenured male academic has 26.7 citations, whilst the average paper by a female at the same level has 21.5 (Maliniak, Powers, & Walter, 2013). It appears that "women are not included in the citation networks of men to the extent men are included in womens'..." (Martin & Collinson, 2002, p. 254), so that men cite women's publications less, regardless of tenure status, institutional location and journal impact (King, Correll, Jacquet, Bergstrom, & West, 2014).

This under-citation of women is exacerbated by gendered self-citation practices. Analysis of 1.6 million post-1945 papers reveals that men are 56% more likely to self-cite and in male-intensive fields, 84% more likely to self-cite (Shaikh-Lesko, 2014). Moreover, this gap widened in the last decade, so men are now 64% more likely to self-cite than women. This practice is compounded by the 'Matthew effect' (Merton, 1968) whereby male senior scholars are disproportionately cited (Tol, 2009). In contrast, systemic under-recognition of female scholars, the 'Matilda effect' (Rossiter, 1993) or 'gendered Matthew effect' (Hakanson, 2005) is evident in the West et al. (2013) analysis of 1.8 million natural and social sciences and humanities multi-authored papers. If a paper written by a woman is likely to receive fewer citations than if the same paper had been written by a man (Rice, 2013), this disadvantages women when citations are used as proxies for scholarly leadership (King et al., 2014; Wilsdon, 2015).

Citation practices are influenced by an academic's networks and men gain from a male "support system" (Bagilhole & Goode, 2001, p. 161), whereas women tend to have less influential networks (Brink & Benschop, 2012) since "established academics act as invisible hands, nominating and mentoring those who are similar to them" (Ren et al., 2010, p. 896). This is partly explained by homophily, homosocial reproduction whereby people prefer to work with and advance those similar to themselves (Kanter, 1977). Thus male-dominance in work environments is perpetuated as leaders promote from their own networks, furthering other men's careers (Raelin, 2008). This homosocial shoring-up of established networks is evident in doctoral supervisory teams, where men are more likely to supervise other men and female students are more likely to have female or mixed supervisory teams (Villarroya et al., 2008).

Homophily also has less tangible outcomes, whereby young scholars associate men with gravitas and are more interested in collaborating with them (Knobloch-Westerwick & Glynn, 2013), so that social academic systems unconsciously (re)produce a male research lens through which members "learn their trade" (Kuhn, 1970, p. 43). The hidden consequences of this include the: employment of male norms to interpret social phenomena; utilisation of paradigms emphasizing men's experiences; homogenity that can lead to a focus on particular topics and approaches; attention to male-dominated aspects of social life (Burgess & Shaw, 2010). Indeed, academic leadership measures are closely entwined with masculinity (Savigny, 2014), creating a "pervasive culture..." (Ledin et al., 2007, p. 986). Role cognitivity theory conceptualises gender through shared expectations whereby women are traditionally associated with nurturing and men with assertiveness and agency (Eagly & Karau, 2002), the latter being more celebrated academic qualities (van den Brink & Stobbe, 2009), particularly in business schools, where worldwide 90% of senior faculty are men (Fisher, 2007). Academic referees typically characterise men as self-assured and stereotype women as supportive (Eagly, 1987), yet behaviours suggesting assertiveness in men suggest abrasion in women, meaning that they are perceived as "troublemakers" (Van Anders, 2004; Huang, 2008). Second generation sexism's barriers are thus pervasive and elusive (Ibarra, Ely, & Kolb, 2013), so that senior female academics tend to be liked or respected, but rarely liked *and* respected (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004).

Whilst there is a growing scholarship of tourism scholarship (Hunt et al., 2014), little has hitherto connected with this wider literature on gender and academic cultures. Scholars have examined geographic (e.g. Law, Leung, & Buhalis, 2010), institutional (e.g. Jogaratnam, Chon, McCleary, Mena, & Yoo, 2005) and individual leadership (e.g. Law, Ye, Chen, & Leung, 2009; Zhao & Ritchie, 2007) and sought to benchmark individuals (e.g. McKercher, 2008, 2014), and journals (e.g. McKercher, 2005; McKercher, Law, & Lam, 2006). Yet there has been little gender sensitivity to this work. One exception demonstrates that men constitute 81% of full professors at the top-ten world-ranked hospitality and tourism institutions (eight of which are in the USA) (Hsu, 2014), whilst there are only three published gender analyses of tourism journal editorial boards (Aitcheson, 2001; Munar et al., 2015; Pritchard & Morgan, 2007), Munar et al. being the most comprehensive. Academic journals are key conduits for tourism knowledge and leading scholars are identified by their ability to publish in prominent tourism journals (McKercher, 2008, 2014; Zhao & Ritchie, 2007). Yet, despite the journal's role at the heart of the field, there are few journal papers "on the academic leadership of editors, associate editors and editorial board members" (Law et al., 2010, p. 455) and none critically reflecting on the genders of journal editors-in-chief; the Munar et al. (2015, p. 8) report is the most notable analysis and that identifies "a statistically significant gender gap."

The composition and judgements of tourism editorial boards are rarely questioned as they are seen to embody objectivity and neutrality (Tribe, Xiao, & Chambers, 2012), even though they exert a "powerful influence on authors' careers, the

evolution of knowledge, and teaching and learning... as reviewers" (Bedeian, 2008, pp. 198–99). The dominant discourse in the field is that editorial board membership marks research leadership and is achieved through one's reputation and knowledgeability (Law et al., 2010), despite mounting evidence of the barriers to women's professional advancement in the academy (Pritchard, 2014) and critique of the "striking under-representation of women" in leadership bodies such as IAST (Munar et al., 2015, p. 13). It has been said that senior male tourism scholars continue to regard gender as a "minority issue" (cited in Tribe, 2010) and to ignore wider evidence of the gendering of academic metrics (Rees, 2011). It is to analysis of tourism performance metrics that we now turn in order to investigate why most of the field's visible leaders are men.

Methods

The sociology of knowledge has an established history of feminist critique, empowering those who articulate and contest academic inequalities (Smith, 1990). We employ a gender-aware analysis of tourism's intellectual leadership to examine "who controls what, how hierarchies are built, maintained and changed" (Swain, 2004, p. 102), identifying and challenging gender power relations through our writing (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). This paper is concerned to critique academic hierarchies and performance indicators and such studies can become sites of apprehension for scholars embracing "a feminist ideology within patriarchical hegemonic research structures" (Small et al., 2007, p. 263). Whilst feminist and pro-feminist approaches empower researchers to speak to structures of privilege (Thorne & Stacey, 1985), critiquing one's scholarly hierarchies entails personal and professional risk (Spender, 1981) and it is incumbent on us to reflect on our positionalities (Fontana & Frey, 2000) since we occupy the types of leadership position under scrutiny. We reflected on the implications this may have for our careers and collegiate relationships (Rooke, 1989) in a field where "senior colleagues... discourage colleagues from studying gender, advising them to stick to 'mainstream' research agenda and avoid such a marginal, politicized topic" (Martin & Collinson, 2002, p. 248).

Pursuing "gender research is a risky business for the career ambitious...academic" as its emancipatory promise makes it uncomfortable for many men and some women (Fisher, 2007, p. 507) and writing this paper associates us with one of our field's minority topics (Figueroa-Domecq et al., 2015). Simply participating in a gender and academia study has been described as career suicide by female academics reluctant to voice their stories (Savigny, 2014), as male academics "avoid taking feminism and gender relations seriously" (Morgan, 1981, p. 101). Consequently, identifying men as men and the masculinities they embody is "central to organizational analysis, yet rarely the focus of interrogation. They remain taken for granted and hidden" (Collinson & Hearn, 1994, p. 2). Tourism gender research seems particularly uncomfortable territory, a marginalized terrain for women and an alien space for men, and our paper requires academics to consciously consider the significance of their gendered identities and to challenge gender-blind meritocratic discourses.

We demonstrate the gendering of tourism's intellectual governance by analysing three leadership metrics. First, we examine the gender of all 677 editorial board members in 12 leading journals (boards ranged from 32 to 106 members). Second, we survey the gender of all tourism professors in the UK, New Zealand and Australia in 2015, following Hsu's 2014 gender analysis of full professors in the world's ten leading hospitality and tourism institutions. Third, we evaluate citation metrics in order to problematize widely promulgated tourism understandings of research productivity and influence. Our editorial board membership analysis is consistent with studies elsewhere (Cho et al., 2014; Metz & Harzing, 2009, 2012). Data were collected from journal websites and members were categorized by gender, a task hampered by several journals' failure to include full names – practices that "obscure gender's role in the social organization of work" (Martin & Collinson, 2002, p. 244). In these cases, members were identified by their institutional website profiles. For some, first names were ambiguous, necessitating online searches until each person was assigned a gender (Poisot, 2014). Ours was not a random sample, but an analysis of journals consistently identified as the field's leaders (Cho et al., 2014) – all 12 four, three, and two-star tourism journals in the Chartered Association of Business Schools' (ABS) Academic Journal Guide 2015 (www.charteredabs.org). Assessing a journal's prestige is problematic (Metz & Harzing, 2009) but lists such as the ABS and the Australian Business Dean's Council (ABDC) are increasingly powerful and despite some divergence, agree on the top-ranked journals. Even if they are not universally adopted, these lists are hugely influential and their elite tourism journals dominate the field's journal impact assessment rankings (Benckendorff, 2009) and shape academics' publishing strategies and performance evaluations worldwide (Havergal, 2015); thus, for example the UK Research Excellence Framework received a high proportion of its tourism publications from these top-rated journals (Research Excellence Framework, 2014).

Our second analysis establishes the gender composition of the professoriates in three leading tourism knowledge-generating countries: the UK, Australia and New Zealand (Pritchard & Morgan, 2007). An online biographical analysis of full tourism professors in each country was undertaken (excluding assistant and associate professors and those primarily in hospitality and leisure-related studies). Deciding who to include was problematic, as many professors in unrelated fields use tourism as the context for their study but would not considered to be 'in tourism'; thus our list is based on whether the individuals are located in tourism academic units and/or whether they self-identify as tourism specialists in their institutional online profiles. Our list was validated by senior members in the Association of Tourism in Higher Education and the Council for Australasian Tourism and Hospitality Education. As a result, some individuals who have published highly cited papers but who are clearly outside of tourism's networks, were excluded. We did, however, include Emerita/us Professors as many are active in the community and have institutional ties. Finally, to problematise the employment of publication metrics as a proxy for academic leadership, productivity and influence, we undertook a Google Scholar analysis using the keywords

'tourism,' and 'tourism' combined with: 'management', 'studies' 'hospitality' 'marketing', 'planning', 'development', 'economics', 'eco-tourism' 'sports', and 'sustainable' (see Hall, Williams, & Lew, 2014) to generate two lists of 50 scholars, ordered by citations and h-index, which we compare with McKercher's (2014) analysis (as illustrative of such lists). Google Scholar is the world's largest search-engine that interrogates all sources, unlike the subscription service Thomson-Reuters Journal Citation Record (SSCI/SCI), which includes selected journals.

Tourism's gendered leadership

Tourism's editorial boards

Munar et al.'s (2015) analysis of 189 tourism journals reveals that men constitute 75% of top editorial positions (such as editors-in-chief and other analogous positions) in the top 20 journals. Our analysis provides 2015 benchmark data for tourism's 12 leading ABS/ABDC-listed journals and shows that all have male-dominated editorial boards, with men accounting for over three-quarters of *all* editorial board positions (Table 1). There is some variation across these journals. *Tourism Management* (84%) and *Tourism Economics* (84%) have the most male-dominated boards whilst *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* has the least (58%), following its recent appointments round in which four of five new members were women. In the first study of its kind, Metz et al. (2016) examined how the characteristics of a journal's editor-in-chief is a predictor of those of its editorial board. They established the "*profound* impact that a journal editor's characteristics can have on gender in editorial boards", demonstrating the positive influence of female editors and high-performing male editors and the negative impact of older and lower-performing male editors.

At the time of analysis (2015), not one leading journal had a female editor-in-chief, noteworthy in a gender-balanced field, especially as a number of leading journals in male-dominated fields such as economics (Addis & Villa, 2003), mathematics (Mauleon, 2012) and environmental biology (Cho et al., 2014) have female editor-in-chiefs. Moreover, during 1989–2012 female editors-in-chief of management journals increased from 9% to 22%, while those journals also increased female representation on their editorial boards (Metz & Harzing, 2012). In management the most prestigious journals have higher female representation and whilst two four-star tourism journals – *Annals of Tourism Research* and *Journal of Travel Research* – have some of the highest female representation, they remain below many management equivalents, such as *Administrative Science Quarterly* (37%), *Academy of Management Review* (35%), *Journal of Advertising* (37%) and *Journal of Consumer Research* (35%) (Metz & Harzing, 2012).

The *overall* gender imbalance across tourism's leading journals has remained since statistics were first collected 20 years ago (Aitcheson, 2001). Whilst our sample is not identical to the study conducted by Pritchard and Morgan in 2007, some comparison can be made with their analysis. Of the six journals for which data is comparable, four have increased female representation: *Annals of Tourism Research* (+19%), *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* (+11%), *Tourism Analysis* (+8%) and *Current Issues in Tourism* (+2%). *Tourist Studies* has decreased its female representation (−5%) and *Tourism Management* has remained static. One might have expected women's representation at all levels to follow an upward trend as boards evolve and new journals appear (Metz & Harzing, 2012). Yet whilst women's *overall* representation has remained static, individual board memberships have been transformed, demonstrating that the capacity for change exists. *Tourism Management* has doubled its board since 2007 to reflect a more diverse academy so half its members are now ethnically Asian, endorsing cautions that diversifying the international mix of editorial boards without specific regard to gender can marginalise women (Harzing & Metz, 2010).

Tourism journals emerge as gendered organisational networks (Martin & Collinson, 2002; Metz & Harzing, 2009), in which significant power rests with individual editors. Several journals have naming practices that obscure board members' genders by using only initials (Martin & Collinson, 2002), none publish data on the diversity of their boards, reviewers, submissions or acceptances and editor and board membership appointments are opaque. This is at odds with good practice

Table 1
Gender composition of top-ranked ABS and ABDC tourism journals (%), 2015.

Journal	ABS Ranking	ABDC Ranking	Board Total	Men (%)	Women (%)
Annals of Tourism Research	4*	A*	106	70	30
Tourism Management	4*	A*	37	84	16
Journal of Travel Research	4*	A*	92	70	30
Journal of Sustainable Tourism	3*	A*	43	58	42
Tourism Analysis	2*	A	91	80	20
Current Issues	2*	A	40	83	17
Tourism Geographies	2*	A	56	83	17
Tourism Economics	2*	A	32	84	16
Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing	2*	A	52	79	21
Tourism Recreation Research	2*	A	50	78	22
International Journal of Tourism Research	2*	A	37	76	24
Tourist Studies	2*	B	41	78	22
			677	77	23

Table 2
Contextualising the gender composition of UK tourism professoriate (%) 2015.

UK Professors	Total	Men (%)	Women (%)
All[1]	14,800	78	22
SET	n/a	82	18
Non-SET	n/a	72	28
Tourism[2]	53	89	11

n/a data not available.
[1] Data derived from HE Survey, reported in ecu.ac.uk/wp-content/uploa...E-stats-report-staff-v19pdf.
[2] Data derived from web analysis of UK tourism professors, 2015.

elsewhere; thus *Leisure Studies* has time-limited, gender-balanced editorial boards and the *British Journal of Management* has committed to "addressing the various forms of biases including gender and ethnicity in representation on editorial boards and in processes of academic publishing" (Ozbilgin, 2010, p. 2). Similarly, *Nature's* editors (2012, p. 495) recognised the "need to improve how we reflect women's contributions to science. For this we must inject an extra loop into our thinking." Leading tourism journals have yet to make such declarations, despite gender equity recommendations produced by TEFI. If women's editorial voices continue to be such a minority "...the questions they would raise... are not asked and the corresponding research is not undertaken" (West & Curtis, 2006, p. 4-5), thereby limiting knowledge and methodological diversity (Addis & Villa, 2003).

Tourism's professoriate

Our second evaluation is the first published gender analysis of the UK (53), Australia (14) and New Zealand (8) tourism professoriates. Men account for more than 80% of Australia's most senior academics, defined as Associate Professor and above (Carrington & Pratt, 2003), 91% of professors of mathematical science and 86% of professors of natural and physical sciences (Joshi, 2016). In New Zealand, men account for 75% of senior academic staff and 81% of professors (New Zealand Human Rights Commission, 2012). In the UK men account for 72% of non-SET professors and one would anticipate that its tourism professoriate would mirror these disciplines (Table 2). Yet 89% of UK tourism professors are male, making the field much more male-dominated, despite its gender-balanced academy (Munar et al., 2015). The tourism professoriates in Australia and New Zealand are similar, with men constituting 84% and 88% respectively (Table 3), figures that are above their respective sector averages. In all three countries female professors lag behind tourism's parent disciplines and cognate fields (GenSET, 2011), with a profile akin to finance and economics, fields critiqued as highly gendered (Scott, 2014).

Tourism's leadership metrics

As tourism inquiry matures it is increasingly concerned with "mechanisms, outcomes and relationships related to journal rankings... and citation analysis" (Hunt et al., 2014, p. 849). The scholar, the article and the citation have become the intellectual Holy Trinity in many countries as tourism enquiry responds to "the metric tide" of an "audit culture designed to inform resourcing, performance evaluation and employment decisions" (Jump, 2015, p. 34). However, in the drive "to order and number the world as the only way to justify our existence" (Fennell, 2013, p. 423), such leadership evaluations persist in conflating quality with quantity despite observations that "'being prolific' does not necessarily mean 'being influential'" (Park, Phillips, Canter, & Abbott, 2011, p. 6). Such unrefined metrics favour established English-language scholars and journals and are reflective of an academic's length of career, yet disconnected from any original caveats, they gain currency as simplistic performance indicators, presented as "strong incentive[s] to improve individual and institutional performance and...an objective way of calculating output" (Law et al., 2010, p. 58).

Table 4 presents three competing lists of scholars: the third of McKercher's (2014) three-time-period Scopus and Google Scholar (1970–2014) analyses and a 2015 Google Scholar citation and h-indice analysis. Harzing and van der Wal (2008) suggest that Hirsch's h-index offers robust citation metric analysis, which integrates quality and quantity measures. The h-index counters the influence of 'one-hit-wonders', favouring academics publishing a continuous stream of papers with durable impact. Scholars with an h-index of 20 after 20 years are deemed 'successful', those with one of 40 'outstanding', and those

Table 3
UK, Australian and New Zealand tourism professoriate by gender, 2015

Country	Totals	Men (%)	Women (%)
UK	53	89	11
Australia	14	84	16
New Zealand	8	88	12

Table 4
Competing lists of leading tourism scholars.[1]

McKercher (2008-2014)		Google Scholar 2015			
			citations		h-index[2]
1	Law, Rob	Hall, C. Michael	29112	Hall, C. Michael	87
2	Cooper, Chris	Crompton, John	23580	Crompton, John	68
3	Hall, C. Michael	Zhang, Junyi	20349	Zhang, Junyi	59
4	Buhalis, Dimitrios	Wang, Youcheng	18284	Woodside, Arch	55
5	Gosling, Stefan	Buhalis, Dimitrios	13310	Law, Rob	55
6	Fyall, Alan	Woodside, Arch	13129	Fesenmaeier, Dan	52
7	Getz, Don	Uysal, Muzzo	12258	Williams, Allan	52
8	Gretzel, Ulrike	Ryan, Chris	11716	Uysal, Muzzo	51
9	Song, Haiyan	Law, Rob	11632	Buhalis, Dimitrios	51
10	Jang, SooChing Soo	Pearce, Philip	10713	Ryan, Chris	51
11	Han, Heesup	Fesenmaeier, Dan	10310	Buckley, Ralf	50
12	Scott, Daniel	Williams, Allan	10056	Morrison, Alastair	48
13	Page, Stephen	Pizam, Abe	9871	McKercher, Bob	47
14	Dolnicar, Sara	Richards, Greg	9021	Witt, Stephen	47
15	Pan, Bing	Morrison, Alastair	8839	Pizam, Abe	45
16	Scott, Noel	Fainstein, Susan	8464	Pearce, Philip	44
17	Ryan, Chris	Buckley, Ralf	7778	Richards, Greg	44
18	Butler, Richard	McKercher, Bob	7547	Fainstein, Susan	44
19	Qu, Hailin	Witt, Stephen	7315	Jang, Soo Cheong	43
20	Mattila, Anna	Crang, Mike	7205	Song, Haiyan	43
21	Tribe, John	Ricci, Francesco	7053	Scott, Daniel	42
22	Fesenmaeier, Dan	Jang, Soo Cheong	7034	Wang, Youcheng	41
23	Brida, Juan	Morgan, Nigel	6968	Morgan, Nigel	41
24	Baggio, Rodolfo	Dwyer, Larry	6893	Gossling, Stephan	41
25	Newsome, David	Song, Haiyan	6873	Hsu, Cathy	40
26	Li, Gang	Fyall, Alan	6866	Crang, Mike	39
27	Lee, Choong Ki	Gossling, Stefan	6673	Ricci, Francesco	39
28	Kim, Woo Gon	Weaver, David	6618	Dwyer, Larry	39
29	Wang, Youcheng	Scott, Daniel	6379	Pritchard, Annette	39
30	Dwyer, Larry	Pritchard, Annette	6350	Timothy, Dallen	39
31	Karatepe, Osman	Dogan, Gursoy	6291	Dolincar, Sara	39
32	Becken, Susanne	Timothy, Dallen	6201	Weaver, David	36
33	Litvin, Steve	McCool, Stephen	6055	McCool, Stephen	36
34	Barros, Carlos	Petrick, James	5566	Funk, Daniel	36
35	Lee, Seoki	Pan, Bing	5376	Myron, Floyd	36
36	McKercher, Bob	Perdue, Richard	5206	Dogan, Gursoy	35
37	Weaver, David	Eagles, Paul	5015	Petrick, James	35
38	Li, Xiang (Robert)	Hsu, Cathy	5003	Wearing, Stephen	34
39	Ballantyne, Roy	Ulrike, Gretzal	4949	Sparkes, Beverley	33
40	Wall, Geoff	Lew, Alan	4824	Lew, Alan	33
41	Buckley, Ralf	Funk, Daniel	4812	Crotts, John	33
42	Petrick, James	Wearing, Stephen	4709	Perdue, Richard	32
43	Morrison, Alistair	Dolnicar, Sara	4635	Prideaux, Bruce	32
44	Hsu, Cathy	Mavondo, Felix	4122	Eagles, Paul	31
45	Higham, James	Myron, Floyd	4107	Mavondo, Felix	31
46	Baloglu, Seyhmus	Sparkes, Beverley	4080	Gretzel, Ulrike	30
47	Prideaux, Bruce	Prideaux, Bruce	4051	Higham, James	28
48	Gursoy, Dogan	Becken, Susanne	4011	Dowling, Ross	27
49	Crouch, Geoff	Crotts, John	3839	Paci, Rafaele	27
50	Altinay, Levant	Dowling, Ross	3641	Peeters, Paul	27

[2]h-index was retrieved from Google Scholar in 2015 and is the total h-index for each scholar; where scholars have the same h-index, citation count decides their ranking.
[1] Female scholars highlighted in blue.

with one of 60 'unique' (Cronin & Meho, 2006). Geraci, Balsis, and Busch (2015) observe that, even though it disadvantages women, it has become common to rely on the h-index to assess scientists' contributions to their fields and to use it to inform appointments, promotion and pay awards. All such lists are framed by subjective judgements as "understandings of merit are socially constructed," (Klocker & Drozewski, 2012, p. 1272); each list produces different orderings and omits scholars widely regarded as leading figures. McKercher's (2014, p. 1) analysis is based on his "arbitrary decision... to include only those scholars who published more than 10 cited outputs between 2008 and 2014", whilst our citation and h-indice analysis only includes researchers registered on Google Scholar.

Regardless of their methodologies, women's representation has not increased in any of these lists in almost half a century; they constitute a mere 8% of McKercher's new 'guard' of scholars (Table 4), falling from 12% on his 1998–2007 list. In the Google Scholar analysis they constitute 14% of the 50 most cited scholars and 12% of those with the highest h-indices. Only two women feature in McKercher's list over two time periods, none over three. By contrast, 13 men figure amongst the top 50 scholars over three time periods (1970–2014) and 35 over two, demonstrating the longevity of leading male scholars *as defined by these metrics*. The female faces change but their proportion remains small, underlining the difficulties they face in attaining and sustaining recognition (Mason et al., 2013). There is no evidence of an efficient pipeline and tourism's 'invisible colleges' (Benckendorff & Zehrer, 2013) continue to advance the next generation of male leaders. Yet, despite the gendered nature of such leadership lists, their authors are silent on the issue. None question whether women's under-representation reflects the reality of academic life or if tourism's leadership measured are inherently flawed. Seemingly tourism's understandings of academic merit are so powerfully shaped by masculinist standards of academic performance (Berg, 2002) that they leave no space for gender analysis.

Undoing gender in the tourism academy

Undoing gender in tourism studies requires individual, structural and systemic transformations in the field, the wider academy and beyond, and reflection "on why these gender imbalances persist…" (Brink & Benschop, 2012, p. 87). In our analysis, tourism's senior academics are unrepresentative of its gender-balanced academy (Munar et al., 2015; TEFI, 2014). We have seen how its UK, Australian and New Zealand professoriates are more male-dominated than finance, economics, mathematics and accountancy and how globally, editorial boards and lists of tourism's leading scholars exhibit gender imbalances (e.g. Zhao & Ritchie, 2007). The latter seems to endorse the 'Matthew Effect' (Hakanson, 2005), with strategies such as women co-authoring with men to enhance their profile (Copenleaver, Goldbeck, & Cherubini, 2010), potentially negated by institutional promotion processes encouraging single authorship (Law & Chon, 2007). Yet gender equity is not merely a diversity issue for tourism inquiry but a demand of its undertaking since it raises the 'collective intelligence' of its research teams (Woolley & Malone, 2011).

Gender equity is central to the global academic diversity agenda and is a target for universities, national research councils, major funding organisations, intergovernmental organisations and leading journals including *Nature* and *Science* (GenSET, 2011). Demands for radical action include diversity quotas for academic leadership posts and the transformation of university appointments systems (Manfredi, 2015). For example, the UK University of Essex eliminated its professorial pay gap by awarding all its female professors a one-off pay rise whilst the National University Ireland, Galway has committed to: female quotas for all promotions and career assessments; managerial training to recognise unconscious bias; financial support for returning mothers to re-establish their research careers; holding faculty meetings 10am-4pm (Grove, 2016). In Norway successful gender mainstreaming practices include gender analysis, development programmes, mentoring, and quota systems, whilst the Austrian Excellentia programme financially rewards universities appointing female professors. In Australia academic salaries are publically available in the Enterprise Bargaining Agreements for each university and no salary distinction is made between male and female academics at the same level.

Such initiatives echo those of governments and businesses worldwide, which recognise that greater female representation on boards and senior teams enhances governance and drives business success. Women's under-representation as business and professional leaders has long received feminist critique (Freeman, Bourque, & Shelton, 1995) and countries including Norway, Finland, Sweden, Iceland, Denmark, France, Spain, the Netherlands and Germany have introduced gender quotas for company board members, whilst a European Union Directive targets a minimum of 40% women non-executive company directors by 2020 (European Commission, 2014). Deloitte Global is diversifying its boards by encouraging senior male CEOs to relinquish their seats to female alternates (Credit Suisse, 2015), whilst unconscious workplace bias is being addressed in leading companies (Harvard Business Review, 2011) and others are including diversity goals into performance appraisals (Peck, 2015).

We must similarly 'undo' the unconscious biases that permeate our organisational structures and academic practices. There are strong, self-replicating networks in any academic community but change can occur if the appropriate rationale, relationships and resources are established (Hardy & Maguire, 2008). Figure one outlines a manifesto for tourism studies, which we present as one route to unlocking agency and stimulating awareness, dialogue and urgency, thereby combating tokenism and disrupting established networks and promoting systemic change. It builds on the TEFI (2014) *Recommendations for Promoting Gender Equity and Balance in Tourism Publications* and is another change pressure point in the academy, adding academic journal debates to these other initiatives. The manifesto calls on scholars and organisations to commit to radical change to transform tourism's structures within a five-year timeframe and focuses particularly on journals since their editors have a central role to play in determining women's editorial board appointments and publication rates (Metz et al., 2016). We urge journals to develop gender equity strategies, to publish annual statements (to include the gender balance of editors, advisory boards, peer-reviewers, submissions and acceptances) and to achieve gender-balanced, time-limited editorial boards/teams by 2021 (see Fig. 1).

In addition to advocating transparent, gender-aware processes and behaviours, the manifesto presses for responsible metrics of academic contribution. Evidently the higher education audit cultures of many countries will not be reversed and tourism's networks and communities operate within wider organizational and institutional evaluation systems (Alder & Harzing, 2009). Metrics such as citations are increasingly used in many appointments and evaluation, tenure and

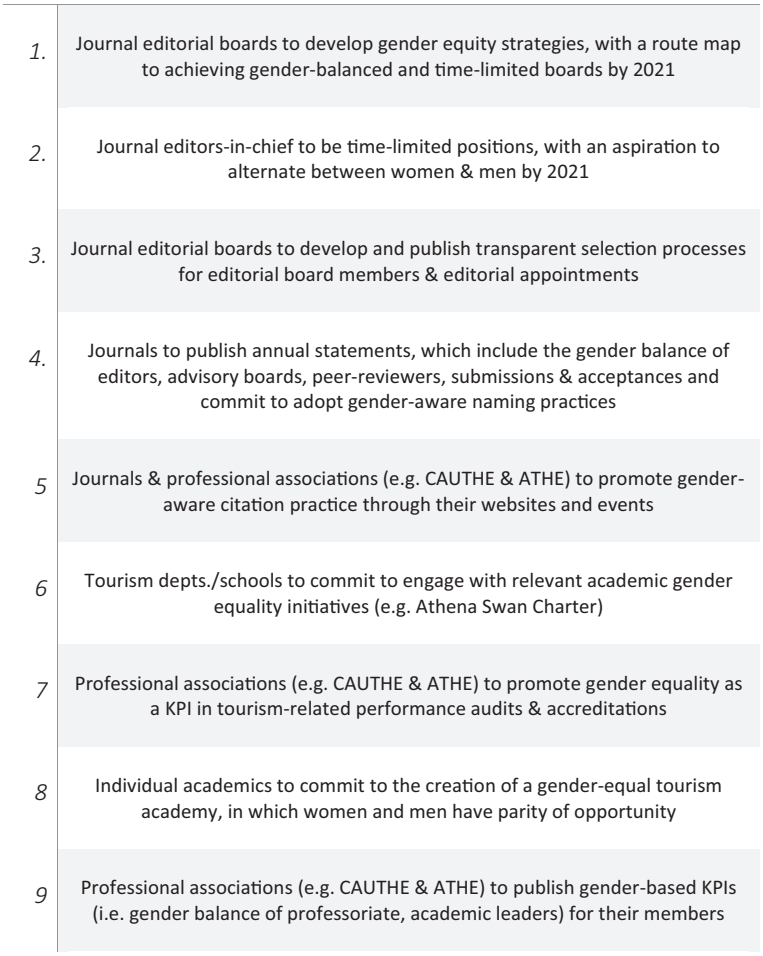

Fig. 1. A manifesto for action in tourism academic leadership.

promotion decisions, in a "be cited or vanish" performance culture (Law et al., 2010, p. 736) that is particularly unforgiving for women (Fennell, 2013; Wilsdon, 2015). Several academic fields have embraced an initiative designed to encourage individual academics to ensure that they have sources cited from both women and men in an effort to address the gendered citations gap (Hudson, Haight, & Fattorse, 2015). If we are to ensure equity, tourism's metrics must be challenged to recognise the contributions of academics with childbearing responsibilities, as do the UK REF and Australian Research Council (Klocker & Drozewski, 2012) and include allowance for 'office housekeeping/pastoral/service' responsibilities (Van Anders, 2004). At the same time, tourism's networks must "create environments that foster and appreciate excellent scholarship on the questions that matter most to business and society" (Alder & Harzing, 2009, p. 16) and urge our institutions to reward scholars producing quality not quantity (Park et al., 2011). This would offer a more equitable leadership pathway for women and men *and* advance researchers challenging tourism's confirmatory research agenda to "pursue the things that really matter" (Jump, 2015, p. 34).

Conclusion

This paper has provided a critical and reflexive reading of gender in the tourism academy by analyzing and contextualizing three metrics that make and mark its academic leaders – editorial board memberships, professorial titles and citations. Our analysis of these measures suggests that unconscious gendered bias diminishes women's voices and therefore has an impact on knowledge production, and that benchmarks of tourism academic leadership are skewed to a male 'default', limiting women's leadership opportunities (Brink et al., 2006). This has consequences for individual careers and for tourism's development since women's perspectives, approaches and research questions remain under-represented and their intellectual contributions undervalued (Addis & Villa, 2003). At the time of our analysis, men constituted 77% of *all* editorial board positions in leading journals and every single one had a male editor-in-chief, making tourism's journal hierarchies more male-dominated than those of the natural sciences (Cho et al., 2014). Whilst individual journals have widened their gender

representation (especially *Annals of Tourism Research,* which has made gender-balanced appointments under its current editor-in-chief and *Journal of Sustainable Tourism,* which has widened female representation significantly under its new editorial team) and increased their international diversity (*Tourism Management*), no systematic or transparent gender equity policies exist.

Internationalizing editorial boards is essential but gender must also be simultaneously and explicitly addressed or women's representation can be undermined (Harzing & Metz, 2010). Moreover, in the absence of transparent gender policies, any progress is insecure and at the discretion of individual editors-in-chief, who have considerable influence over their boards' compositions. Metz et al. (2016) demonstrate how high-performing male editors and female editors are likely to appoint women board members as they include both men and women in their networks. As a result, they create diverse editorial boards, which lead to more submissions, generating more high-quality papers, increased readership and citations (Hodgkinson, 2008). This virtuous circle of diversity is essential for tourism to be a vibrant field, cross-fertilised by and informing other disciplines (Hall et al., 2014). Leading journals including *Nature* and the *British Journal of Management* have publically committed to address gender and diversity issues and tourism needs similar action. This requires senior figures such as editors, deans and subject association chairs, to set an agenda that recognizes gender as a research leadership issue, to mainstream gender-sensitive policies and practices and to make research decision-making processes transparent (Brink, Benschop, & Jansen, 2010). Tardiness in engaging in reflexive critique of our communities and metrics concedes the equity initiative to other fields and undermines thoughtful understandings of academic contribution and leadership. Networks such as TEFI can be highly visible agents in actively seeking to unlock agency, to engage, advocate and educate for change in this process. Such positive action may encounter resistance and claims that the consequence will be the promotion of less competent women and less opportunities for talented men. However, experience in the business world suggests that diversity mandates can negate in-group patronage and closed social networks and that once initiatives such as gender quotas are operating, their value is recognised by women and men (Dhir, 2015).

Papers such as ours and reports such as Munar et al. (2015), together with networks such as TEFI and WAiT, are different but complementary points of challenge to unconscious gender bias. The issues we have discussed are by no means unique to tourism and are found across all fields, even when the forms, methods and metrics vary by discipline (Savonick & Davidson, 2016) and are rooted in wider socio-cultural discourses. Many organisations across higher education are taking action to confront gender bias, as evidenced in the UK by initiatives such as Athena SWAN (http://www.ecu.ac.uk/equality-charters/athena-swan/) and assessments such as the REF, which recognise career breaks. However, given the discussion above, the possibility of future REFs (and similar evaluations) employing citation metrics as a proxy for research influence raises many questions, as does the use of quantification-driven performance measures in appointments and promotions processes. There is much work to do to develop 'responsible metrics', which recognize all-round contributions (Jump, 2015). In addition, each of us "can make a contribution by, at the minimum, starting to change the framing of our research conversations from vocabularies of individual success to vocabularies of contribution and significance (Alder & Harzing, 2009, p. 27).

Clearly, there are limitations to our study. We only focus on 12 leading journals and three country professoriates and exclude the USA, which is hugely important within our academy and its knowledge networks (Hsu, 2014). Moreover, our citation analysis relies on h-indices and total citation counts, which favours more productive and older scholars; further studies could utilise other indices, such as the hc-index or g-index in more detailed bibliometric analyses. Indeed, the complex relationship between gender, publishing and academic recognition and leadership requires significant study. As we have seen, research elsewhere has discussed the 'Matilda Effect' in citation rates (e.g. Knobloch-Westerwick et al., 2013) and the rise in self-citation (Shaikh-Lesko, 2014). We need bibliometric studies that ask: how does the percentage of female compare with male authors in tourism journals; what percentage of female and male faculty members publish; are men more likely to publish single authored papers and/or more likely to be first authors on tourism papers; are women less cited in tourism (and, if so, why); do male tourism scholars self-cite in line with rates in other fields and is the trend increasing; is there a difference in the numbers of men citing men, women citing men, women citing women, and men citing women; and finally, are some topics more favoured by male authors? Global benchmarking data is also required for the gender breakdown of: authors in leading and other journals; PhD tourism completions; recipients of national research grants; teaching and best journal/conference paper awards. This could be complemented by ethnographic work, gathering the experiences of doctoral students, early- and mid-career researchers and senior professors of any unconscious gender bias in teaching, supervision, mentoring, appointments and promotions and research collaborations, perhaps through memory-work to produce agency and change (Small et al., 2007).

Women constitute a minority of our recognized leading scholars in terms of editorial board members and professors, a figure that has shown little change in almost half a century. There is a clear disparity in the number of men (13) and women (0) who rank amongst McKercher's top 50 scholars in the three time periods spanning 1970–2014. The seemingly objective measures, such as citations and volume of publications, that inform such academic leadership lists have been shown to advantage men (Symonds et al., 2006), yet this is not addressed in tourism's scholarship of scholarship. Many studies highlight how the Jane-John effect influences both men's and women's evaluations as students, colleagues, authors and research leaders (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004), whilst some (Williams & Ceci, 2015) suggest evidence of progress. Tourism needs similar evidence to establish how gender and race intersect and influence these evaluations (Kaatz, Gutierrez, & Carnes, 2014). In summary, we require more intersectional and cross-cultural investigation to disturb tourism leadership metrics founded on masculinist, western norms of success.

We have seen how in the UK, New Zealand and Australia the tourism professoriate is more male-dominated than SET subjects. Further research could investigate the racial composition of the global tourism academy and its professoriate; as for example, black women hold 3% of US professorships (catalyst.org, 2015); this would likely confirm the intersectionality of inequality. Forward-looking analyses could examine new full and associate professorial appointments to determine whether the gender and racial balance is improving. Academics must challenge characterizations of 'success', which are not just highly gendered but linguistically prejudiced, geo-politically slanted and rooted in Western epistemology (Alder & Harzing, 2009). Crucially, we need further work to identify how cultural representations and stereotypes impact on our perceptions of leadership roles in our academy (Leslie, Cimpian, Meyer, & Freeland, 2015). The influence of tools such as RateMyProfessors.com are likely to increase, yet such teaching evaluations are recognised to be framed by cultural expectations of professors and if students and early-career staff encounter few female and minority professors, this will skew their expectation of who is a typical professor (Moss-Racusina et al., 2012). Despite its limitations, our study provides a platform for such debate and action and is a benchmark for future research, which may focus on how the absence of senior female academics has shaped the tourism knowledge domain or track the extent to which editors embrace the TEFI guidelines. The future may not reflect the past, with new publication outlets and the erosion of Anglo academic dominance being just two change agents. Some of the pipeline leaks have certainly been plugged, yet in the absence of positive action and transparent policies, progress remains unacceptably slow (Heijstra et al., 2015; Monroe & Chiu, 2010) and that is why we must continue to engage, advocate and educate for gender equity.

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