MIND THE GAP. WOMEN AUTHORS IN ANGLOPHONE CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP, 1970–2016[*]

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ABSTRACT

Although women have a long history of contributing to classical scholarship, they continue to be a minority both among faculty members and scholarly authors. In this paper, I compare the proportion of women employed at Classics departments in the US, Canada, UK, and Ireland with their proportion among the authors of a sample of English journal articles. While the overall institutional gender balance is approaching parity, women continue to be underrepresented in senior positions, and progress seems to have stalled over the last ten years. In addition, my analysis of the L'Année philologique *database demonstrates that while the share of articles written by women has greatly increased from 1970 to 2009, it has remained stagnant since, hovering just around the 28% mark. I hypothesise that the main reason for women's continued underrepresentation in Classical scholarship, apart from unconscious biases, is the disproportionate share of care responsibilities shouldered by women both within and without academia. In order to improve the situation, I propose a series of interventions to be taken by journal editors and university administrators, particularly the introduction of quotas.*

KEYWORDS

women in classics, gender, discrimination, publishing, statistics, L'Année philologique*, intersectionality, quotas*

Introduction

While women have always been present — and at times prominent — in classical scholarship,[1] their institutional representation has only been growing significantly after the

[1] Wyles and Hall 2016.

Second World War. Today, women's institutional representation both as members of university faculties as well as scholarly authors is at a level where some argue that no further efforts are required to make the field of Classics more accessible for women and non-binary individuals, with a few even arguing that any measures to promote non-(cis-)men in academia as a whole and Classics in particular are ideological restrictions on scholarly meritocracy.[2] However, the data on which this paper are based demonstrate that while the overall percentage of women employed by US-American, Canadian, British, and Irish universities is approaching parity to men, women are still a minority with regard to senior positions.[3] What is more, progress seems to have stalled over the last ten years, with women at North American Classics faculties making up 41.02% in 2020 compared to 40.10% in 2012;[4] at this rate, it would take another 70 years until women reached parity to men. In addition to women's employment at universities,[5] women are also still a minority with regard to academic publishing, and there is still significant horizontal segregation between different sub-fields: "subject preference in certain sub-fields of Classical Studies is strongly gendered", with a strong male dominance particularly in the areas of ancient warfare, the ancient economy, and ancient politics, law, and government, whereas women tend to publish more on the reception of antiquity, ancient art, education and family, as well as religion.[6]

In this paper, I analyse the percentage of women publishing in English in (mostly) anglophone academic journals between 1970 and 2016 and compare it to the percentage of women among Classics faculties

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[2] See Nielsen 2016.

[3] This paper focusses on the situation in Northern America, the United Kingdom, and Ireland. While there are many more anglophone countries across the world, and millions of native English-speakers outside these countries (to say nothing of the fact that anglophone scholars do not constitute an absolute majority of classicists), some of which, particularly Australia and New Zealand, with a long tradition of classical scholarship, the necessity to retain a manageable sample as well as my personal ignorance with regard to the Australasian educational systems and publication landscape has led me to exclude all other countries. Future research should focus on the countries neglected in this paper, as well as a comparison across (at least) the anglophone global north.

[4] White, Chu, and Czujko 2014: 176.

[5] A note on terminology: in this paper, 'university' is understood to encompass all educational institutions issuing higher or tertiary education degrees corresponding to the levels 6 and above of the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). This includes four-year colleges in the US, as well as other institutions granting Bachelor's degrees, or other comparable degrees.

[6] Thonemann 2019: 1.

in the US, Canada, the UK, and Ireland.[7] The publication data were collected from the online database of *L'Année Philologique* and the authors were assigned a gender based on their first name.[8] While not all papers published in English are written by anglophone scholars and not all US-American, Canadian, British, and Irish authors publish in English, I am convinced that the overlap is good enough for my purposes, and that the faculty composition of these four countries is a good enough comparison for papers written in English.[9] In the overall analysis, I found that while the share of articles written by women has greatly increased from 1970 to 2009, it has remained stagnant since, hovering just around the 28% mark. While this is a significant increase from 12% in 1970, 14% in 1980, 17% in 1990 and 22% in 2000, it seems that in parallel to the development among faculty, the percentage of women's publications in academic journals has drastically slowed its increase towards parity with men.

As possible reasons for this slowing development I hypothesise that apart from the overall declining employment situation in the humanities and the constant threat of departmental closure, it is mainly unconscious and implicit gender biases which manifest themselves in virtually all parts of academia — from evaluation to publications to networks to hiring processes and more — as well as the gendered division of labour both

[7] I chose to base the analysis on journal papers as many scholars in our field only publish a relatively small number of books, but a comparably larger number of journal articles, thus limiting distortions based on coincidences with regard to publication year, as scholars might publish several papers a given year, but a book only every few years. Similarly, as journal publications heavily influence hiring and tenure decisions, they seem to be a good indicator for the state of the field. As it happens, the numbers would be broadly comparable if I had taken contributions to edited volumes as the basis for my analysis, and even lower in the case of books (see below).

[8] Given the limitations of the data, this paper focusses almost exclusively on gendered differences within a binary framework. This means that, on the one hand, those of us who do not identify as men or women will nevertheless find themselves assigned to one of these two categories; on the other hand, this means that other axes of inequality such as class, race, or ability are treated only in a most superficial manner—if at all.

[9] Of the 591 papers analysed for 2016, a total of 422 (71.4%) were written by scholars employed at a US-American (284), Canadian (28), British (106), or Irish institution (4). A number of these scholars were born and / or trained outside those countries and some scholars who were born and / or trained in these four countries were not working there in 2016. An additional 24 scholars were employed by institutions in countries where English is an official language (Australia, New Zealand, South Africa). While the percentages will differ from year to year, it seems plausible to assume that two thirds or more of the publications analysed in this paper are in fact written by scholars from the four countries mentioned above.

within families and departments which causes women still to be significantly underrepresented among English-speaking scholars.

In what follows, I will first set out the current gender-ratio at Classics departments in North America, Ireland, and the UK in order to establish a baseline from which I then evaluate the gender-ratio of the publishing landscape. Second, I will describe the way in which I collected the data from the *APh* online database. Third comes the presentation of the results gained in this analysis, and in the fourth section I discuss possible reasons for the still extant disparity between men and women both in academic structures and the publishing landscape as well as the discrepancy between women employed in academia and the gender of authors publishing articles. The paper is completed with a conclusion in which I detail some recommendations on how to further increase women's participation and representation in academic positions and the scholarly literature.

1. Gender-Ratios at Classics Departments in North America, Ireland, and the UK

It will come as no great surprise that women still constitute a minority in North American, Irish, and British Classics Departments. The most recent published data (for 2017) estimate the percentage of women employed at Classics departments at a US university or college at 43.64%,[10] up 3.5 percentage points compared to 2014 when women were estimated to account for 40.1% of all faculty members.[11] However, as this study, conducted for the American Academy of Arts & Sciences, is already somewhat dated (particularly as at the time of data collection the data for 2017 was not yet published) and, as the authors write, their "estimates […] are based not on a *census* of institutions […] but on a *sample* of institutions",[12] I felt a need for a more complete and fine-grained set of data, particularly as the 2020 study does not differentiate between full faculty, assistant and associate faculty, and adjunct faculty. Given that the employment situation in the humanities is shifting in favour of adjunct positions, data which are aggregated on the faculty level and do not differentiate between the different categories of positions are not as useful as one would wish for.

[10] Porter, Pold, and White 2020: 220; See also Pedicone 2017; Adler and Jones 2019: 95.

[11] White, Chu, and Czujko 2014: 176.

[12] Porter, Pold, and White 2020: 6; italics in the original.

Table 1 — Gender of Respondents to the 2017 SCS Census

	Total	Tenured	Tenure-Track	Non-TT on renewable contracts	Non-TT on non-renewable contracts	Part-Time
Men	42.25% (428)	46.72% (171)	42.55% (80)	47.47% (79)	28.00% (28)	40.46% (70)
Women	38.80% (393)	40.98% (150)	36.17% (68)	36.02% (67)	41.00% (41)	38.73% (67)
Transgender / Non-Binary	9.48% (96)	6.28% (23)	10.11% (19)	10.22% (19)	16.00% (16)	10.98% (19)
Unknown / No Answer	9.48% (96)	6.01% (22)	11.17% (21)	11.29% (21)	15.00% (15)	9.83% (17)
TOTAL	100% (1013)	100% (366)	100% (188)	100% (186)	100% (100)	100% (173)

Similarly, the census undertaken by the Society of Classical Studies in autumn of 2017 is incomplete, too. Of the 436 institutions surveyed, only 272 replied, some of which only answered to the survey partially, resulting in a response rate of 62.1%. Thus, the "SCS cannot vouch for the accuracy of enrolment numbers provided".[13] That being said, according to the numbers collected by the SCS, of the total of 1,013 respondents there were 393 women (38.80%), 96 "Transgender/Non-Binary" individuals (9.48%), as well as 96 individuals of unknown gender (See Table 1). Given the self-selecting nature of this survey, I assume the number of transgender and non-binary individuals to be greatly overreported,[14] particularly as other studies and general population surveys put the number of transgender and non-binary individuals at 0.39%[15] and 0.4% of the total population,[16] respectively. While different percentages are to be expected as a result of "diversity with regard to language and sub-cultures", and higher rates of respondents in university settings report their gender as neither male nor female,[17] it seems unlikely that Classics departments, of all places, should have 20 times as many transgender, non-binary, genderqueer, or gender-nonconforming individuals than

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[13] Society for Classical Studies 2018.

[14] See also Leonard and Lovatt 2020: 16, 51.

[15] Meerwijk and Sevelius 2017.

[16] Glen and Hurrell 2012.

[17] Meerwijk and Sevelius 2017.

society at large. Even though the figures for men and women largely correspond to those of other studies, I will refrain from using the SCS census data in this paper.

In consequence, I collected data for spring semester 2020 on the basis of the Society for Classical Studies' online list of Graduate Programs in North America.[18] I also gathered information on the situation in Ireland and the UK. This data was built on the 'Classics at UK Universities' statistics collected by the Council of University Classics Departments, whose list of member institutions served as the basis for a web-search similar to the one undertaken for North America.[19] For Ireland, I used the list available on the website of the Irish Department of Education and Skills.[20]

Each departmental website was searched for the faculty members and all members listed in an Excel file noting the country wherein their institution resides (e.g. USA), the name of both the institution (e.g. Stanford University) and the department (e.g. Classics), last and first name of all faculty members (e.g. Scheidel, Walter), their title (e.g. Dickason Professor), their gender (e.g. male), their status (e.g. full faculty) and in case of affiliated faculty their field (e.g. art history), as well as the Carnegie classification of their respective institution. Similarly to other studies on gender ratios among faculties and scholars,[21] gender was assigned based on pronouns used in faculty members' biographies or, if none were readily available, based on their image or the first name of the individual. This search found 1,726 individuals among the faculty of North American Classics departments, almost 300 fewer than the 2,005 individuals estimated by Porter, Pold, and White. This is not surprising given that the list on the SCS website which was the basis for this paper only includes graduate programmes whereas the estimates by Porter, Pold, and White also include 430 faculty members employed at "primarily undergraduate" institutions in the Carnegie classification, or 1,000 individuals at departments where the highest degree offered was a Bachelor's degree; what is more, my data also include 493 individuals

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[18] Society for Classical Studies 2020.

[19] Council of University Classics Departments 2020.

[20] An Roinn Oideachais agus Scileanna 2020.

[21] Analysis of authors' names, pronouns, pictures etc.: Padilla Peralta 2019; Steward and Machado 2019; Thonemann 2019. Questionnaires sent to departments: White, Chu, and Czujko 2014; Society for Classical Studies 2018; Porter, Pold, and White 2020. Questionnaire sent to sample of SCS members: Adler and Jones 2019. To my knowledge, there are no published analyses based on employee data, Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion Monitoring Forms, or the like, which would provide a more robust dataset—if collected uniformly across all institutions in all countries.

who were listed outside of the 'core' faculty, including 417 individuals categorised as "affiliated faculty". However, as I assume that only a small minority of publications are authored by individuals employed at institutions granting only a Bachelor's degree, I am confident that the data collected and presented in this paper is a reasonably robust dataset with regard to publishing academics.

While the attribution of gender as described above was simple and straightforward in most cases, as the overwhelming majority of individuals' gender was based on gendered self-attribution, there were nonetheless a few individuals whose gender had to be assigned on the basis of first names or a single image on a website. Given that gender continues to be a powerful structural and structuring category of Western society, it is usually signalled quite unambiguously by most individuals, particularly in profile pictures. Thus, I have a high degree of confidence that while there certainly were some individuals whose gender I assigned incorrectly, the data as such is robust enough, as any errors would not significantly skew the overall picture. Nonetheless, I fully acknowledge that gender is neither a simple dichotomy nor something everyone feels comfortable sharing in an employment context, particularly without tenure. Thus, while the data this paper is based on were coded in a manner allowing for non-binary individuals, the overwhelming majority of all individuals was assigned one of two genders, with all the prescriptive consequences this decision entails. The reasons for this decision were that, on the one hand, the group of interest in this paper are women and, on the other hand, that more than 99.6% of the US population identify as either male or female;[22] the same is in all likelihood true for Canada, Ireland, and the UK, too. While it would have been possible to comb through all publications and public statements of each and every current faculty member in order to correctly identify a larger number of non-binary individuals in principle, such an enterprise would not have been practicable within the context of this article. Furthermore, although such an endeavour might have been notionally feasible for active scholars, the success ratio would have been much lower the further back in time this analysis would have gone. Given that such an approach would have entailed an impossible effort and its success would have been questionable at best, I regrettably decided to forgo a more inclusive approach in the interest of a manageable project, hoping that this choice will be understood as an attempt of not letting perfect be the enemy of good.

[22] Meerwijk and Sevelius 2017.

In this way, I believe to have assigned correctly a gender to the overwhelming majority of active scholars, even if there are undoubtedly certain individuals among them who would not self-identify with the gender assigned by me — particularly as I classified only one of the 1,726 faculty members from North America (0.06%) and none of the 708 faculty members from Ireland and the United Kingdom as neither male nor female, whereas 96 of all surveyed individuals in the SCS census identified as transgender and / or non-binary. However, in the absence of a census, for which I anticipated a very low return rate (even below the 61% of the SCS census mentioned above), or an email- or telephone-survey, which I considered to be both too invasive and cumbersome,[23] this approach seemed to be the most productive. I did not, however, gather data concerning race and ethnicity, nor concerning any other axis of inequality, as any such data could only be collected with much greater difficulties than data on gender.[24] While I fully acknowledge that a more intersectional analysis would be highly desirable, particularly as categories such as race,[25] class,[26] or ability[27] (to name but a few) have a strong impact on an individual's education and future economic per-spectives, and therefore in all likelihood also on university faculty makeup, it would have been impractical to search for — and probably impossible to find — data for all Classics faculty members with regard to their race, class, ability, and more. This does not mean that gender is the only relevant category of analysis when it comes to faculty makeup and publication gaps, but it is the one on which this paper focuses.

The data collected revealed that while the estimated 40-odd per-centage of women faculty at universities held true in many cases, some institutions fell short of even that low threshold. What is more, even at those institutions which had an almost equal number of women faculty members compared to men, women become scarcer further up the career ladder. For example, while there were eleven women among the twenty-

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[23] See Stewart and Machado 2019: 53 on their 38% response rate for authors publishing in TAPA within the last 50 years; Adler and Jones 2019: 93 on their 63.2% response rate for randomly selected Classicists; and Leonard and Lovatt 2020: 10f on the 294 responses on their experiences survey, with a 70% completion rate and a median completion time of 12 minutes, as well as the 43% response rate to their departmental survey.

[24] See Adler and Jones 2019; Padilla Peralta 2019; Stewart and Machado 2019: 53f; *cf*. Gutiérrez y Muhs *et al*. 2012; Flores Niemann, Gutiérrez y Muhs, and González 2020.

[25] See e.g. Assari 2018.

[26] See e.g. Sirin 2005.

[27] See e.g. Smith and Andrews 2015.

one members of total faculty at Columbia University listed on the departmental website in March 2020, only 55% were in non-adjunct positions (compared to 70% among men). At Stanford University, the Classics faculty was comprised of fifteen men and eight women, three of whom were full (or endowed) professors (compared to ten men), three were associate professors (two men), one assistant professor (two men), and one lecturer (one man).

These numbers are fairly typical for the North American context as a whole: of a total of 1,726 faculty members listed on departmental websites, 708 (41.02%) were women, which, at first glance, just as the Columbia faculty, looks almost equitable. However, if one considers only full and endowed professors, the percentage of women drops to 30.38% (see Table 2). It was only among assistant professors that women constituted a majority, even if the largest group of women were found to be associate professors. Taken together, this group of associate and assistant professors would almost reach parity (48.5%).

A similar picture presents itself if one considers the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. Of the 708 individuals listed as faculty members on the respective websites, 330 were women (46.61%), but among those with the title "professor", the women's ratio dropped to 35.67% (see Table 3). The data situation in the UK is somewhat complicated by the fact that while many universities still use the traditional titles of "lecturer", "senior lecturer" and "reader" and reserve the title "professor" only for the most senior faculty members, some have started using the titles "associate professor" instead of "senior lecturer" and

Table 2 — Gender of North American Classics Faculty Members

	All Faculty	Endowed Professors	Professors	Endowed and Full Professors	Associate Professors	Assistant Professors	Adjunct Professors
Men	58.92% (1017)	70.19% (113)	69.19% (375)	69.42% (488)	54.42% (234)	45.66% (100)	52.14% (195)
Women	41.02% (708)	29.81% (48)	30.81% (167)	30.38% (215)	45.58% (196)	53.88% (118)	47.86% (179)
Non-Binary	0.06% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0.46% (1)	0% (0)
TOTAL	100% (1726)	100% (161)	100% (542)	100% (702)	100% (430)	100% (219)	100% (374)

"reader".[28] If lecturers and senior lecturers were to be combined, here, too, one would see almost perfect gender parity (49.2%).

For the final analysis of the English-speaking Classical community in Northern America, the UK, and Ireland, the data has thus been coded to include "reader" and "senior lecturer" in "associate professor", equate "lecturer" with "assistant professor", and "associate lecturer" as well as "teaching fellow" with "adjunct professor", with special consideration to the situation at Oxford. While this assimilation of titles certainly is not perfect, it seemed the most prudent and productive for the purpose of this analysis, particularly as the numbers would be virtually identical if, say, "readers" were to be included in the category of "professor" and not "associate professor" (a difference of less than one percentage point). In the combined analysis of 2433 individuals from North America, Ireland, and the UK, 42.65% (1038) were women, but only 31.51% (271 of 860) of full professors were women (see Table 4), similar to the individual situations in North America and Europe.

Table 3 — Gender of British and Irish Classics Faculty Members

	All Faculty	Professors	Readers	Senior Lecturer	Lecturer	Associate Lecturer
Men	53.39% (378)	64.33% (101)	62.22% (28)	47.80% (76)	52.72% (126)	43.52% (47)
Women	46.61% (330)	35.67% (56)	37.78% (17)	52.20% (83)	47.28% (113)	56.48% (61)
Total	100% (708)	100% (157)	100% (45)	100% (159)	100% (239)	100% (108)

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[28] Academic Positions 2020.

Table 4 — Gender of North American, Irish, and British Classics Faculty

	All Faculty	Professors	Associate Professors	Assistant Professors	Adjunct Professors
Men	67.31% (1395)	68.49% (589)	53.21% (338)	49.33% (226)	50.21% (242)
Women	42.65% (1038)	31.51% (271)	46.79% (296)	50.44% (231)	49.79% (240)
Non-Binary	0.04% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0.23% (1)	0% (0)
TOTAL	100% (2433)	100% (860)	100% (634)	100% (458)	100% (482)

2. Data Collection

This analysis is based on data collected from the *L'Anneé Philologique* online database, currently owned and administered by Brepols Publishers (Belgium). Until October 2018, the *APh* used to be published by the *Société Internationale de Bibliographie Classique*, founded as a learned society with the name of *Société de Bibliographie Classique* in 1924 by Jules Marouzeau.[29] The *APh* is "a specialized bibliographic database of scholarly works relating to all aspects of Ancient Greek and Roman civilizations" published both in print and online with all volumes (1928–2022) available online. It covers "a wide array of subjects, including Greek and Latin literature and linguistics — which includes early Christian texts and patristics — Greek and Roman history, art, archaeology, philosophy, religion, mythology, music, science, and scholarly subspecialties such as numismatics, papyrology, and epigraphy." While it does not contain the full text of journal articles and books, the online database includes article abstracts in English, German, Spanish, French, or Italian as well as some books' tables of contents.[30] It is "the only complete international and annually published scholarly classical bibliography" including "not only every relevant book published worldwide as well as every review published within five years of publication of the original book, but also all articles from over 1,000 journals including excerpts as well as numerous contributions published in edited volumes".[31]

[29] Société Internationale de Bibliographie Classique 2020.
[30] Brepolis 2020.
[31] Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften 2020; author's translation.

All data were collected on January 24th 2020 by using the *APh* online database's advanced search, filtering for "English" concerning the 'Language of Work', "Article in journal" for 'Type of publication", and then the respective year for 'Year of publication', e.g. "2016" to "2016". Data were collected for the years 2000 to 2019, as well as 1970, 1980, and 1990 for historical comparison. This yielded an average of 1911 unique articles per year for the period of 1970 to 2016; the years after 2016 were disregarded as the data collection by the *APh* was obviously yet incomplete, as only 1,677 articles were referenced for 2017, 440 for 2018, and none for 2019.[32] The list of results was then sorted alphabetically by last name of author ("Author a-z") and exported as an XLS-file. Because the online database only allows for 1,000 entries to be exported simultaneously, the list was also sorted alphabetically inversely by last name of author ("Autor z-a") and exported again. For those years containing more than 2,000 entries, the first 1,000 results were skipped and the consecutive 1,000 exported, and so on. The different XLS-files were then merged in Microsoft Excel for Mac and duplicates removed using Excel's "Remove Duplicates" function from the "Data" tab. This resulted in an average of 1,911 articles per year, ranging from 1,776 in 2009 to 2,081 in 2000.

In a second step, the list of journals was adjusted by identifying the most important and widely read ones. Given the different tradition in different subfields, some journals comprise mostly highly specialised short articles of no more than a few pages (e.g. six pages on average in the *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*) and might thus have skewed the results.[33] This left an average of 642 articles per year, thus greatly reducing the workload of the analysis while at the same time guaranteeing both the inclusion of the most relevant articles and a reasonable representativeness of the sample.[34] In order to limit possible confounding of the results by English-native authors publishing in non-anglophone journals and vice versa, a further reduction was conducted excluding those journals which are not published in an anglophone country (*Hermes*, *Historia*, *Hyperboreus*, *Mnemosyne*, and *Scripta Classica*

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[32] For comparison, at the time of writing in August 2020, the database contained 2005 entries for the year 2017, 1451 for 2018, and 161 for 2019.

[33] A full list of all journals indexed in *APh* as well as included journals is available on the HCS website (https://www.hcsjournal.org/ojs/index.php/hcs/article/view/80/JournalListDataSet).

[34] The overall margin of error is ±3.4 percentage points at the 95% confidence level. As an example, among the total 1935 papers published in 2016, 25.99% (503) were published by women, compared to 27.07% (160) of the sample of 591 papers, which is a difference of 1.08 percentage points.

Israelica), leaving an average of 552 articles per year. The following analysis was conducted for both the selection with and without the non-English journals but did not yield significant differences, meaning that there exists no meaningful difference between the entire sample and the subsample of English articles from journals published in anglophone countries. While it cannot be ascertained that all articles published in English — in both anglophone journals and not — are written by native English speakers or scholars employed in anglophone countries, and not all scholars from anglophone countries publish in English, meaning that there are certainly some false-positives included and many false-negatives excluded in the narrower sample, this separation was intended to test against the possibility that the two groups were from significantly different populations, such as e.g. continental Europeans publishing in English in non-anglophone journals and English-native authors publishing in anglophone journals. Given that no significant difference could be found, the country in which a journal is published could have been ignored completely and the double analysis was unnecessary; but even so, the two groups are identified where possible in order to be as transparent as possible.

The resulting adjusted list was then sorted by name of author and each author assigned a gender of either 'male', 'female', 'both' (for co-authored publications by teams consisting of both men and women), or 'unknown'. This was done on the basis of the author's first name, and articles written by teams of authors who all were of the same assigned gender were only counted once. While assigning a gender in this way is rather straightforward for individuals named Peter, Paul, or Mary and journal authors with such or similar names were assigned the gender conventionally associated with the respective name, individuals named Andrea, Alex, or Charlie as well as those who initialised their first names or those with whose names I was not immediately familiar were searched for using the Google search engine. Most currently active scholars could thus be found rather quickly and assigned a gender on the basis of the pronouns used in their online biographies or, if none were available, on the basis of their self-presentation on the images in their online profiles. If authors could not be found within a reasonable amount of time, they were assigned the gender 'unknown' (roughly 1% of all authors after 2000). Given trends in academic naming, there was a steady increase of authors who initialised their first names the older their articles were, and due to the difficulty of finding an "S. Miller" or the like publishing in 1970, the number of unknown genders increased significantly for the data sets before the turn of the millennium (7% in 1990, 27% in 1980, and 35% in 1970). However, as the number of authors who could be assigned a

gender was still large enough (>450), I assumed that the initialised authors were similarly distributed with regard to gender as those to whom I could assign a gender. Thus, for the years 1970, 1980, and 1990, I split the authors of unknown gender according to the ratio resulting from those to whom I could assign a male or female one. If anything, I expect men to be overrepresented among initialised authors, thus lowering the number and ratio of women publishing in classical journals even further.

3. Results: Women Writing in English-Speaking Classics Journals

The analysis of the on average 650 annual publications revealed that men still dominate the journal article landscape, but there was a steady increase of women publishing in classical journals: while only 54 individuals (7.81%) could safely be identified as women among those publishing in 1970 (n = 691), there were an average of 182 women (27.99%) publishing for the period of 2014–2016 (n = 649). Among those publishing in journals from anglophone countries, the percentage rose from 8.46% to 28.63% in the same period (see Tables 5 and 6). For the years after 2000, I calculated the average for a three-year period each in order to avoid single years having a disproportionate influence on the data;

Table 5 — Gender of Journal Authors Publishing in Major Journals in English, 1970–2016

	1970	1980	1990	2000–2002 (avg.)	2007–2009 (avg.)	2014–2016 (avg.)
Men	57.02% (394)	62.78% (388)	76.45% (552)	73.04% (459)	68.21% (440)	66.59% (432)
Women	7.81% (54)	10.19% (63)	15.93% (115)	22.76% (145)	28.43% (183)	27.99% (182)
Both	0.14% (1)	0% (0)	0.28% (2)	3.06% (19)	2.22% (14)	4.3% (28)
Unknown	35.02% (242)	27.02% (167)	7.34% (53)	1.14% (7)	1.14% (7)	1.12% (7)
TOTAL	100% (691)	100% (618)	100% (722)	100% (630)	100% (645)	100% (649)

Table 6 — Gender of Journal Authors Publishing in English in Major Journals from Anglophone Countries, 1970–2016

	1970	1980	1990	2000–2002 (avg.)	2007–2009 (avg.)	2014–2016 (avg.)
Men	56.22% (339)	63.50% (327)	76.35% (468)	72.08% (377)	67.80% (379)	65.68% (377)
Women	8.46% (51)	10.68% (55)	16.64% (102)	23.52% (123)	28.62% (160)	28.57% (164)
Both	0.17% (1)	0% (0)	0.33% (2)	3.25% (17)	2.50% (14)	4.70% (27)
Unknown	35.16% (212)	25.83% (133)	6.69% (41)	1.15% (6)	1.07% (6)	1.05% (6)
Total	100% (603)	100% (515)	100% (613)	100% (523)	100% (559)	100% (574)

while the differences were usually only a few percentage points, I thought it most prudent in order to avoid giving a misleading impression, given that the number of women publishing in a given journal can oscillate quite dramatically over the years: in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, for example, some 50% of all articles published in 2016 were written by women, compared to 0% in 2018.[35] While such spikes are expected to smooth out over the sample, the three-year averages further reduced the effects of such distortions.

However, these numbers are of limited use, since they include a large proportion of "unknowns" for the years before 2000. As described above, these raw numbers were then extrapolated so that the number of "men" and "women" included their respective share of "unknowns". This increased the number of women who published in one of the major English-speaking journals in 1970 from 54 to 83, or from 7.81% to 12.04%. Among those publishing in journals from anglophone countries, the numbers rose from 51 (8.46%) to 79 (13.06%). The numbers for 2000–2016 are unmodified and thus still include authors of unknown gender, but since their number was less than 2% of the total sample, neither the absolute numbers nor the percentages would have changed significantly even if they had been extrapolated, too (see Tables 7 and 8).

[35] Kelly *et al.* 2019.

Table 7 — Gender of Journal Authors Publishing in Major Journals in English, 1970–2016, extrapolated

	1970	1980	1990	2000–2002 (avg.)	2007–2009 (avg.)	2014–2016 (avg.)
Men	87.82% (607)	86.03% (532)	82.53% (596)	73.04% (459)	68.21% (440)	66.59% (432)
Women	12.04% (83)	13.97% (86)	17.19% (124)	22.76% (145)	28.43% (183)	27.99% (182)
Both	0.14% (1)	0% (0)	0.28% (2)	3.06% (19)	2.22% (14)	4.30% (28)
Unknown	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	1.14% (7)	1.44% (7)	1.42% (7)
Total	100% (691)	100% (618)	100% (722)	100% (630)	100% (645)	100% (649)

Table 8 — Gender of Journal Authors Publishing in English in Major Journals from Anglophone Countries, 1970–2016, extrapolated

	1970	1980	1990	2000–2002 (avg.)	2007–2009 (avg.)	2014–2016 (avg.)
Men	86.78% (523)	85.60% (441)	81.84% (502)	72.16% (377)	67.83% (379)	65.62% (377)
Women	13.06% (79)	14.40% (74)	17.84% (109)	23.43% (123)	28.60% (160)	28.63% (164)
Both	0.17% (1)	0% (0)	0.33% (2)	3.29% (17)	2.53% (14)	4.69% (27)
Unknown	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	1.13% (6)	1.07% (6)	1.11% (6)
Total	100 (603)	100% (515)	100% (613)	100% (523)	100% (559)	100% (574)

There are two aspects of the data which are of particular interest; first, the number of women publishing in academic journals, while rising from slightly more than 10% to almost 30% over the time analysed, has stalled and even slightly decreased over the last decade: while women made up 28.43% of all journal authors in 2007–2009 (28.6% of all those

publishing in journals from anglophone countries), an increase of more than five percentage points from 2000–2002, that percentage dropped slightly to 27.99% of all authors (and with 28.63% remained virtually un-changed for authors publishing in journals from anglophone countries). If the trend between 2000-2002 and 2007–2009 had continued linearly, that percentage would have been 34.10% in 2014–2016 (33.77%) and
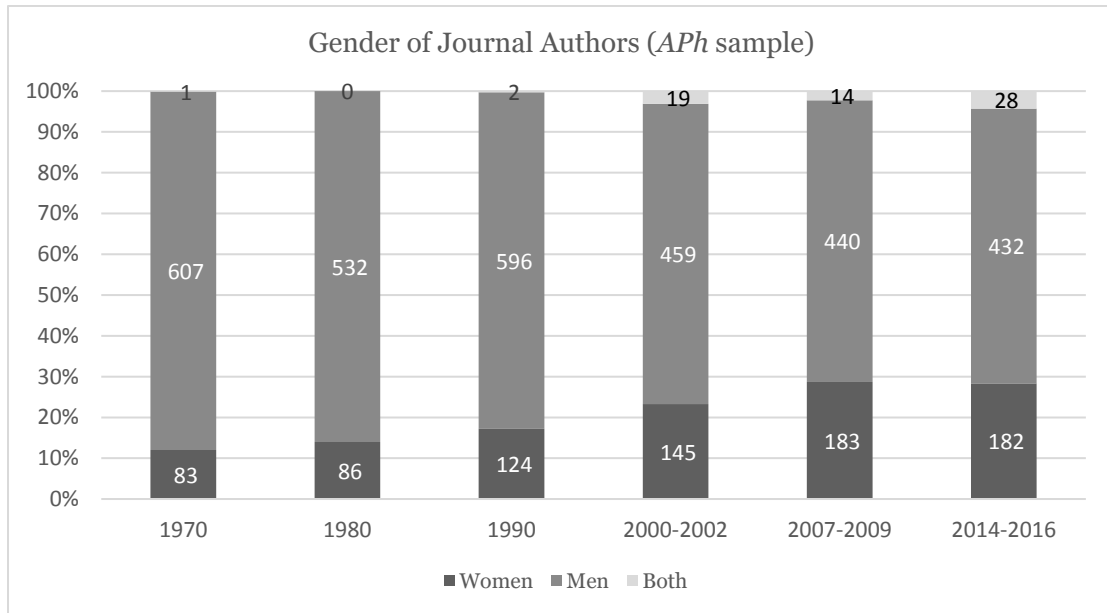

Figure 1 — Gender of Journal Authors Publishing in Major Journals in English, 1970–2016, extrapolated
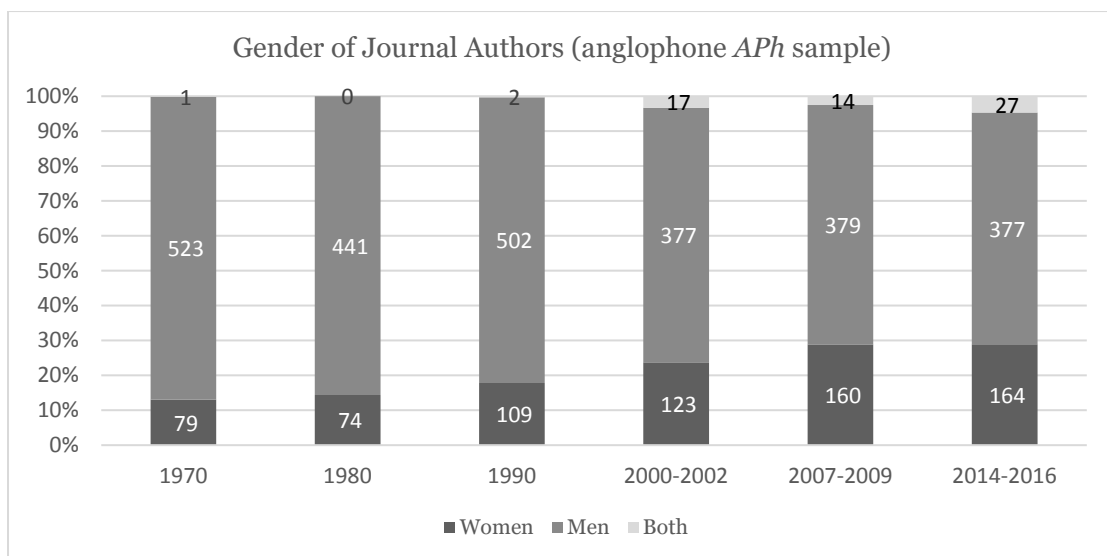

Figure 2 — Gender of Journal Authors Publishing in English in Major Journals from Anglophone Countries, 1970–2016, extrapolated

would reach parity around 2034 (2036). If the quadratic polynomial trend between 1970 and 2007–2009 had continued, the 2014–2016 percentage of women journal authors would have been ca. 34% (34%), reaching parity around 2030 (2031). While there has been a slight increase in publications authored by multiple scholars of different genders, this small change cannot account for these missing women (see Figures 1 and 2).

Second, even with the extrapolations discussed previously, the number of publications authored solely by women is significantly smaller than the total representation of women among faculty in North America, Ireland, and the UK: the percentage of women among all faculty was 42.65% in 2020, whereas the percentage of women as journal authors was only ca. 28%. The gap shrinks somewhat if the publication data is compared to the 2014 estimates by White, Chu, and Czujko who estimated women to be 40.1% of all faculty, but the overall picture remains the same. As it happens, the percentage of publications authored by women most closely corresponds to the percentage of women among full and endowed professors (31.82%), even though there is still a noticeable gap of several percentage points.

4. Discussion

The data analysed in this paper has demonstrated that, for one, women are still a minority among Classics faculty members in North America, Ireland, and the UK. While the precise numbers and percentages differ slightly from one country to the next, they are similar enough not only to compare them against each other but also to use them as a baseline against which one can compare the publication data. Here, too, as I have demonstrated, women authors are still a minority, and one which not only lags behind the total percentage of women employed at universities, but one which apparently has not made any gains over the last decade. The fact that the increase, which has been easily apparent over the forty years between 1970 and 2010 and has even accelerated in the second half of this period, has now stalled, needs explanation.

At first, one might think that the percentage has not changed significantly due to incomplete underlying data: as mentioned above, there is a certain lag between the time articles are published and the time they appear in the *APh* online database. However, given that for this very reason the analysis was halted at 2016 (for when at the time of data collection there were 1,939 articles recorded, which is slightly more than the 2000–2016 average and almost as many as the numbers for the immediately preceding years), it is unlikely that not only were there hundreds of articles not yet registered in the database but that the

overwhelming majority of them were authored by women. In fact, for 2016 to correspond to the trend discussed above and the percentage of women authoring journal papers to rise to 34%, an additional 203 women would have needed to author journal articles, which is an increase of more than 10% of the total number of articles and an increase of almost 40% of women authors. If the error were just with the sample (n = 591), an additional 62 women would be needed to arrive at the expected percentage, which is equally unlikely. What is more, to minimise effects like these, or simply the random changes in publication from one year to the next, the data had been smoothed out over three years, making it even less likely that such particular effects would distort the data to the extent visible. I thus conclude that the slight decrease in the number and percentage of women authoring journal articles between 2007–2009 and 2014–2016 is real and cannot be explained away by criticising the data's quality.

If one thus assumes that there has been a stall — or even a decrease — of women among authors of journal articles written in English, the question is why — and, more fundamentally, why women publish not only less frequently than men, but also make up a smaller share of published authors than their proportion among university faculty would indicate. The simplest explanation would be that women were discriminated against during the publishing process, either consciously and deliberately or unconsciously and unintentionally. The only data concerning editorial bias I am aware of stems from the analysis conducted by the *JRS* editorial board in 2019, wherein the authors conclude that "the imbalance in published articles is almost entirely due to a similar imbalance in submissions" and that the small differences between the acceptance rates for men and women is due to factors independent from the editorial process.[36] Thus, even if the acceptance rate for women was slightly lower on average, there was no persistent pattern over time indicating systematic bias against women on behalf of the editorial board or the reviewers.[37] However, this analysis is limited to the JRS, and while it is thus not impossible that other journals have discriminatory acceptance policies or practices, until data on the demographic makeup of all authors who submit articles for publication in scholarly journals is public, the only ones who have access to the data needed and thus are in a position to ascertain the truth or falsehood of any such assumption are the members

[36] Kelly *et al*. 2019: 445.

[37] The CUCD report on equality and diversity in Classics describes a similar pattern for the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* and *Classical Quarterly*; see Leonard and Lovatt 2020: 36.

of each journal's editorial board (see below, Conclusion). Therefore, it is only prudent to consider other explanations, too.

One possible explanation would be that women tend to publish more in different forms of publication, i.e. not so much journal articles but more contributions to edited volumes, companions, or monographs. While a similar analysis compared to the one conducted for this article would also be feasible for the *APh* category "article in book", a quick glance at the 2016 data revealed that women constitute a similar 28.6% of authors also in this category (with 2.3% authored by a team of both men and women and 5.6% of individuals who could not be assigned a gender at first glance). This matches quite well with the data collected by Peter Thonemann, who calculated a ratio of 33.8% women among the contributors of a sample of edited volumes.[38] A similar preliminary analysis for all books and monographs listed in the *APh* database for 2016 revealed that only 18.57% of all books (and 21.89% of all monographs) were written by women, compared to 15.06% (4.15%) by teams of more than one gender and 6.65% (6.22%) by individuals to whom no gender could be attributed at first glance. It seems thus that women are not only underrepresented with regard to the authorship of journal articles, but across the scholarly publishing landscape, particularly with regard to books. The exact details, how the percentage of women publishing in these different formats changed over the years, and the interrelation between them would be a promising avenue of further investigation but unfortunately exceeds the possibilities of this paper.

If it is thus neither editorial bias nor a form-specific preference, it seems likely that there are systemic factors which cause the discrepancy between the respective publication rates of men and women. One well-studied example of such factors are unconscious and implicit gender biases, i.e. gender-specific perceptions and attitudes which lead to the systematic perception of women as less qualified even if their performance is similar to that of men.[39] Such biases manifest themselves subtly but have tremendous effects over time, particularly with regard to women's career development, as a more critical attitude towards women combined with fewer grants awarded, smaller endowments granted, or fewer available positive role-models result in long-term harm to women's careers in academia.[40] In general, women receive less instruction, sup-

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[38] Thonemann 2019: 4.

[39] Moss-Racousin *et al.* 2012; Reuben, Sapienza, and Zingales 2014.

[40] Martell, Lane and Emrich 1996; Gibney 2016. Studies have shown that women are, generally speaking, underestimated and less often thought of as excellent than men (Valian 1998; Ledin *et al.* 2007; Leslie *et al.* 2015). Good performance in mixed

port, and opportunities than men, and are disproportionately underrepresented in exclusive and elite settings.[41] Publications by groups of women are systematically less often cited than those of men, with mixed-gender groups citing significantly more literature than male-only groups.[42] Women scholars are less often invited to publish articles by leading journals, are more hesitant to submit papers to high-profile journals,[43] and male conference organisers and session chairs invite disproportionally few women to speak compared to the proportion of women among those submitting abstracts.[44] Both conference abstracts and publications by women are evaluated as less excellent than those of men because of their gender.[45] This corresponds to a general perception of research as male, particularly in subjects with a strong male tradition, and the unconscious belief that women are less suited to research and academia than men.[46] These numerous examples of biases against women in academia exemplify how women receive fewer opportunities to publish and are less generously reviewed when they do. However, there are also other, more direct reasons for why women are underrepresented with regard to publications, a major one being the fact that women tend to perform more care labour both within and without the family, thus affecting their opportunity to publish.

teams tends to be attributed to men rather than women (Rossiter 1993; Stamhuis 1995); female teachers are evaluated much more critically than male ones (MacNell, Driscoll, and Hunt 2015); and receive fewer awards for their scholarship (Association for Women in Science 2015). Women also are more likely to be employed under precarious circumstances and with smaller salaries (Shen 2013; European Commission 2016). Women receive fewer research grants, as well as less well-endowed ones, resulting in fewer resources and opportunities (Bornmann, Mutz, and Daniel 2007; Ceci and Williams 2010; Pohlhaus *et al.* 2011; Head et al. 2013; European Research Council 2016). In letters of recommendation, women are described more negatively than men, and significantly fewer standout adjectives are used to describe women than men, and women are more often described with 'grindstone words' rather than 'ability words' (Trix and Psenka 2003; Schmader, Whitehead, and Wysocki 2007). Although research on this issue has mostly focussed on the sciences, the strength and pervasiveness of the biases observed make it likely that the situation in the Humanities is similar.

[41] Ledin *et al.* 2007; Sheltzer and Smith 2014.

[42] Campbell *et al.* 2013; Maliniak, Powers, and Walter 2013.

[43] Leonard and Lovatt 2020: 34f.

[44] Conley and Stadmark 2012; Ford *et al.* 2018.

[45] Knobloch-Westerwick, Glynn, and Huge 2013; Lerchenmueller and Sorenson 2018.

[46] Madera, Hebl, and Martin 2009; See also Leslie *et al.* 2015; Elmore and Luna-Lucero 2017; Smith 2000.

Since societies in North America, Ireland, and the UK are still far from equitable, women continue to be subject to the *double journée* of paid labour in the workplace as well as unpaid labour within their families,[47] in addition to being the ones who become pregnant, give birth or suffer miscarriages, or breastfeed, often with only minimal (paid) pregnancy and/or maternity leave. According to the International Labour Organization, women in the US spend an average of 264 minutes per day caring for children, the elderly, and other dependents, whereas men only spend 168 minutes doing the same work; this corresponds to almost 31 hours per week for women and almost 20 hours per week for men. While the numbers are slightly different for Canada, Ireland, and the UK, the overall trend is the same: women spend a much bigger part of their days caring for others than men.[48] Given women's added care obligations, it is not surprising that women on average simply have less time on their hands to conduct research and publish the results of their studies.[49] The SARS-CoV-2 pandemic has well illustrated this phenomenon: in consequence of lockdowns, shelter-in-place orders, and working from home, traditional divisions of labour were intensified, resulting in women's research plummeting whereas men continued to conduct research and publish at a similar and at times even increased pace.[50]

The peculiarities of academic labour further imply that care-work constitutes a larger share of women's paid work at universities. While teaching requirements are often dependent on the kind of employment one has, and thus should not *per se* discriminate against women, the higher percentage of women working in adjunct positions would also translate into a higher percentage of time spent on teaching and teaching preparation, leaving less time and energy to conduct research and publish one's results. In addition to teaching, women on average also are significantly more invested in academic service, both with regard to formal service in committees and functions as well as with regard to student advising and community engagement.[51] Part of this might be due to similar social structures organising care-work within the family, but part of this is also a consequence of the mismatch between the smaller number of women in academia on the one hand, particularly the smaller number of women in senior faculty positions, and the desire to increase women's

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[47] See Delphy 2003.

[48] International Labour Organization 2020.

[49] Leonard and Lovatt 2020: 46f.

[50] Fazackerley 2020; Minello 2020; Power 2020; Viglione 2020; personal communication by Peter Thonemann.

[51] Guarino and Borden 2017; Leonard and Lovatt 2020: 22.

participation in committees and service positions on the other: a policy mandating or encouraging a high participation of women can have the undesired effect of requiring more service from women as the same time and effort is shouldered by fewer individuals, resulting in a higher individual service work load, again reducing the time and energy available for women to conduct research and publish.[52] This is even more true for women of colour.[53] In combination, the higher care-workload women shoulder on average and women's higher participation in academic service could explain why the percentage of articles authored by women is smaller than the percentage of women in academia.

As mentioned above, the percentage of journal articles authored by women corresponds most closely to the percentage of women in tenured positions of full and endowed professors. A possible reason for this could be that once women have made it past the assistant and associate phase and thus are in positions of power from where it becomes easier to reject an offer to serve on a committee, more time can be spent on research and publication. Similarly, as the average age at tenure in the US is 39,[54] nine years after the medium age at birth of first child for women holding a Master's degree or higher,[55] this gain in position corresponds to a time in a (typical) woman's life when not only a first child attends school but in all likelihood also a possible second child. Even though women continue to be underrepresented among tenured faculty, particularly among the older age cohorts,[56] it could be possible that tenured women are most prolific with regard to publishing journal articles, thus explaining the lower publication rate of women *vis-à-vis* their percentage among faculty. However, there is good reason to believe that this is simply a coincidence, particularly as a disproportionate number of women in academia do not have children.[57] The fact that a fair share of faculty service positions can only be held by tenured individuals, as well as the importance of articles during both the tenure-track phase and in the hiring-process in general, work against the conjectured explanation; the latter incentivises non-tenured women to publish as many articles as possible — while tenured faculty are at liberty to focus on longer, book-sized projects — and the former makes them ineligible for many service positions.

[52] Babcock *et al.* 2017.

[53] Hirshfield and Joseph 2011.

[54] European University Institute 2020.

[55] Pew Research Center 2015.

[56] McChesney and Bichsel 2020: 7.

[57] Mason, Wolfinger, and Goulden 2013; Isgro and Castañeda 2015.

Conclusion: Some Ways Forward

In this paper, I have analysed the proportion of women among journal authors within the field of Classics in the English-speaking world. Based on the *APh* online database, I collected publication data for selected years between 1970 and 2016 and compared the percentage of articles authored by women to women's representation among faculty in North America, Ireland, and the United Kingdom. Due to the unsatisfactory nature or quality of the available data regarding the representation of women among faculty, I surveyed the Classics departments in North America, Ireland, and the United Kingdom and collected my own data on the gender ratios of Classics departments. Comparing the two datasets, it became apparent that women are not only underrepresented by some twenty percentage points among journal authors, but that the increase in the proportion of women publishing articles in academic journals has stalled and even slightly reversed over the last decade, compared to a steady and accelerating increase for the period between 1970 and 2010. I hypothesise that, apart from the overall declining economic situation due to the Great Recession of 2007–2009 and the increasingly adverse overall state of humanities departments in general and Classics departments in particular, the reason for both the decline and the underrepresentation of women are social structures causing women to shoulder a disproportionate share of care-work both within university departments and the family. This assumption is bolstered by a large body of existing research as well as the experiences made during the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic, which aptly illustrates the gendered effects of deteriorating economic conditions and growing uncertainty: on the whole, women are pushed out of the workplace due to care-responsibilities and thus have less time and energy available to conduct research and publish, or, where they are able to continue their academic work, pressured into academic service and care work as an unintended result of a combination of inclusivity policies and gendered stereotypes.

What this paper did not consider was the situation of other social minorities, particularly gender-nonconforming individuals or people of colour, or other axes of possible discrimination such as class, let alone the intersectional challenges that, for instance, first-generation women academics of colour face in the academic world in general and the publishing landscape in particular.[58] Since women continue to be under-

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[58] On the underrepresentation and precarious situation of working-class academics in the UK, and the difficulties of studying this specific group, see Canevaro *et al*. 2021.

represented in academia, they experience discrimination disproportionately more often than men,[59] the share of especially tenured positions held by women grows only very slowly, and the rising proportion of women publishing in academic journals has dwindled from an already slow rise to a sluggish crawl over the last decade, I assume the situation for other minorities to be similar or worse.[60] Further research thus is required not only to document the progress that our disciplines make with regard to increasing the number and percentage of women among (especially tenured) faculty and among authors of journal articles, but also regarding the representation of other minorities in academia in general and in Classics in particular.

However, further research will only be able to document the situation and, at best, raise awareness of the problem of structural underrepresentation of women, but not achieve an improvement in and for itself. While one might argue that the issue will resolve itself given time, at the very latest when women make up an equal share or even a majority of faculty members, the stalling or slightly diminishing proportion of women among journal authors I identified makes it evident that such an approach will simply not do.[61] I thus recommend that all journals, and those publishing scholarship on the ancient Mediterranean in particular, conduct similar analyses as the editorial board of *JRS* undertook in 2019 to identify possible biases among their editorial process. In addition, journal editors should abandon the archaic practice of requiring the use of first name initials in both bibliographies and tables of contents. This would not only greatly facilitate future research on the gendered nature of academic publications, but the increased visibility of women publishing on a specific topic or in a given field would also mitigate the above-mentioned perception of science and scholarship as stereotypically male, thus lowering the hurdles for women with regard to publication.

Furthermore, universities are called upon to improve the situation of women already employed, e.g. by granting enough protected time for research, i.e. limiting teaching and administrative duties particularly for junior scholars; by providing free childcare both during weekday workhours and also at weekends and in the evening; by reducing the number of meetings and events in evenings and on weekends; by establishing programmes promoting women in academia across all levels and,

[59] Leonard and Lovatt 2020: 19f., 23f.

[60] See Padilla Peralta 2019: over 90% of all authors who published in TAPA, CA, or AJP between 1997 and 2017 were white, with a slight but not at all steady or sustainable increase in the number of non-white authors over the years. See also Leonard and Lovatt 2020.

[61] See also Holman, Stuart-Fox, and Hauser 2018.

where such programmes already exist, intensifying them; by demonstrably committing themselves to equal pay and a living wage for all individuals regardless of gender, ethnicity, or any other minority status; by restructuring employment and tenure criteria so that such decisions acknowledge the gendered nature of social structures and e.g. decrease the value placed upon publications, increase the importance of service, and are no longer modelled after a typical (white) male biography; by introducing and promoting job-sharing opportunities in faculty positions; by re-evaluating how administrative positions and advising roles are distributed; and by increasing women's opportunities through women-only research sabbaticals, grants, or mentoring for early career scholars.[62] Finally, to increase both the proportion of women among faculty members and among journal authors, I propose the introduction of internal quotas.[63] For universities, I recommend adopting a system similar to the one introduced by the TU Eindhoven (Netherlands): vacancies for academic staff should be opened for women exclusively for at least a given amount of time (e.g. six months) until women represent half of the faculty,[64] and those women should be supported even further so that the retention problem ('leaky pipeline') can be addressed.[65] Where current legislation prevents such a compensations for disadvantages, universities are called upon to step up and insist *vis-à-vis* legislators that they are allowed to treat substantially unequal cases unequally and are not forced to pretend that gender equality (or racial equality, for that matter) has already been achieved. For journals, I recommend the establishment of a self-imposed quota at the very least corresponding to the current number of women working within academia in their respective country, or, more ambitiously, of 50%. Such quotas do not invalidate double-blind peer reviews, as editors would simply be incentivised to both actively search for women whose scholarly profile fits the journal in order to increase submissions by women and be compelled to send out submissions by women to the reviewers until the quota for the journal

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[62] See also the recommendations formulated in the San Francisco Declaration on Research Assessment (Declaration of Research Assessment 2013) which includes not only recommendations for institutions and publishers but also for funding agencies, data organisations, and even researchers, or the detailed recommendations in the CUCD report on equality and diversity in Classics (Leonard and Lovatt 2020: 55–65) which specifically address department heads, appointment panels and promotion committees, teaching staff and tutors, supervisors and advisers, editors, conference organisers, and learned societies.

[63] See Gheaus 2015 for rebuttals to many common arguments against quotas.

[64] Technische Universiteit Eindhoven 2019.

[65] Technische Universiteit Eindhoven 2020.

issue (or year) has been met, and would have the added benefit of presumably even rising the quality of the scholarship published: research shows that mandatory gender quotas improve the performance of companies and the quality of corporate boards,[66] and that more gender diversity leads to better science and higher citation rates,[67] making it plausible that mandatory quotas in academia would at the very least not be detrimental to research or faculty performance. In a best-case scenario, such approaches would make themselves redundant as their implementation would cause the academic culture to become more inclusive towards women (and, hopefully, also towards other minorities), and would thus serve only as safety-nets which might not even be needed after they are announced publicly. In a worst-case scenario, journal editors and search committees would face a limited additional workload. Adopting such methods, I am convinced, would thus not only significantly improve the proportion of women among faculty and published authors, but also raise the quality of classical scholarship across the board.

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[66] Hunt *et al.* 2018; Bennouri, De Amicis, and Falconieri 2020.

[67] Nielsen *et al.* 2017.

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