

**THE CAREERS OF WOMEN AND MEN IN THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION: WHAT'S
THE DIFFERENCE?**

Sara Connolly,
Professor of Personnel Economics,
Norwich Business School,
University of East Anglia,
sara.connolly@uea.ac.uk

Hussein Kassim
Professor of Politics
School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communication Studies,
University of East Anglia
h.kassim@uea.ac.uk

Andrew Thompson
Professor of Public Policy and Citizenship
School of Social and Political Science
University of Edinburgh
andrew.thompson@ed.ac.uk

Josefine Lynggaard,
Research Assistant,
Norwich Business School,
University of East Anglia,

Paper prepared for presentation at the 2019 EUSA International Biennial
Conference, Denver May 9-11, 2019.

Provisional draft, version of 2nd May 2019.

Please contact authors for the latest version and do not cite without permission.

THE CAREERS OF WOMEN AND MEN IN THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION: WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE?

Sara Connolly, Hussein Kassim, Andrew Thompson and Josefine Lyngaard

Abstract

From a low base as recently as the 1990s the European Commission has considerably improved the gender imbalance among its staff and significantly increased the proportion of female managers within its workforce, meeting targets set as part of its gender action programme and the recruitment exercise that accompanied the 2004 and 2007 enlargements. However, detailed analysis of the career paths of three large n studies of AD Policy officials (1,901 in 2008, 2209 in 2014, and 3,264 in 2018) shows that numbers do not tell the whole story. While confirming that the Commission has indeed made important progress over the past two decades, this paper shows, first, that the Commission is more or less at the median point when compared with national administrations in advanced economic states. Second, using a multinomial logit, it shows, contrary to accepted wisdom, that men, not women, were the main beneficiaries of the enlargement recruitment and, when tracking how careers are built across time, that there are important limits to the Commission's success in bringing about gender equality. The paper explores several hypotheses for the Commission's patchy record.

Paper prepared for presentation at the 2019 EUSA International Biennial Conference, Denver May 9-11, 2019.

Provisional draft, version of 26 April 2019.

Please contact authors for the latest version and do not cite without permission.

Introduction

Although gender is a well-established field of enquiry among scholars of national bureaucracies (see Sabharwal et al 2019 for a review of the diversity research literature in the field of public administration), considerably less attention has been directed towards the subject in international administrations in the academic literature. Authors have written about the importance of gender in informing the formulation of policy and with respect to other policy-related aspects, but few -- with rare exceptions such as Ban (2010, 2013), Davies (2002: 223-6) and Goetz (1992) -- have sought to investigate gender from a public management perspective.

This is a surprising omission, not least since the concerns highlighted by the literature on representation in bureaucracies apply as much to international as they do to national administrations. Securing a better gender balance in international administrations is certainly no less important in ensuring that meritocratic principles operate in practice, that the public sector is representative of the communities that it serves, or that public services are delivered effectively. The influence and power exercised by (some) international administrations only emphasizes the importance of understanding whether women are underrepresented among their ranks.

There are also important scientific reasons for investigating gender as a factor in international administrations. It may be that gender is significant as an explanatory variable, offering insights into how bureaucrats think or behave, or how a bureaucracy works or functions. In a national context of public sector employment (teachers in the US) Maranto et al (2018) argue that gender conditions bureaucratic perceptions, ambitions and career paths in critical ways. It is also possible that national bureaucracies can learn lessons, whether positive or negative, from the experience of international administrations. Alternatively, international bureaucracies may simply be very different from national administrations from the perspective of gender.

Taking the European Commission as a case study and drawing on data collected as part of three consecutive projects, 'The European Commission in Question' (2008), 'The European Commission: Facing the Future' (2014) and 'New

Ways' (2018), this paper addresses and explores some of these issues. It aims to examine - in comparative perspective as far as is possible – the recruitment, location and career patterns of men and women in administrator positions with policy responsibilities (AD officials) in the European Commission. It argues, first, that although the gender balance within the Commission has improved dramatically over the past decade, women still remain underrepresented in senior and middle management positions. Second, that the enlargement exercise undertaken in 2004 and 2007 provided an opportunity to improve gender balance and that this was taken, making the Commission a younger and more female workplace at the more junior, but not at the management level.

The discussion below is organised into six sections. The first offers a brief critical review of the literature on gender and administration, and suggests ways in which international administrations may be comparable. The second looks at men and women in the European Commission in a historic and international context. It looks at how the gender disparity within the organisation has changed over the past ten years, and at continuing vertical segregation. A third section describes the data used in this study before comparing the career paths, networking and views on careers of men and women. The fourth section presents the results of an empirical model exploring the range of factors associated with the probability of being employed at different grades, followed by a discussion. Our conclusions are presented in the final section.

Gender and public administration

The extent to which bureaucracies should be representative of the constituencies that they serve has been a long-standing concern in the literature (see, for example, Kingsley 1944; Van Riper 1958),¹ but scholarship on gender and administration suggests that the historical imbalance in the recruitment of men and women and in their presence in senior positions is at the very least unjust, harmful and inhibiting (Campbell, Childs and Lovenduski 2010; Lovenduski 1989; Pateman 1985; Woodward 2011).²

A consensus emerged in the 1980s and 1990s, at least among OECD countries, that the gender imbalance – not only the relatively small number of women within the public sector, but the often sharp vertical segregation -- characteristic of most public administrations, is problematic. With respect to the first, OECD data shows that women formed more than fifty per cent of central government employees in only five (Poland, Portugal, Iceland, New Zealand, and Greece) of 22 states in 1995, this figure had risen to 10 by 2005 but was true in 20 countries in 2015 (OECD Government at a Glance, 2017). However, women occupied senior positions in none of the 22 states. They accounted for 30-40 per cent in 8 (including Greece, Portugal, Sweden, Spain and the UK), 20-30 per cent in 7 (including Austria, Italy, Finland, Norway and Germany), and 2-19 per cent in 7 (including France, the Netherlands, Ireland, and Belgium). This position remained little changed in 2011 (OECD 2011). In the UK, Annersley and Gains (2010) report that the government has repeatedly failed to reach their targeted increase in the share of senior women in the civil servants (from 32-27%)

In illustrating the mechanisms hindering female employees' progression into managerial roles, Yu (2018) identified 3 barriers to women's professional career advancement: socio-psychological ones related to gender roles and stereotypes, internal ones related to the corporate climate and governmental ones. These barriers support the notion of a 'glass ceiling', preventing women in public administration from advancing into senior-management positions. Amongst these, work-life balance is seen as the biggest barrier to career progression faced by women, preventing women in public administration from advancing into senior-management positions. Annersley and Gain (2010) quote "Sylvia Watson (1994) who argued that women in the senior civil service need to behave 'like the right sort of chap' in order to achieve promotion and 'at the top there is still a powerful belief that you should be available or work at any hour in times of pressure or crisis' (Watson, 1994, p. 219)".

Unsurprisingly, perhaps, due to issues of relocation, separation from family and other informal care and support networks and other challenges, the problem for international administrations appears to have been no less acute.³ Indeed, it may be exacerbated. In 1980 at the International Development Bank, for example, only 20

per cent of professionals were women, most in junior grades. By 1990, the number had grown to 30 per cent, with most concentrated in the middle ranks. In the UN system, women accounted for only 16 per cent of professional staff in the mid-1970s to 25 per cent in 1992. The gender imbalance at senior level was even more pronounced: at the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, only 13 of 195 officials in the top five grades were women in 1994, despite accounting for 55 per cent of the workforce. In the UN in the same year 15 per cent of executives were women. More broadly, although five women headed UN bodies in 1996, they were the only female incumbents out of 155 between 1946 and 1998.

Under the rubric of improving diversity, a recent OECD report summarises current thinking about the importance of diversity. It argues that diversity is an asset that can increase policy effectiveness, enhance social mobility – a finding also documented in more recent research which shows that diversification in practice improves large organizations’ ability to deliver services to the diverse populations being served (Broadnax 2010, Caleb 2014) -- promote equity, and improve the quality of service delivery, as well as preserving core public service values, such as fairness, transparency, impartiality and representativeness (OECD 2009:5). Reece (2018) argued that promoting women into senior leadership position has a positive effect on gender equality in the workplace, because female leaders are more likely to introduce and support gender equity-related policies and legislation. Reece draws on a literature that shows women in the legislature are more likely to introduce and pass more female-friendly legislation, this effect is likely to be lagged and display an increasing propensity over time as more women come in leadership positions. A similar conclusion was reached by scholars investigating the impact of more balanced gender representation in legislative bodies. Campbell, Childs and Lovenduski (2010) showed that women in the legislature are more likely to introduce and pass woman-related legislation, among which pay equity would count. This effect may be lagged and increases in propensity over time as more women come in leadership position

More generally, research has also documented that diversification in practise improves large organizations’ ability to deliver services to the diverse populations being served (Broadnax 2010, Caleb 2014). Although Sabharwal 2014 (in a study of

managers in public agencies in Texas), conclude that diversity management itself is not sufficient to improve performance. Also need inclusion which takes account of employees views and promotes self-esteem.

The more rigid HR systems and career structures that tend to dominate in the public sector may also impact on cultural attitudes on career advancement, Ochrana et al (2018) in their study of staff in Czech ministries argued that path dependence has had a distorting effect on gender structures by preventing women from transitioning into leadership positions. Even where gender equality initiatives are implemented, in a study of 13 occupations in the Danish public sector, Nielsen et al (2018) argue that “Despite government efforts and interventions to promote gender equality (e.g., employment equity, pay equity, nondiscrimination acts, etc.), women continue to be underrepresented in management positions.

For example, Nielsen et al (2018) argue that the career aspirations of male and female public employees respond differently to diversity initiatives. They attribute these differential responses to public employees’ experience of token status. Token status has a negative correlation with management aspirations among women. For women, being the token female manager increases the salience of gender and exacerbates processes of stereotyping and threats of stereotype, which can feed into self-assessment, performance, and impact upon career aspirations. In contrast, male tokens experience better prospects for ‘riding the glass escalator’ and moving into management positions, an effect often observed in female dominated areas of the public sector (e.g. nursing and teaching).

Maranto et al (2018) also explore gendered career paths and ambitions. They argue that women perceive themselves as less qualified/experienced than their male counterparts, and as a consequence are more likely to follow different career paths. Such perceived gender differences in skills and abilities typifies causes disparities in women and men’s career advancements. Given gendered career ambitions, male bureaucrats are more likely than their female counterparts to apply for senior leadership positions because these obstacles are perceived as lower. Maranto et al (2018) use data on classroom teacher to test both the amount of classroom experience of male and female teachers, plus differences in ambition to move into leadership roles. They conclude that differentiated career ambitions may affect

women's career progression and could hence help explain why female representation at higher management positions is lower.

Whilst recognising the obstacles to enacting a programme aimed at improving diversity - lack of evidence that diversity improves service delivery, difficulty in creating effective legal framework, budgetary constraints, lack of strategic workforce planning, discrimination in recruitment and promotion, cultural and behavioural attitudes, and negative side-effects – the OECD offers an overview of what action needs to be taken: first, a strategic framework and a joint approach, involving HRM; second, strong leadership, central coordination and delegated implementation of responsibility, collaborative networks, and the integration of diversity into HRM; and third, monitoring and evaluation, and accountability. It also points to the old-age dependency apparent across many administrations, which offers an opportunity for strategic action. In a more recent document, it highlights the importance of more specific mechanisms such as regular assessment of the gender balance in the workforce, measures to increase women's representation in sectors where they are traditionally less represented, regular assessment of jobs of equal value to ensure pay equity, establishment of independent complaint and disciplinary committees, integration of gender targets into performance agreements for middle management, and integration of gender targets into performance (OECD 2012: 9).

Some international organisations have also applied measures designed to increase female recruitment.⁴ Programmes targeting university leavers – the Economist Programme operated by the IMF and the OECD's YP programme – have been relatively successful at recruiting women to junior positions, while the European Investment Bank excludes women from its nationality targets and uses psychological profiling, both of which led to improvements in the gender balance.

Men and women in the European Commission

The preceding discussion offers a helpful reference point for investigating gender in the European Commission. As elsewhere, gender appeared to have little salience as a personnel issue until the 1970s. Since the late 1970s, the Commission

has sought to address the particularly sharp gender imbalance within the organisation. A series of action programmes of increasing sophistication have been implemented since the mid-1980s aimed at improving recruitment and promotion. More recently, the Commission leadership used the recruitment exercise associated with the 2004 and 2007 enlargements as an opportunity to redress the gender imbalance at all levels of the organisation. However, the discussion below shows that these measures have been only moderately successful.

Starting from a relatively poor position, where women were under-represented and concentrated in lower grades, the Commission began to address the gender imbalance of its workforce as long ago as 1978. Until the northern enlargement in 1995, however, progress was slow (Penaud 1989; Page 1997: 70–4; Spence 1997: 89–91; Stevens and Stevens 2001: 108–14, see Figure 1). In 1984, when the Commission created a standing Joint Committee on Equal Opportunities for Men and Women, women accounted for 9.3 per cent of category A officials, 45 per cent of LA officials, 39.9 per cent of category B officials, and 80 per cent of category C officials. Only 2 women held senior positions compared with 162 men -- in other words, 1.2 per cent of the top posts in the Commission were held by women⁵ -- and 69 were middle managers (compared with 735 men).

[Figure 1 - Female shares of Commission staff, 1984-2004 - Here]

Ten years later, women still only accounted for 13.5 per cent of A grade officials, 11 per cent of middle managers and 2.4 per cent of the top posts. Measures implemented since the mid-1990s, including a series of Action Programmes (1988-90, 1992-96, 1997-2000, 2004-08, 2010-15), changes implemented as part of the Kinnock–Prodi reforms, and the recruitment exercise associated with the eastern enlargement in 2004 and 2007 (European Commission 2011, Ban 2010, 2013) have achieved a degree of success. An external report was commissioned from Research voor Beleid by DG admin as part of the assessment of the Fourth Action Plan (Szikora et al 2007), confirming that the Commission faced difficulty in recruiting women to management positions and in encouraging women to consider a career in

management. When it launched its new Equal Opportunities Strategy in December 2010, which reported figures for 2009, the Commission (2010: 3) noted that the proportion of senior management posts held by women had risen to 21.4 per cent and in middle management to 23.3 per cent. The strategy document outlined year by year targets across the Commission and within DGs and by January 2014, the percentage of women in management positions had increased and reached the 2014 targets – 28% in senior management, 31% in middle management and 42.4% in non-management AD positions, see Table 1. The Commission has also made good progress towards its current target of 40% female representation in senior and middle management positions (to be achieved by the end of 2019) with women accounting for 39.6% of all management posts by February 2019 (https://ec.europa.eu/luxembourg/news/commission-track-reach-its-target-least-40-female-managers-within-commission_fr - February 2019).

[Table 1 – Female shares of employment – actual and target – Here]

Similar progress has been made across national administrations across Europe; for example, the OECD Government at a Glance (2017) reports that by 2015, the female shares of employment in the public sector have stabilised at 58%, accounting for 72% of total public sector employment in Sweden, 66% in the UK, 54% in Spain and 47% in Greece. Whilst the number of women in management positions within the Commission has also improved steadily, vertical and horizontal segregation still remain an issue (figures 2a and 2b).

[Figure 2a. Female shares across AST and ADT grades in 2008, 2014 and 2018 – Here]

[Figure 2b. Female of ADT grades by DG in 2008, 2014 and 2018 – Here]

The Commission has made notable progress since 2014 towards gender equality in senior administrative positions and is now much closer to the gender share in national administrations than some of the other EU institutions (figures 3a and 3b). Significant progress has also been made at the level of the College of

Commissioners, where women now make-up one-third of all Commissioners. This contrasts with 27% of senior ministers in national governments – where the share ranges from 6% in Greece to 54% in Sweden. Only 4 of the 29 members of the European Council are female and the European Commission has not yet had a female President.

[Figure 3a and 3b - Female shares of senior administrators, EU institutions]

[Figure 4 - Female shares of Commissioners (1989-2015) – Here]

Given the rationale for an interest in gender and public administration, it is not only a matter of whether there is gender equality in the shares of employment but also in the location of employment and portfolios held. Annansley and Gains (2010, p. 917) argue that women tend not to be given more powerful ministerial roles in terms of budget of influence. “However women ministers are frequently given ‘housekeeping’ and ‘organisational’ roles such as Leader of the House of Commons (Margaret Beckett, 1998–2001; Harriet Harman, 2007–), Leader of the House of Lords (Baroness Jay, 1998–2001; Baroness Amos, 2003–7; Baroness Ashton 2007–8) and Chief Whip (Ann Taylor, 1998–2001 and Hilary Armstrong 2001–6). In these roles they facilitate the networks and practices necessary to exchange resources but have no resources with which to shape public policy outcomes.” This can be formalised using the BEIS-typology consists of four different categories: Basic functions - foreign and internal affairs, defence, justice; Economy - finance, trade, industry, agriculture; Infrastructure - transport, communication, environment; Socio-cultural functions: social affairs labour, health, children, family, youth, elderly, older, people, education, science, culture, labour sports (see http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/database/wmid_methodology_dec_2014.pdf and https://eige.europa.eu/gender-statistics/dgs/indicator/bpfa_g_offic_g6__wmid_natgov_govbeis/bar). Across national administrations, over the period 2015-9, men seem more likely to hold portfolios which include the core functions of government (78% held by men compared with 22% by women) and women the ‘softer’ socio-cultural portfolios

(47% held women compared with 53% held by men). The distribution of portfolios seems considerably more even within the Commission 30% of the Basic, 38% of the Economic, 33% of the infrastructure and 25 of the socio-cultural portfolios held by female Commissioners in the Juncker Commission.

Although their precise impact is hard to evaluate, the improvement in gender representation in the Commission can be attributed to a combination of direct efforts including family-friendly measures, such as teleworking and flexi-working, introduced as part of the Kinnock–Prodi reforms (1999-2005),⁶ a stronger political impetus to achieve the targets set out in the Fourth Action Programme, recruitment associated with the eastern enlargement (European Commission 2011, Ban 2010), the Action Plan (2010-14) and Strategic Plan (2016-2020).

The three survey waves

We turn now to the analysis of our unique data collected on AD officials working in the Commission in 2008, 4 years after the ‘big bang’ of enlargement, in 2014, at the end of the 2010-14 Action Plan, and 2018, the most recent. The 2008 study – European Commission in Question (EUCIQ) - collected an original dataset comprising responses to an online survey administered to a representative sample of Commission AD Policy officials and Cabinet in the autumn of 2008 and responses to a structured programme of interviews with Commissioners, cabinet members, and middle and senior managers, conducted in 2009. The 2014 study – European Commission: Facing the Future (ECFTF) – collected data from an online survey administered to the entire staff of the European Commission in spring 2014 and responses to interviews and focus groups with all groups of staff, conducted in summer/autumn 2014. The 2018 study was also administered to all staff in the Commission, with follow-up interviews and focus groups conducted in the summer and autumn 2018. We use sub-samples of the ECFTF and NewWays data here – that of AD Policy officials – in order to provide snap-shots of the same staff groupings at three points in time (Table 2; Figure 5).

[Table 2 – Breakdown of EUCIQ, ECFTF and NewWays samples by staff groupings and female shares by year of survey – Here]

[Figure 5 – Proportion of female AD staff by year of survey – Here]

Over this period, the Commission has been actively engaged in reforms and actions plans aimed at improving gender representation. In all surveys we tested opinion on the ground by asking respondents whether they believed that women could advance their careers in the Commission as easily as men (figure 6). The gender differences in responses are quite stark. Whilst over 65% of men in all years agree, this is only true for 35% of women in 2008 and the polarization of views is even stronger in 2014, with only 22% of women agreeing and the majority of women, 57% disagreeing. By 2018 this had improved slightly for women, but only marginally, with a strong negative view overall.

[Figure 6 – Perceptions of women’s advancement by gender and survey – Here]

Empirical model and results

We now explore the extent to which the composition of different levels of seniority of AD officials differs by educational or professional background, motivation for joining the Commission, length of service, networking, enlargement and gender. Our model is a multinomial logit with four possible outcomes – Member of Cabinet, Senior Manager, Middle Manager and non-Management AD (reference group), estimated across a pooled sample for each year and separately for men and women (available from the authors upon request), which informs the use of a gender interaction term in our final model, reported in Tables 5 and 6.

Our tentative hypotheses are as follows:

H1: Controlling for differences in length of service, women’s careers do develop differently.

H2: By necessity, the recruitment associated with enlargement meant that staff from the EU-12 states are more likely to be in management positions but with a shorter length of service.

H3: Officials will benefit from prior experience in the private sector and national administrations.

H4: Length of service will be positively associated with seniority.

H5: Motivations for joining the Commission will provide proxies for career motivation more generally and that those who are motivated for professional or pro-European reasons will be more likely to be in more senior positions. Also, given the nature of the role, personal contacts and being 'hand-picked' will be particularly important for Cabinet positions.

H6: Given the nature of opportunities and technical knowledge required, that educational background in Law or Economics will be more important than other subjects.

H7: Those who agree that networks are important and likely to be more active networkers and more likely to hold management or political positions.

In our models we control for career history, motivation for joining the Commission, educational background and attitudes to networking. We illustrate the odds ratios from these pooled specifications, without interaction terms, where a value above 1 indicates that an outcome is more likely and a value below 1 indicates that an outcome is less likely (Table 3; Figure 7). All other things being equal, women were more likely to be Members of Cabinet in 2008, less likely in 2014, and once again more likely in 2018. We find that there was a significant gender disadvantage for women in terms of the probability of being in Senior Management positions in 2008, which improved in 2014, before declining again in 2018. All things being equal, women do experience career disadvantage, as they are less likely to be in Middle Management positions and more likely to be in non-management AD positions, although their position is improving relatively over the period 2008-2018. We also see evidence of the 'big-bang' of enlargement; all other things being equal, staff from the EU12 were more likely to be in management – especially middle

management – positions in 2008, an effect which persists for middle management in 2014, but is closer to parity in 2018.

[Table 3 - Multinomial logit models: odds ratios for females and newer member states - Here]

[Figure 7 - Odds ratios for females for categories of employment status relative to non-management AD officials – Here]

The results obtained from the separate specifications (available from the authors upon request) informed the choice of gender interaction terms for subsequent analysis. These indicate a more nuanced relationship between gender and position, for which being from a new or old Member State is discussed below (see Table 4). The key finding above is that, whilst women are less likely to be in middle management positions, this is not a blanket effect, rather some women are more likely and others less likely. We show the odds ratios from these pooled specifications with the interaction term for each year, where a value above 1 indicates that an outcome is more likely and a value below 1 indicates that an outcome is less likely, in order to illustrate how gender interacts with aspects of nationality (being from a new or old Member State).

[Table 4 – Multinomial logit models: selected odds ratios for females and newer member states, including interaction, in 2008, 2014 and 2018 – Here]

The expansion of Commission staff associated with the 2004/7 enlargements is widely considered to have been an opportunity to correct gender imbalance. We find that, all other things being equal, those from the EU-12/3 nations are more likely to be in senior management positions in 2008 and 2018, and in middle management positions in 2008, 2014 and 2018, but less likely to be members of Cabinet in 2014/18. The interaction term between gender and being from a newer member state, indicates that women are less likely to be in Cabinet or Management positions. Therefore, whilst the recruitment associated with enlargement did

improve the gender balance within the Commission, this was achieved at the non-management AD level.

Our final specifications (for 2014 and 2018, reported in Table 5 and 6) again control for career history, motivation for joining the Commission, educational background and attitudes to networking but also include a fuller range of gender interaction terms which capture ways in which men and women's career develop differently in the Commission.

[Table 5 – Multinomial logit models, including interaction terms: odds ratios, 2014 – here]

[Table 6 – Multinomial logit models, including interaction terms: odds ratios, 2018 – here]

The vast majority of Commission officials have pursued other careers before joining (Kassim et al, 2013). Given the particularly high proportions recruited with prior experience in the private sector and national civil service we tested whether either of these backgrounds was linked with seniority. There is a strong advantage associated with having prior experience in national administrations in terms of representation in senior management. We find in 2014 that women (but not men) who have also had a career in their home civil service are more likely to be senior managers. Surprisingly, those with private sector experience are, all other things equal, less likely to be in management positions. Women with private sector experience were more likely to be in senior management or cabinet but less likely to be in middle management positions in 2018.

We consider two elements of the career within the Commission – length of service and horizontal mobility across DGs. Unsurprisingly, those with longer service are more likely to be in more senior positions, though the impact of longer services does have diminishing returns for being in Middle Management or Cabinet, suggesting that it is possible to be 'too old' to move into these positions. In contrast, for Senior Management, there is an increasing importance of length of experience. Having experience across DGs makes it more likely that an official will be in Senior Management or Cabinet positions. In 2018 we find an added gender dimension, that

women with longer experience are more likely to be in senior management or cabinet and women who have moved DG are more likely to be in senior or middle management positions.

The reported motivations for joining the Commission range from material (competitive remuneration, job security), professional (quality of the work, career progression), ideals (building Europe, public service), policy (interest or influencing), personal (international experience, family reasons) and being 'hand-picked' (asked to apply). Those officials reporting more material motivations are less likely to be in senior posts and those reporting professional motivations are more likely to be in senior posts. Those who reported a desire to build Europe are more likely to be in management positions and those who were asked to apply more likely to be in Cabinet. There are some notable differences between men and women, with women who report career progression as a main motivation being more likely to be middle managers, but those who report a desire to build Europe are less likely to be middle managers in 2014. Whilst being motivated by competitive remuneration is not associated with a greater likelihood of being in more senior posts for men, women reporting this motivation in 2018 are more likely to be in middle management or cabinet positions. A prior might be that 'hand-picking' is associated with 'old boy' networks, but here we find no gender differences, and this motivation is strongly associated with a position in Cabinet.

Educational background is a much less important factor associated with seniority. Those with law, economics or business or humanities degrees are marginally more likely than scientists to hold senior or middle management positions. Those in Cabinets are more likely to hold other social science degrees (mostly politics or international relations) and are less likely to be economists or scientists. The same broad patterns hold when we consider men and women separately; there was a limited association of a business or economics background with seniority for women in 2018.

We take attitudes to the importance of networking within the Commission as an indirect indicator of own networking behaviour – those who (strongly) agree possibly being more active networkers themselves and those who (strongly) disagree being less active networkers. In general, attitudes to networking are not linked to seniority.

In terms of our hypotheses, our findings can be summarised as follows:

H1: Women's careers do develop differently. SUPPORTED.

H2: By necessity, the recruitment associated with enlargement meant that staff from the EU-12/13 states are more likely to be in management positions, but with a shorter length of service. SUPPORTED with a reduced impact for women.

H3: Officials will benefit from prior experience in the private sector. NOT SUPPORTED.

Officials will benefit from prior experience in national administrations SUPPORTED

H4: Length of service will be positively associated with seniority. SUPPORTED.

H5: Those who are motivated for professional or ideological reasons will be more likely to be in more senior positions. SUPPORTED but with gender differences.

Personal contacts and being 'hand-picked' will be particularly important for Cabinet positions. SUPPORTED.

H6: Educational background in Law or Economics will be more important than other subjects. NOT SUPPORTED in 2014 but SUPPORTED in 2018.

H7: Those who agree that networks are important are more likely to hold management or Cabinet positions. NOT SUPPORTED.

Despite the success of the Commission in meeting gender equality targets, we find evidence that bureaucrats – especially women – feel more strongly that it is harder for women than men to have a successful career in the Commission.

Evidence from interview data suggest that the 2014 reform to Staff Regulations – which limited flexible working – had a disproportionate impact upon women and parents of young families. Whilst some recognised the improvements over time in the Commission, a sense of 'presenteeism', a failure to recognise the real challenge

of work-life balance, limited focus of diversity within the Commission, and a backlash were all also apparent. These might help explain why women in particular remain sceptical of the chances of equal progress despite the improvement in the numbers.

“Not as bad as some organisations, there's been a push since Kinnock staff. I remember in the past seeing women in support grades, males in other roles. That has improved.”

“Asked by manager are you getting a nanny? I said no I'm planning to work at home. There's still a perception of coats on the back of chair.”

“What they want is services to combine family life and working life - like kindergarten/ laundry service. Then they can organise their life better. Gender is important and our response is wrong.”

“Have you noticed the only brown skinned official?”

“Yes now I am discriminated against! When I apply for a position, do they need a new member state, then do they need a women, then who is the best candidate.”

Conclusions

This paper sought to contribute to the existing literature in three ways: by profiling the Commission in gender terms -- in comparative perspective where possible -- and by comparing the career paths of men and women in the organisation; and examining whether background, motivation, career profile and networking are explanatory variables in terms of current position.

Our empirical model confirmed some basic hypotheses that gender, nationality, career history and motivations are important factors associated with the likelihood of being in senior positions within the Commission. It also revealed some gender differences – an experience in national administration and being motivated by career progression or competitive remuneration matters more for women and that being motivated by building Europe matters more for men. Our prior that being ‘hand-picked’ would be important especially for Cabinet was confirmed. Finally, the recruitment associated with enlargement did change the composition of the Commission staff and resulted in a more gender equal workforce; however, it was

more likely to be men and not the women recruited from the EU-12/13 states who moved into Middle Management positions.

Our results suggest progress, but barriers remain. Recruiting into the Commission and to AD positions is a start, but our evidence suggests that by 2014 the pipeline remained blocked at Middle Management level. Interview testimony suggested that the 2014 reforms to Staff Regulations had an unintended consequence of restricting flexible working; that presenteeism is often misinterpreted as a signal of commitment and productivity, that whilst setting targets to improve the level of representation of women is important, the real challenge for anyone in managerial positions was the negative impact upon work-life balance; and more generally, the strong focus on gender may be at the cost of broader measures of diversity within the Commission. The Commission have responded to the challenge by setting more ambitious targets – 40% of managerial posts to be held by women. The Strategic Plan for Human Resources (2016-2020) not only sets out the targets, but also considers ways in which the organisation might meet them through training, talent management, work with partners to ensure affordable, high quality childcare and early years education for the children of staff in the Commission, and introducing a new emphasis on diversity, alongside gender equality. These initiatives have proved successful – the Commission is close to achieving the 40% target – but we find that women from newer member states are still finding it hard to reach the first rung of the managerial ladder.

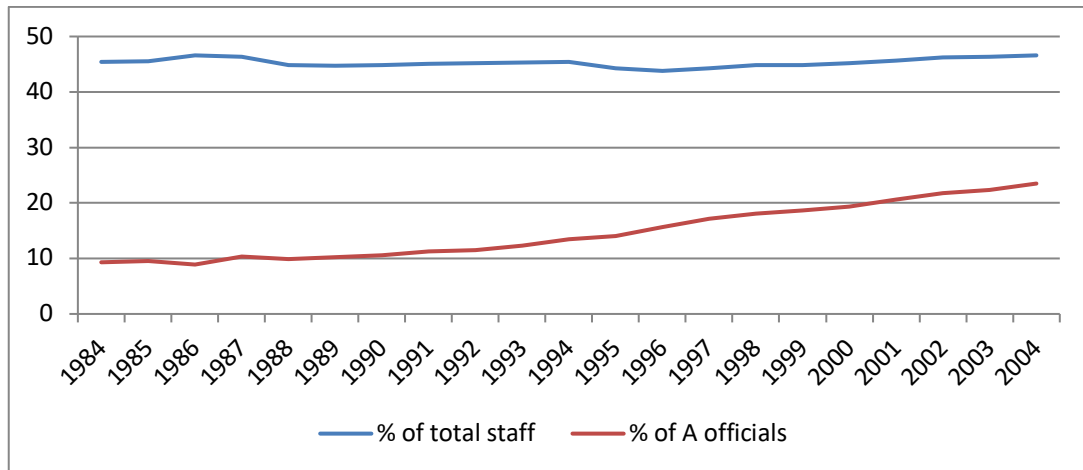
References

- Annesley, C. and Gains, F., (2010), 'The core executive: gender, power and change', *Political Studies*, Vol 58, 909-929.
- Ban, C. (2010) " 'New Blood': The Interaction of Enlargement and Gender in the Changing Composition of the European Commission Staff," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Council for European Studies, Montréal, Canada, April 2010.
- Ban, C. (2013) *Management and Culture in an Enlarged European Commission: Unity in Diversity?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- Broadnax, W. D. (2010). Diversity in public organizations: A work in progress. *Public Administration Review*, 70 (Suppl. 1), S177-S179.
- Caleb, P. (2014). How diversity works. *Scientific American*, 311(4), 43-47.
- Campbell, R., Childs, S. and Lovenduski, J. (2010). Do Women Need Women Representatives? *British Journal of Political Science*. 40(1): 171-194
- Davies, M. D. V. (2002). *The administration of international organisations: Top down and bottom up*. Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate.
- European Commission (1988) *Commission decision introducing a positive action programme (PAP) for female staff for a three-year period (1988/90)*, Commission of the European Communities, 8 March,
- European Commission (1992) *Equal opportunities. Second positive action programme for female staff of the Commission (1992-96)*, Commission of the European Communities, 16 September
- European Commission (1994) *Women at the European Commission 1984-1994*, Commission of the European Communities
- European Commission (1997) *Third action programme for equal opportunities for women and men at the European Community (1997-2000)*, European Commission
- European Commission (2004) *Fourth Action Programme for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men at the European Commission 2004-2008*, European Commission
- European Commission (2010) *Communication to the Commission on the strategy on equal opportunities for women and men within the European Commission (2010 – 2014)*, European Commission
- European Commission (2010) *Gender Action Programme, 2010-15*
- European Commission (2011) *The 2004 Enlargement and Commission Recruitments: How the Commission Managed the Recruitment of Staff from 10 New Member States. Situation at the end of the EU-10 Transition Period: Final Report* <http://ec.europa.eu/civil_service/docs/qabd_1946_eu-10_recruitments_en.pdf>.

- European Commission (2013) *Women and men in leadership positions in the European Union 2013. A review of the situation and recent progress*, European Commission
- European Commission (2016) *Performance through people: Strategic Plan 2016-2020*, DG Human Resources and Security.
- Goetz, A-M (1992) 'Gender and Administration', *IDS Bulletin*, 23(4), October, Sussex.
- Hussein Kassim, Peterson, J., Bauer, M.W., Connolly, S., Dehousse, R., Hooghe, L. and Thompson, A. (2013) *The European Commission of the Twenty-First Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kingsley, J.D. (1944) *Representative Bureaucracy. An Interpretation of the British Civil Service*. Yellow. Springs, Ohio: The Antioch Press.
- Lovenduski, J. (1989) 'Implementing Equal Opportunities in the 1980s: An Overview', *Public Administration*, 67(1): 7–18. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9299.1989.tb00710.x
- Maranto, R., Teodor, M., Carroll, K. and Cheng, A., (2019), 'Gendered ambition: men's and women's career advancement in public administration', *American Review of Public Administration*, Vol 49(4), 469-481.
- Nielsen, V. and Madsen, M. (2018), 'Token status and managerial aspirations among male and female employees in public sector workplaces', *Public Personnel Management*, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0091026018808822>.
- Ochrana, F., Placek, M. and Krapek, M. (2019), 'Ministerial staff of the Czech Republic 25 years after the 'Velvet Revolution'', *Teaching Public Administration*, Vol 37(1), 46-66.
- OECD (2009) *Government at a Glance*, Paris: OECD
- OECD (2011) *Government at a Glance*, Paris: OECD
- OECD (2012) 'Gender in Public Employment', Public Employment and Management Network Meeting, 23 October
- OECD (2013) *Government at a Glance*, Paris: OECD
- OECD (2015) *Government at a Glance*, Paris: OECD
- OECD (2017) *Government at a Glance*, Paris: OECD
- Page, E. C. (1997) *People Who Run Europe*, Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Pateman, Carole (1985). *The problem of political obligation: a critique of liberal theory*. Cambridge: Polity in association with Blackwell
- Penaud, J. (1989) *La Fonction Publique des Communautés européennes*, Paris: La Documentation Française)
- Reese, C. (2018) 'The status of public sector pay equity for women of color in the United States', *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0734371X18761123>.
- Sabharwal, M. (2014) 'Is diversity management sufficient? Organisational inclusion

- to further performance', *Public Personnel Management*, Vol 43(2), 197-217.
- Sabharwal, M., Levine, H. and D'Agostino, M. (2018), 'A conceptual content analysis of 75 years of diversity research in public administration', *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, Vol 38(2), 248-267.
- Spence, D. (1997) 'Staff and Personnel Policy in the Commission' in G. Edwards and Spence, D. with Edwards G., (eds) (2006) *The European Commission*, 3rd edn, London: Cartermill.
- Stevens, A. and H. Stevens (2001) *Brussels Bureaucrats? The Administration of the European Union*, Basingstoke: Palgrave
- Szikora, A., Buiskool, B-J., Scholten, C., Grijpstra, D. Van Berkel, M. and Hamaker, D. (2007) *Comparative study on the career development of male and female AD officials. Final report*, Study financed by DG ADMIN, Projectnumber: B3216 Leiden, July 31, 2007
- Van Riper, P. P. (1958). *History of the United States Civil Service*, Evanston, IL: Row, Peterson and Company).
- Woodward, A.E. (2011) 'International Organisations and the Organisation of Gender' in E. Jeanes, D. Knights and P. Yancey Martin (eds) *Handbook of Gender, Work and Organisation*, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Yu, H., (2018), 'Glass ceiling in federal law enforcement: an exploratory analysis of the factors contributing to women's career advancement', *Review of Public Personnel Administration*,
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0734371X18794254>.

Figure 1 – Female shares of Commission staff, 1984-2004



Source: Commission HR data

Table 1 – Female shares of employment – actual and target

	<i>Actual</i>			<i>Targets</i>		
	<i>AD non- mgt</i>	<i>Middle mgt</i>	<i>Senior mgt</i>	<i>AD non- mgt</i>	<i>Middle mgt</i>	<i>Senior mgt</i>
2008	40%	20%	21%			
2009	41%	21%	23%			
2010	41%	22%	25%	41%	25%	23%
2011	42%	25%	27%	42%	26%	24%
2012	43%	28%	29%	43%	28%	25%
2013	43%	28%	29%	43%	29%	26%
2014	44%	31%	28%	44%	31%	27%
2015		31%	28%		40%	
2016						
2017	45%	36%	33%			
2018	45%	41%	43%			

Source: Commission HR data (to be completed)

Figure 2a – Female shares of Commission staff, 2008, 2014 and 2018

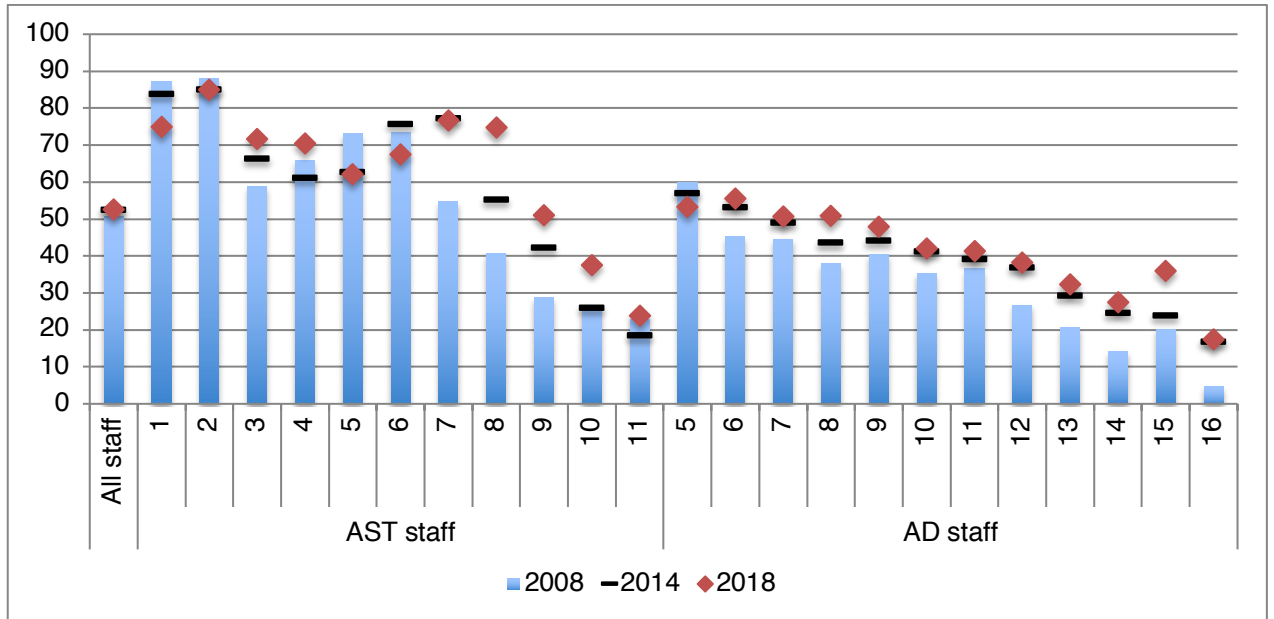
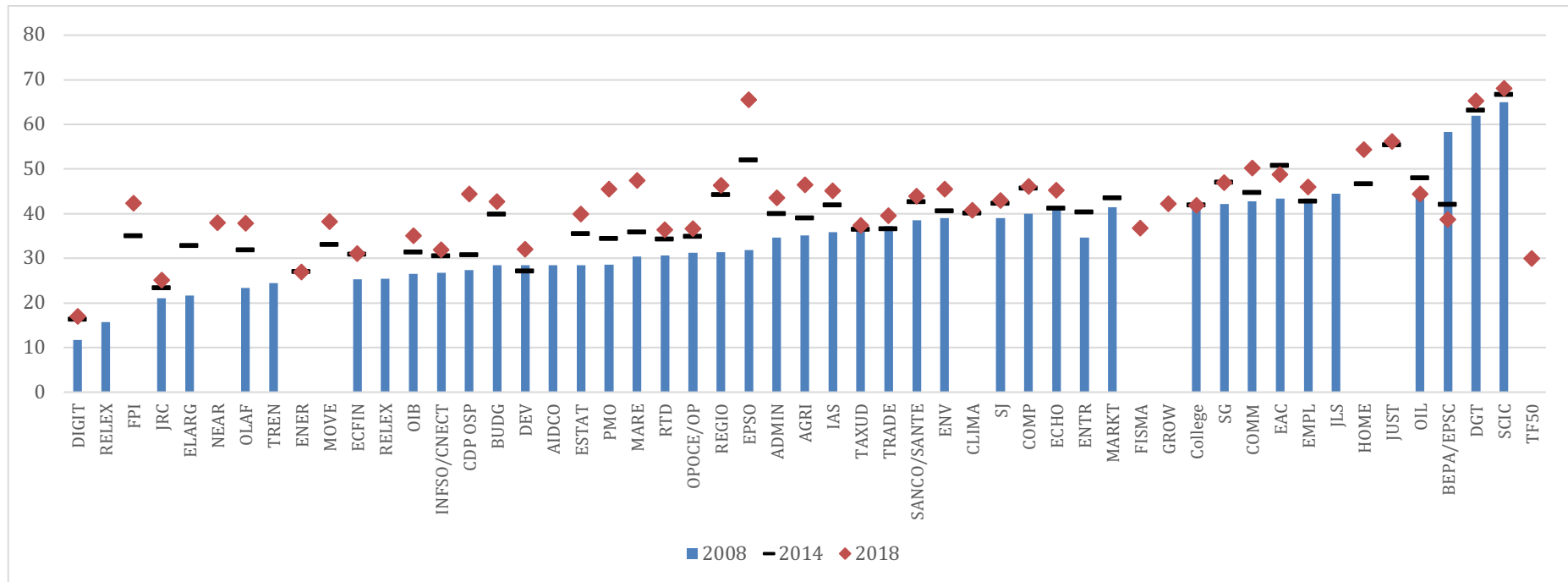


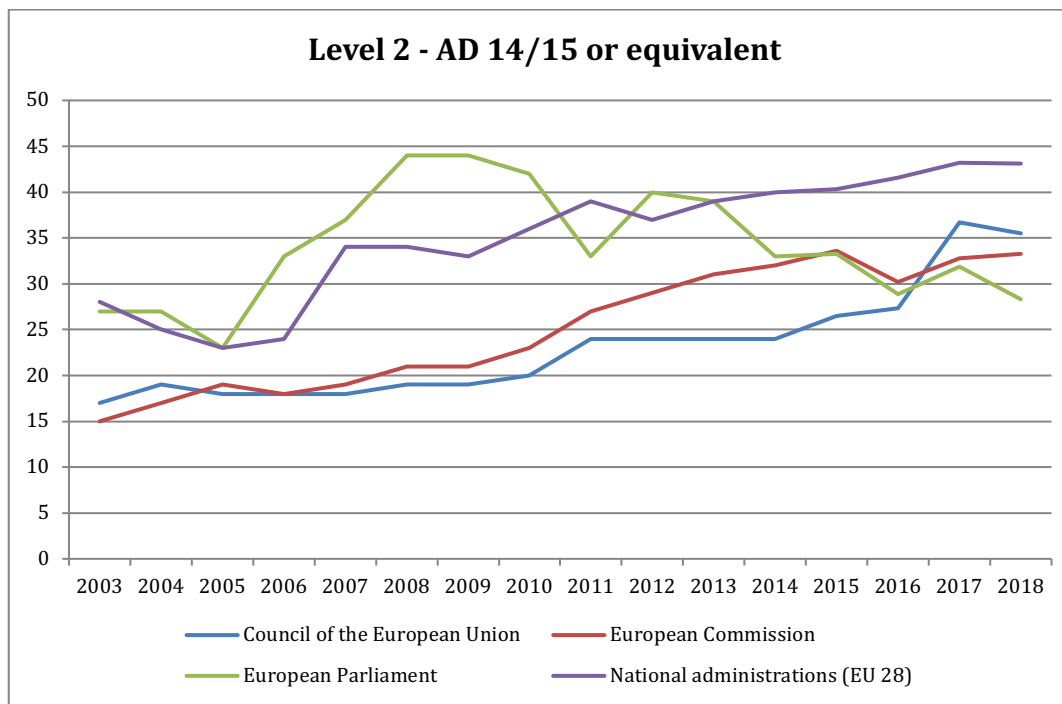
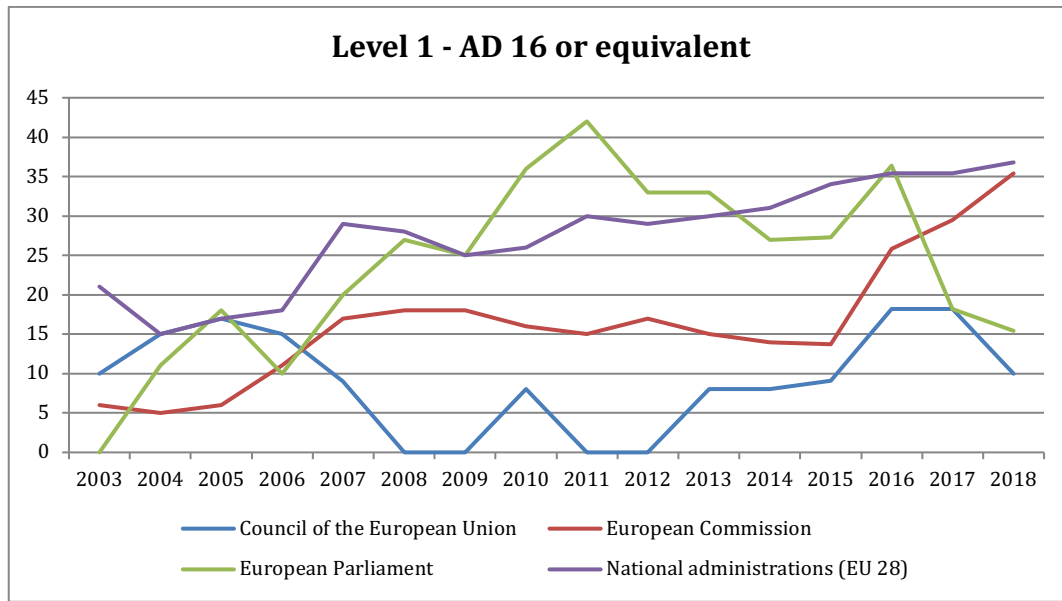
Figure 2b. Female share of ADT grades by DG in 2008, 2014 and 2018



Source: European Commission HR data 2008, 2014 and 2018

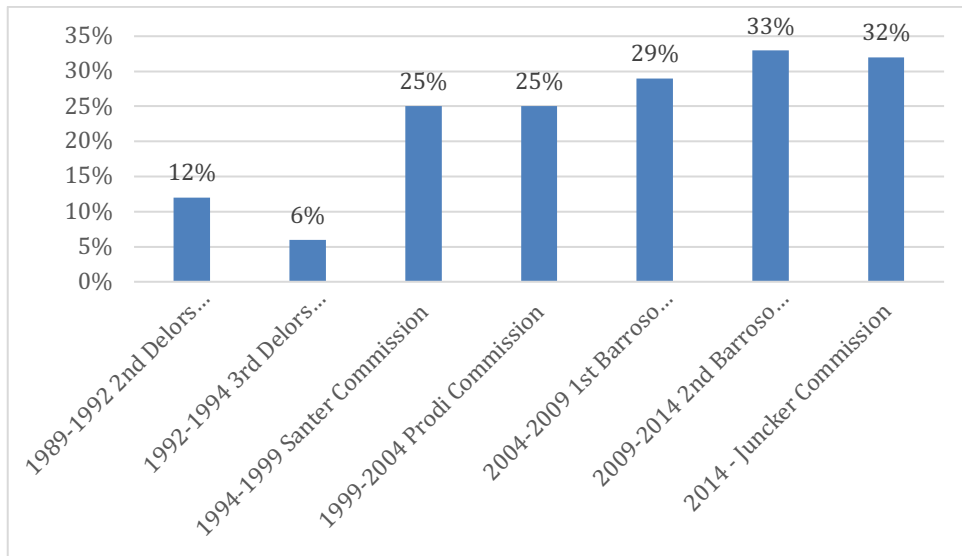
Note: changes in organisational structure mean that it is not always possible to follow each DGs across this entire period. For example, most of the responsibilities of RELEX were transferred from the Commission to the External Action Service when it was created in 2010, the responsibilities that remained within the Commission were allocated to the newly formed DG FPI. DG TREN was split into ENER and MOVE, DG JLS into HOME and JUST. DG CLIMA was created from ENV, NEAR from ELARG, FISMA from ENTR and MARKT, GROW from MARKT. TF50 was established to managed Brexit. The composition of other DGs remained substantively unaltered but in some instances their name changed e.g. INFO/CNECT, SANCO/SANTE.

Figure 3a and 3b - Female shares of senior administrators, EU institutions



Source: DG JUST, Gender balance in decision making roles, database http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/gender-decision-making/database/public-administration/national-administrations/index_en.htm (Accessed February 2015) and <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-statistics/dgs/indicator/wmidm adm eur wmid euadmin eurins/hbar> (Accessed April 2019).

Figure 4 **Proportion of female Commissioners**



Source: DG JUST data base, Women and men in leadership positions in the European Union, 2015.

Table 2 Breakdown of staff grouping and female shares by year of survey

	2008		2014		2018	
	Total (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)	Female (%)
Member of cabinet	4.7	44.2	1.8	51.3	2.0	54.7
Senior management	7.0	23.8	1.4	38.7	3.6	32.5
Middle management	25.0	21.9	16.1	29.1	11.0	34.5
Non-management AD	63.3	44.1	80.7	38.4	83.4	37.9
Total (%)		37.1		37.2		37.7
Total (n)	1846		2142		3161	

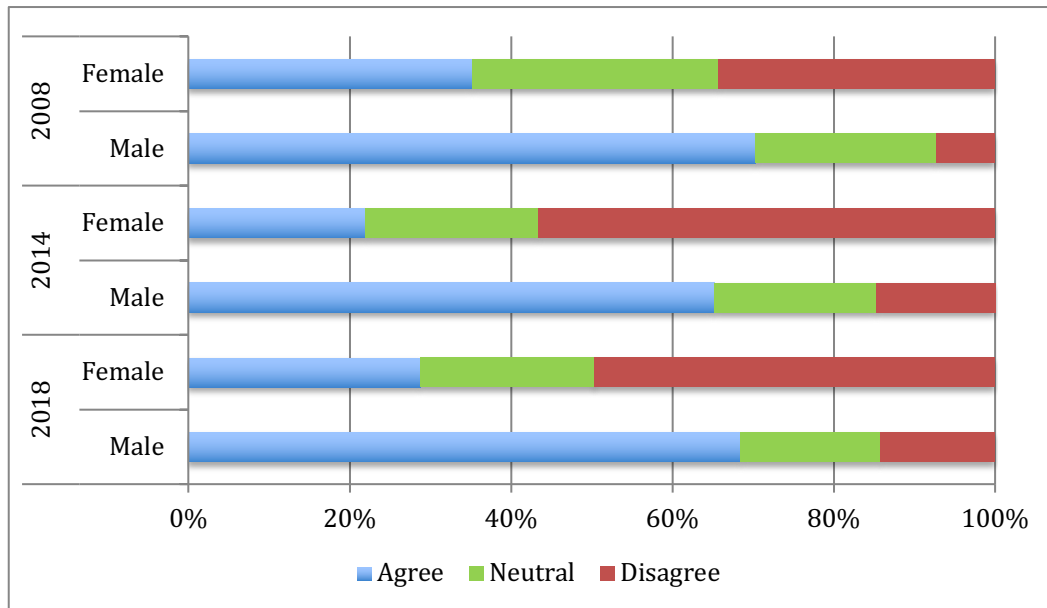
Source: EUCIQ - 2008; ECFTF – 2014; NewWays – 2018.

Figure 5 Proportion of female AD staff by year of survey.



Figure 6 Perceptions of women’s advancement by gender and survey.

‘It is as easy for women to advance their careers in the Commission as men.’



Source: EUCIQ - 2008; ECFTF – 2014; NewWays – 2018.

Table 3 Multinomial logit models: selected odds ratios for females and newer member states

Pooled – men & women together* Odds ratios (p-stat)	Reference – Non-management AD		
	Cabinet	Senior management	Middle management
Female (2008)	1.24 (.55)	0.50 (.007)	0.46 (.000)
EU12 (2008)	0.36 (.095)	2.41 (.037)	2.03 (.004)
Female (2014)	0.89 (.763)	0.91 (.811)	0.77 (.057)
EU13 (2014)	0.60 (.368)	1.02 (.977)	2.15 (.001)
Female (2018)	1.39 (.229)	0.81 (.372)	0.89 (.401)
EU13 (2018)	0.54 (.093)	1.55 (.226)	1.30 (.188)

*Controls for career history, motivation for joining the Commission, educational background, networking.

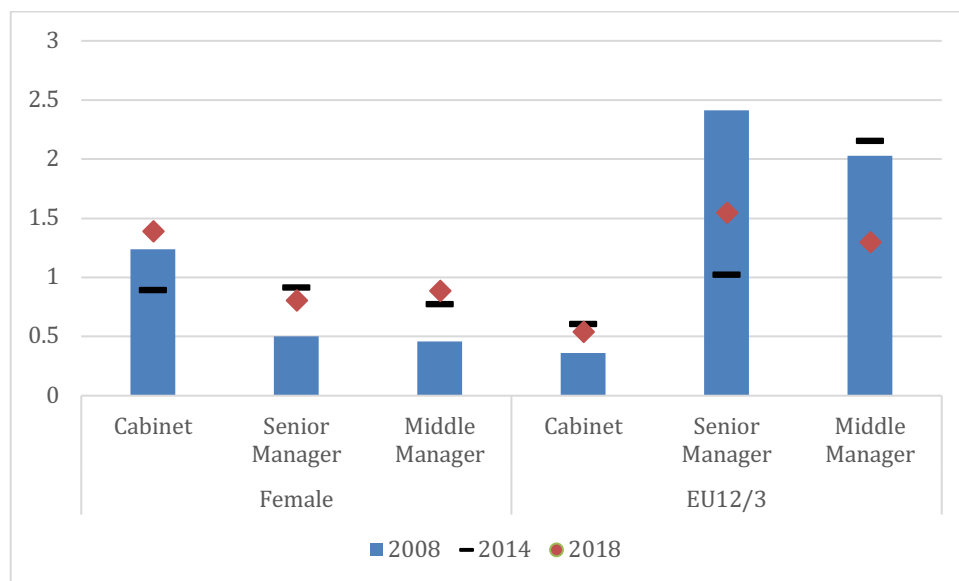
2008: n=1767, Pseudo-R²: 0.2601

2014: n=2439, Pseudo-R²: 0.1507

2018: n=3230, Pseudo-R²: 0.1427

Source: EUCIQ - 2008; ECFTF – 2014; NewWays – 2018.

Figure 7 Selected odds ratios for females and newer member states for categories of employment status relative to non-management AD officials



**Table 4: Multinomial logit models with interaction between gender and EU12/3:
odds ratios for females and newer member states**

<i>Pooled – men & women together*</i> Odds ratios (p-stat)	Reference – Non-management AD		
	Cabinet	Senior management	Middle management
Female (2008)	1.75 (.115)	0.59 (.055)	0.50 (.000)
EU12 (2008)	1.17 (.815)	3.33 (.016)	2.45 (.003)
Female* EU12 (2008)	0.11 (0.025)	0.49 (.249)	0.66 (.300)
Female (2014)	0.94 (.866)	0.85 (.716)	0.83 (.196)
EU13 (2014)	0.72 (.668)	0.81 (.797)	2.76 (.000)
Female* EU13 (2014)	0.70 (.731)	1.55 (.675)	0.54 (.148)
Female (2018)	1.50 (.182)	0.97 (.921)	1.04 (.769)
EU13 (2018)	0.69 (.490)	2.63 (.026)	2.10 (.003)
Female* EU13 (2018)	0.68 (.571)	0.29 (.064)	0.36 (.005)

*Controls for career history, motivation for joining the Commission, educational background, networking.

2008: n=1767, Pseudo-R²: 0.2629

2014: n=2439, Pseudo-R²: 0.1516

2018: n=3230, Pseudo-R²: 0.1457

Source: EUCIQ - 2008; ECFTF – 2014; NewWays – 2018.

Table 5 Multinomial logit models, including interaction terms: odds ratios, 2014

	Cabinet		Senior management		Middle management	
	RRR = OR	Std. Err.	RRR = OR	Std. Err.	RRR = OR	Std. Err.
Constant	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01
Female	2.37	2.44	0.34	0.47	0.86	0.26
Public administration	1.34	0.66	2.48	1.16	0.88	0.13
Private sector	0.66	0.29	0.74	0.30	0.68	0.09
DG mobility	7.85	3.64	2.11	0.89	1.16	0.16
Yrs in Commission	0.92	0.08	0.90	0.06	1.28	0.05
Yrs in Commission ²	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Commitment to EU	2.34	1.74	1.87	1.10	1.58	0.26
Quality of the work	1.09	0.43	1.19	0.44	0.90	0.12
Career progression	1.19	0.65	1.50	0.70	0.80	0.13
Asked to apply	5.92	3.29	0.51	0.57	1.10	0.28
Job stability	0.48	0.23	0.89	0.34	0.76	0.10
Competitive remuneration	0.48	0.19	0.43	0.17	0.79	0.10
Business or Econ	0.24	0.14	1.22	0.85	0.96	0.19
STEMM	0.06	0.06	1.23	0.91	0.65	0.14
Law	0.75	0.32	2.63	1.76	0.98	0.21
Humanities	0.55	0.40	4.12	3.05	0.56	0.16
Other social science	0.00	0.00	2.07	2.41	0.39	0.19
EU13	0.69	0.55	0.84	0.69	2.93	0.81
Networks imp agree	0.88	0.38	1.00	0.40	0.89	0.12
Networks imp disagree	1.32	0.77	0.78	0.45	0.94	0.19
Networks other	0.51	0.56	0.00	0.00	0.53	0.18
EU13*female	0.74	0.79	1.45	1.51	0.46	0.19
Commitment to EU*female	0.42	0.40	2.18	2.66	0.57	0.17
Career progression *female	0.49	0.46	1.38	1.09	2.01	0.59
Public administration *female	0.80	0.56	1.29	1.03	1.88	0.52

Number of obs = 2439

Wald chi2(78) = 6247.82

Prob > chi2 = 0.0000

Log pseudolikelihood = -1225.3706

Pseudo R2=0.1569

Table 6 Multinomial logit models, including interaction terms: odds ratios, 2018

	Cabinet		Senior management		Middle management	
	RRR = OR	Std. Err.	RRR = OR	Std. Err.	RRR = OR	Std. Err.
Constant	0.14	0.12	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Female	0.48	0.44	0.07	0.10	1.15	0.63
Public administration	0.82	0.23	1.54	0.32	0.97	0.12
Private sector	0.92	0.39	0.48	0.14	0.97	0.15
DG mobility	4.96	2.28	1.55	0.48	0.82	0.14
Yrs in Commission	0.90	0.06	1.12	0.06	1.47	0.07
Yrs in Commission ²	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.99	0.00
Commitment to EU	0.68	0.22	1.29	0.38	1.64	0.31
Quality of the work	1.19	0.47	1.73	0.44	1.12	0.18
Career progression	1.77	0.53	0.78	0.22	0.82	0.13
Asked to apply	1.61	0.75	1.23	0.58	0.78	0.23
Job stability	0.46	0.20	0.77	0.21	0.74	0.12
Competitive remuneration	0.31	0.12	0.39	0.10	0.72	0.12
Business/Economics	0.58	0.26	1.96	0.52	0.98	0.17
STEMM	0.14	0.08	0.77	0.24	0.63	0.11
Law	0.49	0.18	1.95	0.50	1.25	0.20
Humanities	0.90	0.35	1.33	0.43	0.86	0.19
Other social science	0.63	0.39	0.73	0.47	0.82	0.26
EU13	0.59	0.32	2.25	0.98	2.22	0.57
Networks imp agree	1.08	0.31	0.95	0.22	1.15	0.15
Networks imp disagree	1.04	0.46	1.44	0.47	1.07	0.22
Networks other	0.75	0.54	0.27	0.27	0.25	0.15
Mobility*female	0.46	0.31	4.72	5.01	1.35	0.41
Yrs in Commission*female	1.08	0.04	1.05	0.03	0.99	0.02
Quality of the work*female	0.61	0.34	0.36	0.17	0.63	0.17
Job stability*female	1.68	0.95	1.39	0.69	0.53	0.16
Competitive remuneration*female	2.78	1.51	3.33	1.60	1.53	0.42
EU13*female	0.96	0.69	0.54	0.41	0.31	0.13
Private sector*female	1.68	1.01	0.54	0.29	0.73	0.21
Business or Econ*female	0.57	0.36	1.11	0.54	1.55	0.44

Number of obs = 3230

Wald chi2(90) = 2846.01

Prob > chi2 = 0.0000

Log pseudolikelihood = -1602.9553

Pseudo R2=0.1566

Appendix: Pooled Multinomial logit models no interaction terms (RRR=odds ratios)

	2008						2014						2018					
	Member of Cabinet		Senior management		Middle management		Member of Cabinet		Senior management		Middle management		Member of Cabinet		Senior management		Middle management	
	RRR	St E	RRR	St E	RRR	St E	RRR	St E	RRR	St E	RRR	St E	RRR	St E	RRR	St E	RRR	St E
Constant	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.06	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.09	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Female	1.24	0.44	0.50	0.13	0.46	0.07	0.89	0.34	0.91	0.34	0.77	0.11	1.39	0.39	0.81	0.20	0.89	0.12
Male																		
Public admin	1.01	0.33	1.88	0.41	1.05	0.16	1.20	0.44	2.72	0.97	1.03	0.14	0.84	0.23	1.54	0.32	1.00	0.13
Private sector	0.60	0.19	0.71	0.16	0.77	0.11	0.66	0.29	0.75	0.30	0.70	0.09	1.17	0.31	0.55	0.13	0.81	0.11
DG mobility	0.00	0.00	1.10	0.24	1.10	0.18	7.66	3.57	2.10	0.87	1.15	0.16	3.43	1.20	2.03	0.57	0.91	0.13
Yrs in Com	1.36	0.12	1.17	0.06	1.33	0.05	0.92	0.09	0.90	0.06	1.28	0.05	0.92	0.06	1.12	0.07	1.46	0.06
Yrs in Com ²	0.99	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.99	0.00
Commitment to EU	1.52	0.59	1.85	0.49	1.31	0.20	1.53	0.71	2.32	1.17	1.37	0.19	0.74	0.24	1.28	0.38	1.65	0.31
Quality of the work	1.10	0.38	1.51	0.34	1.44	0.21	1.10	0.43	1.18	0.43	0.90	0.12	0.91	0.25	1.24	0.26	0.97	0.12
Career progression	1.41	0.46	1.06	0.23	1.52	0.21	0.93	0.40	1.67	0.62	0.96	0.13	1.69	0.49	0.78	0.21	0.81	0.13
Asked to apply	4.89	2.70	1.62	0.62	0.90	0.27	5.79	3.19	0.53	0.58	1.11	0.28	1.74	0.81	1.31	0.60	0.78	0.23
Job stability	0.61	0.22	0.42	0.10	0.61	0.09	0.46	0.22	0.91	0.34	0.77	0.10	0.62	0.19	0.68	0.16	0.68	0.09
Competitive remuneration	0.50	0.18	0.50	0.11	0.75	0.11	0.50	0.20	0.42	0.17	0.78	0.10	0.51	0.15	0.57	0.13	0.84	0.11
Business or Econ	1.38	1.30	0.86	0.55	0.53	0.22	0.24	0.14	1.22	0.85	1.03	0.20	0.45	0.16	1.93	0.46	1.12	0.17
STEMM	0.28	0.30	0.55	0.36	0.42	0.18	0.06	0.06	1.24	0.90	0.69	0.14	0.12	0.07	0.72	0.22	0.65	0.11
Law	2.51	2.35	1.09	0.70	0.66	0.27	0.77	0.34	2.61	1.73	1.04	0.22	0.47	0.17	1.83	0.46	1.24	0.19
Politics or IR																		
Humanities	1.51	1.57	0.49	0.38	0.40	0.20	0.54	0.41	4.17	3.12	0.60	0.17	0.95	0.36	1.33	0.42	0.86	0.19
Other social science	2.66	2.48	0.37	0.26	0.39	0.17	0.00	0.00	2.12	2.48	0.43	0.21	0.58	0.36	0.69	0.45	0.82	0.25

EU12/13	0.36	0.22	2.41	1.01	2.03	0.51	0.60	0.34	1.02	0.57	2.15	0.49	0.54	0.20	1.55	0.56	1.30	0.26
EU15																		
Networks imp agree	0.99	0.42	1.26	0.34	0.89	0.15	0.88	0.38	1.00	0.40	0.90	0.12	1.11	0.32	0.99	0.23	1.15	0.15
Networks important - neutral																		
Networks imp disagree	0.87	0.38	0.90	0.28	0.88	0.17	1.31	0.76	0.79	0.46	0.94	0.19	1.08	0.49	1.40	0.45	1.06	0.22
Networks other	0.93	0.48	1.60	0.58	0.93	0.24	0.53	0.58	0.00	0.00	0.54	0.19	0.76	0.55	0.27	0.27	0.26	0.15
	Number of obs = 1767						Number of obs = 2439						Number of obs = 3,230					
	Wald chi2(63) = 12204.16						Wald chi2(66) = 6253.78						Wald chi2(66) = 3099.66					
	Log pseudolikelihood = -1319.7395						Log pseudolikelihood = -1234.3653						Log pseudolikelihood = -1629.3979					
	Pseudo R2 = 0.2601						Pseudo R2 = 0.1507						Pseudo R2 = 0.1427					

Source: EUCIQ - 2008; ECFTF – 2014; NewWays – 2018

¹ For example, the contention that bureaucracies are likely to be more receptive to their clients when bureaucrats and clients share similar background characteristics is considered a key element of Jacksonian populism.

² In the area of international development, Anne Marie Goetz offers a more radical critique. She suggests that there has been a “persistent institutional failure of public service delivery agencies to include women equitably among the ‘publics’ they ostensibly serve” that arises from “public administration as a gendered and gendering process, such that its outcomes, international organisation, and culture reflect and promote the interests of men” (1992: 6). According to Goetz, improving the gender balance would not be sufficient. A more radical solution is required if public administration is to respond to women’s needs.

³ All statistics in this paragraph are from Davies (2002: 222-24).

⁴ This paragraph also draws heavily on Davies (2002).

⁵ In other words, 1.2 per cent of all Directors General, deputy Directors General, Secretary General, Director, Head of Cabinet, Spokesman, advisers, chief advisers, assistant advisers and Heads of Delegation.

⁶ This perception was tested against using data from the EUCIQ survey sample, which asked officials whether: ‘It is now as easy for women to advance their careers as men’. Forty-six per cent of respondents agreed or strongly agreed; 25 per cent were neutral. Although Commission headlines in official documentation report gender parity, in overall staff numbers a breakdown by grade shows that the percentage of women diminishes with each upward step of the career hierarchy (see Figure 2). Although Catherine Day was Secretary-General and therefore occupied the top managerial role in the organisation from 2005 to 2015, female managers are still a rarity.