

1 **Breaking down barriers: The identification of actions to promote gender equality in**
2 **interdisciplinary marine research institutions**

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88 **Keywords:** academia; diversity; equality; gender; intersectionality; STEM; leadership; marine
89 science; equity

90 **Summary**

91 Interdisciplinary research is paramount to addressing ocean sustainability challenges in the 21st
92 century. However, women leaders have been underrepresented in interdisciplinary marine research
93 and there is little guidance on how to achieve the conditions that will lead to an increased proportion
94 of women scientists in positions of leadership. Here, we conduct in-depth qualitative research to
95 explore the main barriers and enablers to women's leadership, in an academic interdisciplinary marine
96 research context. We found that interdisciplinarity can present unique and additional barriers to
97 women leaders (e.g. complexity and lack of value attributed interdisciplinary research) and are

98 exacerbated by existing gender-specific issues women experience (e.g. isolation and
99 underrepresentation and stereotyping). Together these barriers overlap forming the ‘glass obstacle
100 course’- and are particularly challenging for women in minoritized groups. Here, we provide a list of
101 concrete, ambitious and actionable enablers that can promote and support women’s leadership in
102 academic interdisciplinary marine research.

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126 **Introduction**

127 *“We cannot all succeed when half of us are held back”.*

128 *—Malala Yousafzai*

129 It is increasingly acknowledged that a diversity of leaders, perspectives and disciplines are essential
130 for navigating the complexity of environmental problems^{1,2}, including the socio-ecological challenges
131 facing marine environments³⁻⁶. While it has become commonplace that marine research, like any
132 other science, benefits from the inclusion of diverse scientific disciplines, the value of diversity in
133 gender, ethnicity, nationality and other aspects (including disabilities) continues to be challenged^{1,7}.
134 The goal of gender equality has been reflected in the setting of global commitments⁸ including the
135 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (e.g. SDG 5)⁹ and the United Nations (UN) Decade of Ocean
136 Science for Sustainable Development (2021-2030)¹⁰. In the context of this study, gender equality refers
137 to ensuring women have the same rights and responsibilities, are given the same opportunities and
138 resources, and are not treated less favourably on the basis of their specific gender¹¹. For example,
139 SDG 5.5 specifically aims to ensure that there are equal opportunities for women’s leadership at all
140 levels of decision-making in political, economic, and public life¹².

141 While the SDGs focus specifically on gender equality, there is also research which shows that women
142 leaders encourage and drive innovation, creativity and scientific discovery¹³, cultivate a more
143 collaborative and inclusive research environment¹⁴ and remove hierarchical power imbalances that
144 have the potential to derail collaboration among researchers from different disciplines¹⁵. Throughout
145 this manuscript, we use the terms “women” and “leader”. We recognise that gender is not binary and
146 we respectfully include and acknowledge the experiences and challenges of all who identify as
147 women and/or womxn and also acknowledge that these and other challenges also exist for non-binary
148 individuals¹⁶. For the purpose of this study, a ‘leader’ is defined as a researcher who holds some form
149 of leadership role at any level within an academic institution (i.e. leading a research institution, team,
150 project or program). Leadership roles are multifaceted and vary across regions and cultures, however,
151 they often require leaders to assume a greater administrative and managerial load and service duties,
152 in addition to their research role.

153 Despite the importance of diversity and inclusivity, gender inequity is pervasive across academic
154 interdisciplinary marine research institutions¹⁷⁻¹⁹. In the context of this study, gender equity is defined
155 as the practices and ways of thinking that assist in working towards equality, including ensuring
156 women are given opportunities and resources that are proportional to their needs. Equity differs from
157 equality in that it acknowledges that under-represented groups do not start from the same point, may
158 face different systemic barriers, and therefore may require additional support to overcome these
159 barriers”¹¹. Interdisciplinary marine research integrates perspectives and approaches from the natural,
160 physical and social sciences, which had previously been pursued independently, to create synthetic

161 understandings²⁰. Research indicates that women are less likely than men to be in positions of
162 leadership^{21,22}. Following trends in other Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM)
163 disciplines, previous studies suggest the proportion of women in leadership positions declines along
164 the ‘leaky pipeline’, in the career trajectory from higher education to research^{23–26}. Other studies have
165 shown that despite similar proportions of women and men who enrol in undergraduate and graduate
166 programs and acquire postdoctoral roles, leadership positions are predominantly held by men²⁷.
167 Earlier work has also shown that the leaky pipeline phenomenon can be further accompanied by
168 gender inequity in terms of earnings^{23,28,29}, funding^{22,30}, awards³¹ and publishing (e.g. authorship,
169 number of citations, and leadership and membership of editorial boards^{32–34}). Women often have
170 shorter careers³⁵, receive more manuscript rejections^{36–38} and are less likely to publish in prestigious
171 journals³⁹. While we acknowledge that each country, institution and discipline (whether natural or
172 social science) will have its own specific context, studies suggest that women scientists from around
173 the world are experiencing gender-specific biases that impede their advancement in research careers
174 and attainment of leadership positions⁴⁰.

175 Pursuing gender equality in interdisciplinary marine research is critical. Gender equality is a
176 fundamental human right and is essential for addressing sustainability challenges^{41,42}. But, without
177 understanding the gender-specific barriers that women face in relation to career advancement, it is
178 impossible to ascertain how to navigate them⁴³. There is a growing body of work which has enhanced
179 understanding of the perceived gender-specific barriers and enablers to the advancement of women in
180 STEM and related fields. Some of this research has gone so far as to suggest that the academic system
181 has not been designed and developed to adequately support women scientists³⁸ or other minoritized
182 groups^{44,45}. As a result, women experience unconscious bias, cultural prejudices, stereotyping and
183 expectations, as well as bullying and sexual harassment⁴⁶, which can inhibit career progression in
184 STEM and put them at a significant disadvantage compared to their male colleagues^{21,28,47–49}. This has
185 previously been described as a ‘labyrinth’ or ‘glass obstacle course’^{50,51}. Together, these metaphors
186 convey the various unequal and unseen gendered processes that are experienced by women scientists
187 in the workplace and prevent women from rising to leadership positions within academia^{50,52}. It is also
188 important to note that the challenges experienced by women scientists are not experienced equally,
189 but rather interact and accumulate with additional attributes including race¹, nationality³³, sexual
190 identity, disability, age, culture and caring responsibilities^{16,53,54}.

191 Targeted actions are therefore needed to improve the conditions that will support an increased
192 proportion of women scientists in positions of leadership. Research in STEM and related fields have
193 put forward a range of potential enablers and strategies, including flexible working arrangements,
194 institutional support, networking, support networks, mentoring, and role models^{17,49,55–57}. To date,
195 however, there has been limited research into the barriers and enablers experienced at the intersection
196 between gender and interdisciplinarity, particularly within the context of marine research. This is

197 pertinent for a number of reasons. First, interdisciplinary research is paramount to addressing ocean
198 sustainability challenges in the 21st century⁵⁸. It is increasingly recognised that knowledge generation
199 through single-discipline science is no longer adequate¹⁵; ‘...*biologists alone cannot solve the loss of*
200 *biodiversity, nor chemists in isolation negotiate the transition to renewable energy*’⁵⁹.
201 Interdisciplinarity enables a more comprehensive understanding of problems, issues and complex
202 phenomena, broadens the toolbox of methods and approaches used by scientists and actors, creates
203 new knowledge on the multi-scale interactions between marine ecosystems and society and generates
204 more robust and relevant outputs^{60,61}. Second, recent evidence has shown that women leaders can
205 increase the success of interdisciplinary marine research¹⁵. “*Women are well positioned to make major*
206 *advances in interdisciplinary research, they may like to integrate across fields and approaches, work*
207 *well in teams, and be committed to connecting their research with societal concerns*”⁶² (p72). Thus,
208 women’s leadership will be significant to the future growth and success of interdisciplinary marine
209 research. Third, the barriers to conducting interdisciplinary research are considerable, in comparison
210 to single disciplines⁶³. Interdisciplinarity can present unique and additional challenges to women
211 scientists and may exacerbate the existing gender-specific issues experienced in marine research⁶⁴.
212 Barriers include: the lack of recognition of and discrimination against interdisciplinary research^{65,66},
213 disciplinary interaction (e.g. communication and power hierarchies between natural and social
214 science), issues with integrating divergent disciplines in a meaningful way due to different
215 epistemologies⁶⁷ and a lack of specific funding for interdisciplinary marine research⁶⁸. Still,
216 resources and human capital remain insufficient for overcoming current and future sustainability
217 challenges⁶⁹. It is counterproductive for sustainability, if women are being subtly and systematically
218 excluded from leadership opportunities, whether intentionally or otherwise⁷⁰. Interdisciplinary marine
219 research environments must become more gender inclusive, empowering and appealing places for
220 women scientists and potential leaders to work.

221 Here we aim to address knowledge gaps on the barriers and enablers of women’s leadership in
222 academic interdisciplinary marine research. The study has three main objectives: (i) to develop a
223 comprehensive understanding of the main challenges and barriers of working in academia and
224 undertaking interdisciplinary marine research, as perceived by women leaders; (ii) to develop a
225 comprehensive understanding of the *gendered* challenges or barriers experienced by women leaders;
226 and (iii) to identify enablers of women’s leadership, including the promotion of and subsequent
227 success of women’s leadership (e.g. systems, processes and strategies). In-depth qualitative research
228 was conducted using semi-structured interviews and self-completion surveys. 34 women leaders
229 participated in the study, representing twenty-seven nationalities (see Table S1). The study was
230 undertaken during the COVID-19 pandemic, a global event that brought to light many of the issues
231 we see reflected in the responses^{71,72}. We find that interdisciplinarity can present unique and
232 additional challenges to women leaders working in academic marine research. Interdisciplinary

233 research is perceived to be undervalued and complex, and requires leaders to engage with a variety of
234 disciplines, which can present challenges (e.g. due to differences in terminology, epistemologies and
235 power relationships). These challenges are exacerbated by existing gender-specific issues that women
236 experience (e.g. isolation and underrepresentation and stereotyping). These barriers intersect and
237 overlap forming the ‘glass obstacle course’- and are particularly challenging for women with multiple
238 disadvantaged or minoritized statuses (e.g. ethnic minorities and leaders in the Global South). We
239 propose a range of systems, processes and strategies which can promote and support women’s
240 leadership in academic interdisciplinary marine research. Social enablers (e.g. support and
241 encouragement from supervisors and peers and informal networking) were the most frequently
242 discussed, suggesting that support for women scientists may come from people, rather than training or
243 institutional structures. By exploring the views of women leaders we can help to reframe the
244 conversation around women’s careers in academia, with important implications for academic
245 interdisciplinary marine research institutions, the science community and more broadly, ocean
246 sustainability. These insights can help to guide the design of gender equity initiatives, policies and
247 frameworks which make steps towards gender equality in interdisciplinary marine research.

248 **Results**

249 Themes are presented as an analysis hierarchy. The analysis hierarchy provides an overview of the
250 coding results and themes were ordered from those mentioned most frequently to those least
251 frequently mentioned. However, it should be noted that frequency simply refers to the number of
252 times each theme was mentioned by participants, not the level of importance that participants placed on
253 any specific issue. Specific themes, within each of the three research objectives, are detailed in the
254 following subsection (see Table S2 for the overall sum totals for each theme).

255 **Challenges of interdisciplinary marine research**

256 Our first objective was to identify the main challenges for leaders working in academia and
257 undertaking interdisciplinary marine research, from the perspective of women leaders. These are
258 intended to be the non-gender specific barriers that participants mentioned they had experienced as
259 leaders. However, there is a potential bias in the data, as we intentionally sampled women leaders.
260 Additionally, we assume that the participants themselves selected themes related to this cluster of
261 challenges, as opposed to the next cluster of challenges related to gender-specific challenges. Thus, it
262 is impossible to confirm that these challenges are ungendered, but they are perceived to be
263 ungendered. Most participants acknowledged that they had experienced challenges as a leader (N=30;
264 88.2%); four participants had not faced any general challenges as leaders (11.8%). The analysis
265 identified 21 challenges. As described in the methods, they were categorised into the following
266 themes: (i) institutional, (ii) practical and process, (iii) social, (iv) financial (v) individual, (vi)
267 political and (vii) other (see Table 1). The ten most frequently discussed academic and

268 interdisciplinary challenges (or subthemes) are presented in Figure 1. Further information on each of
269 the subthemes (with example quotes) are shown in Table S3.

270 Institutional challenges were the most common theme, highlighted by the majority of participants (see
271 Table S2). Of these, the most commonly discussed institutional challenges were: (i) limited
272 institutional support and capacity (N=15), (ii) academic or workplace culture (N=13) and (iii)
273 institutional structure and policies (N=13; Table 1). Challenges identified under institutional support
274 and capacity, included a lack of physical infrastructure to facilitate interdisciplinary marine research,
275 as well as limited access to support and scientific staff. Participants discussed administrative
276 overburden due to a lack of support within departments (e.g. for research management, teaching and
277 financial management). This was seen to take leaders away from their research responsibilities and
278 demotivated leaders. For example, one participant stated that *“Instead of having the time and
279 creativity to spend on exercising leadership, I spend a lot of it on administrative duties. Most of these
280 do not require my input, but we are a small team with lots of responsibilities”* (ID19).

281 The second most commonly discussed institutional barrier was that of academic or workplace culture.
282 Participants discussed the competitive nature of academia, workload, the expectation to work long
283 hours but also the presence of toxic and hostile working conditions (Table 1). For example, *“Things
284 like when I was part time, that perception that you can't be a leader and serious about your work if
285 you're part time”* (ID13). A third institutional barrier concerned institutional structure and policies
286 (Table 1). Participants commented on issues including hierarchical structures, bureaucracy, and
287 discrepancy between individual, team and institutional goals. For example, one participant
288 commented, *“I find University/funding bureaucracy to be one of the biggest barriers in academia. I
289 find being a strong and fair leader requires doing things that are right and just, doing things that are
290 creative, and doing things that one may not have budgeted for at the outset. In all cases, these things
291 (and understanding they are not mutually exclusive) tend to be difficult for rigid university systems to
292 accept”* (ID33). Other institutional challenges included: (i) career progression and job insecurity
293 (N=7), (ii) isolation and integration (N=6) and (iii) poor leadership within institutions (e.g. from
294 superiors; N=4; Table 1).

295 In addition to institutional challenges, participants identified several practical and process barriers that
296 influence interdisciplinary leadership (Table 1). Of these, the most commonly discussed subthemes
297 were related to the challenges of being an interdisciplinary researcher. First, the lack of recognition
298 and value attributed to interdisciplinary marine research was seen as a barrier (N=17). As exemplified
299 by one participant: *“...I find my research misunderstood and I sometimes feel cut-off from
300 disciplinary collaboration. I find that most of my invitations to collaborate in consortia is to do
301 research on capacity building or societal outreach”* (ID10). The challenges of working with
302 researchers from other disciplines was also commonly identified (N=13). One participant stated: *“...it
303 is still very much compartmentalized – social and natural scientists do not mix or communicate with*

304 *one another. In my work on marine social-ecological systems, this is quite the challenge – especially*
305 *amongst natural scientists” (ID22). Closely associated with this, participants discussed the*
306 *complexity of undertaking interdisciplinary marine research (N=13): “It requires patience and*
307 *stamina to lead processes to reach shared understanding and agreement of challenges, priorities and*
308 *goals across disciplines, cultures, terminologies, that often differ from the discipline-specific*
309 *priorities and goals” (ID11). Other practical and process challenges related to: (i) leading and*
310 *managing staff, (N=6) (ii) publishing (N=7) and (iii) the lack of leadership training (N=5; see Table*
311 *1).*

312 By examining the challenges for leaders working within academia and undertaking interdisciplinary
313 marine research, we were able to study biases and inequalities across different dimensions of human
314 diversity and their intersections (‘social challenges’; N=22, 64.7%). Social issues and multiple forms
315 of discrimination combined and intersected the experiences faced by academics. One participant
316 stated *“I think that age, place and race play important roles too, and that gender is only one aspect*
317 *that may challenge leadership in marine interdisciplinary research” (ID7). Multiple participants had*
318 *experienced or observed discrimination and prejudice as a result of their race, ethnicity, or nationality*
319 *(N=14). For example, “[as] a woman of color, I especially feel that I need to do “extra” work or be*
320 *“extra” good at what I do in order to be seen or heard as a reliable and valued voice” (ID34).*
321 Participants discussed the implications of this discrimination, for example, in terms of isolation and
322 exclusion from career progression: *“...it was just accepted there’s no black woman, with a PhD, that*
323 *can fill in positions” (ID2). Participants were also discriminated against due to their age (N=12): “...I*
324 *won a big research grant and became both project Leader and Tenure Track Professor at my*
325 *university. This time was hard, because colleagues subtly tried to question the fact that I deserve this*
326 *grant. I was the first of the faculty that received it at a quite young age” (ID7).*

327 Another social challenge was inequality (N=8). For example, working in the Global South presented
328 additional challenges for women academics (e.g. due to the lack of research capacity and funding,
329 publishing, and progress in the field of interdisciplinary marine research). One participant
330 commented: *“[It is] harder because of our ‘developing country’ status [a challenge] has been access*
331 *to funding for research and student support. There is no national or even regional science fund to*
332 *which we can apply annually, as is the norm for many developed countries” (ID29). Finally, whilst*
333 *mentioned less frequently, participants also outlined a range of financial, individual, political and*
334 *other challenges (summarised in Table 1 and Table S3).*

335 **Gendered challenges experienced by women leaders**

336 First, participants were asked whether they had experienced unique challenges, compared to males in
337 the same position. Within our study, 24 out of our 34 (70.6%) participants perceived from their
338 experiences that interdisciplinary marine research was more challenging for women leaders and they

339 would expect to spend more time on overcoming issues, compared to male colleagues. One
340 participant stated: *“Marine and interdisciplinary research are traditionally considered as male
341 dominant area thus having a female leading the project is assumed as ‘less convincing’”* (ID18).
342 Some perceived that it placed them in a double bind, due to gender stereotypes and negative
343 perceptions of interdisciplinary marine research. This was exemplified by one participant who stated:
344 *“I think a lot of single discipline senior men view interdisciplinary work as fluffy and not solid. So
345 that’s a definite barrier”* (ID13). This was in contrast to 7 participants who thought that it wasn’t
346 more challenging for women leaders (23.5%) and 2 participants who were unsure (5.9%). For
347 example, some participants considered that interdisciplinary marine research may be more suited to
348 women’s skill sets or values (e.g. communication skills, multi-tasking and flexibility). One participant
349 stated: *“I think women more easily see the value of interdisciplinary science. And they more clearly
350 see that it is actually a particular skillset, working across the disciplines in an effective way is a
351 particular skillset. And I don’t think that is often recognised by, or it’s less likely to be recognised by
352 males”* (ID14).

353 Second, they were asked whether there were unique challenges for women scientists seeking to lead
354 interdisciplinary marine research, compared to discipline-specific research. Within the study, 17 out
355 of 32 (53.1%) thought that interdisciplinary marine research was more challenging than discipline-
356 specific research for women leaders. Participants commented on the additional demands and mental
357 load required for interdisciplinary marine research (e.g. gaining new skills and knowledge and
358 engaging with a range of disciplines) which can negatively affect women leaders, who are time poor
359 (e.g. due to domestic burden). One participant stated: *“[Women scientists] might be challenged with
360 learning new research methods which require broad knowledge of different disciplines applied to
361 marine research. Again, time - burden makes it challenging to seek sufficient time to seek new or
362 advanced knowledge”* (ID23). This contrasted with 11 participants who did not think that
363 interdisciplinary marine research was more challenging for women to lead, compared to discipline-
364 specific research (34.4%) and 4 participants who were unsure (12.5%). For example, some
365 participants thought that interdisciplinary marine research presented more opportunities for women
366 compared to single-discipline research as: (i) it has greater (gender) diversity and representation, (ii) it
367 is a newer, open and less competitive research area and (iii) it is more forward-looking and is more
368 fluid compared to discipline-specific science. As exemplified by one participant, *“... because the
369 mono-disciplines have been developed for centuries and they are more competitive and for women it’s
370 more difficult also for cultural reasons. And interdisciplinary science is something newer and
371 perhaps because it’s a more open new niche there are more opportunities for women in this niche”*
372 (ID31).

373 Third, participants were asked to reflect on the gendered challenges they faced as a woman leader in
374 interdisciplinary marine research. Over 60% of participants perceived that they had faced gendered

375 challenges and identified the types of barriers and challenges (21/34; 61.8%). However, just under
376 40% of participants stated that they had not faced any specific gender-based challenges or were
377 unable to identify them (N=13; 38.2%). In total, 23 specific barriers were identified and categorised
378 into the following themes: (i) social, (ii) practical and process, (iii) individual, (iv) institutional, (v)
379 financial and (vi) other (see Table 2 and Figure 1). The ten most frequently discussed gendered
380 challenges (or subthemes) are presented in Figure 1. Further information on each of the subthemes
381 (with example quotes) are shown in Table S4.

382 Social barriers were the most commonly discussed gendered challenge by participants (see Table S2).
383 This theme was further described by six subthemes (see Table 2). Of these, the most frequently
384 mentioned social challenges were: (i) isolation and underrepresentation (N=24), (ii) stereotyping
385 (N=19), and (iii) expectations of women (N=19). First, participants commented on the feeling of
386 isolation as a woman leader in academia, due to the male dominated environment and lack of women
387 role models. One participant stated “...*the men who have these positions, it’s not like they’re male*
388 *chauvinists, not at all, but how did we end up in this situation where all the professors are male? It’s*
389 *got to be something that is not an accident”* (ID5). Second, over half of participants considered
390 stereotyping to be an issue in academia. Participants highlighted various gendered stereotypes that
391 they had observed within academia and there was some variation across disciplines, countries, and
392 cultural contexts. This included women academics being considered as: (i) less able leaders (ii) having
393 an inferior performance on quantitative or mathematics-related tasks, (iii) being weaker and less able
394 to take on physical tasks (e.g. during fieldwork), (iv) having caring characteristics (e.g. compared to
395 men who are associated with confidence, dominance and self-reliance) and (v) being mothers or
396 carers rather than scientists and leaders. Experience of this stereotyping was exemplified by one
397 participant who referred to “...*the ancient setting with women taking care of children and home, and*
398 *men as being busy businessmen or hunters, whatever, is also shown in the academy”* (ID8).

399 Third, expectations of women research leaders were also seen as a social challenge; these are the
400 internally and externally applied beliefs of how women leaders should behave and the standards they
401 should meet. Many participants perceived that there are double standards when comparing men and
402 women working in academia. As illustrated by one participant: “*I think the expectations for women by*
403 *women and men, like by everyone, are higher...if a woman does something wrong or whatever it’s like*
404 *well they should know better, men get away with it because they’re men, but women should know*
405 *better”* (ID13). Furthermore, participants discussed the perception that women are expected to work
406 harder than male colleagues to be successful and are subject to greater judgement (e.g. their work and
407 behaviour): “...*females have to work harder to get the results and the buy-in”* (ID27). Although
408 mentioned less frequently, other social challenges related to: (i) engagement in external activities (e.g.
409 experiencing stereotyping and sexualised behaviours when undertaking fieldwork, cruises and
410 stakeholder engagement; N=12), (ii) power imbalance (i.e. the unequal distribution of control and

411 power held by men and women; N=8) and (iii) a lack of awareness of gender-issues in wider society
412 (N=5; see Table 2).

413 In addition to the social challenges outlined above, participants also discussed several practical and
414 process challenges (see Table 2). Most participants mentioned that parenthood and caring
415 responsibilities were a barrier to women's leadership (N=27). Some highlighted that women leaders
416 often had to make a decision and trade-off between work and having children, which was not
417 perceived to be the same for the majority of men. Of those that had decided to have children, they
418 continued to face trade-offs and barriers after they had given birth, particularly during the COVID-19
419 pandemic. As one participant stated: "...many female colleagues suffer from being both a leader and
420 top researcher and a mother. This has been especially an issue during COVID-19" (ID7). Women
421 scientists experienced isolation and the challenge of balancing work and home life, which had career
422 implications (e.g. being unable to attend conferences, meetings and fieldwork trips, as well as having
423 negative effects on their career trajectory). One participant described how they "... have a huge
424 responsibility as a mother, wife and care-taker of the family. These expectations weigh heavily on me
425 and imposed limitations on my capabilities to excel in academia" (ID23).

426 Participants also highlighted the often unseen and unsanctioned barriers which prevented women
427 academics securing leadership positions (N=14). This is commonly known as the 'glass ceiling':
428 "...the glass ceiling that is often talked about is very much there and it comes in extremely cyclic
429 forms and it's most powerful if one doesn't talk about it openly" (ID9). Participants discussed the lack
430 of equitable access to leadership positions for women scientists and situations where they themselves
431 or colleagues had been blocked, delayed or held back from promotions and career opportunities (e.g.
432 due to gender stereotypes and external responsibilities, such as parenthood). For example, "...there is
433 prejudice in the university work environment: women take longer to be promoted and must publish
434 more than men for the same promotion" (ID28). This was in addition to challenges such as job
435 uncertainty or insecurity (e.g. due to short term contracts and having to move for work; N=5) and the
436 gender pay gap (i.e. men having higher salaries; N=4).

437 Participants also identified several individual (i.e. personal) challenges facing women leaders. Over
438 60% of participants perceived that gaining credibility was a barrier for women scientists, as many had
439 an expectation of different or diminished interests or abilities, due to their gender (N=22); exemplified
440 in the following: "...there are some things that don't come to us for granted, you don't get it straight
441 away, you have to roll twice as much so there's that barrier in terms of prompt recognition, so we
442 don't get recognition as fast" (ID29). In addition, they had been given different tasks to men:
443 "There's still an expectation that in a meeting of senior scientists, any women present are the best
444 people to take the minutes" (ID6).

445 Bullying was also identified as an individual challenge (N=14). Participants recalled subtle workplace
446 discrimination, particularly from senior colleagues, and observed belittling, misogynistic
447 unprofessional remarks, and incidences of microaggressions. For example, *“I was told that I would*
448 *never make it to full professor because everyone knows female professors are ruining the*
449 *University...[also] men have challenged the way I have said something i.e. the pitch of my voice”*
450 (ID17). Microaggressions included ‘mansplaining’ which describes an explanation, usually offered
451 by a man, which is patronizing, condescending, or ignores women’s experience and knowledge⁷³.
452 Another type is ‘hepeating’ which occurs when a male colleague appropriates comments or ideas that
453 were originally highlighted by a woman and is praised for them being his own. However, some
454 participants also highlighted times when there had been more blatant forms of bullying, including
455 arguments with men in the workplace. This was highlighted by one participant who said that: *“I have*
456 *once had a conflict with a senior colleague (a professor) that got a bit out of hand, where he on the*
457 *phone strong-armed me and said he would personally take care I would not have [anything] to do*
458 *with the topic-area about which we were in disagreement”* (ID12). Other individual challenges,
459 included: (i) women scientists lacking confidence in their ability (N=7), (ii) limited acceptance of
460 women leaders (N=8), (iii) sexual harassment and (iv) appearance (i.e. being judged on their physical
461 characteristics). Finally, whilst mentioned less frequently, participants also outlined a range of
462 institutional, financial and other gendered challenges (summarised in Table 2 and Table S4).

463 **Enablers of women’s leadership**

464 Our third objective was to identify enablers of women’s leadership, including the promotion, and
465 subsequent success, of women’s leadership (e.g. systems, processes and strategies). Participants were
466 asked to suggest enablers that they had observed or applied as a leader, without having a list of
467 enablers to select from. Thirty-three participants identified strategies and enablers that could be used
468 to support women in leading interdisciplinary marine research. There were 25 subthemes, categorised
469 as follows: (i) social, (ii) practical and process, (iii) institutional, (iv) individual, (v) financial and (vi)
470 other (see Table 3). The ten most frequently mentioned enablers (or subthemes) are presented in
471 Figure 2. Further information on each of the subthemes (with example quotes) are shown in Table S5
472 and S6.

473 The majority of participants highlighted social strategies or enablers (see Table S2). Of these, the
474 most frequently mentioned subthemes were: (i) support and encouragement from superiors (N=21)
475 and (ii) peers (N=16) and (iii) informal networking (N=14; Table 3). Participants perceived that
476 support and encouragement from superiors was an important enabler: *“A leader that embraces and*
477 *supports you makes a big difference”* (ID1). Participants highlighted the support they had received as
478 part of their careers, as well as how they supported and encouraged their staff. This was followed by
479 receiving support and encouragement from peers, which was mentioned by approximately half of
480 participants. Many participants highlighted the value of being able to talk about their experiences with

481 other groups of women in similar contexts. The type of support and encouragement included giving
482 staff or peers a safe space to discuss any issues; encouragement to apply for roles, promotion,
483 leadership opportunities and awards; providing feedback (e.g. on research and development); acting
484 as an advocate and increasing visibility. One participant stated *“We female-identifying scientists must
485 support each other in getting forward with our careers instead of competing with each other”* (ID8).

486 Another enabler was informal networking, which included networking with colleagues in the
487 workplace, as well as with the wider research community (e.g. at conferences, meetings, and via
488 social media). One participant described how they had encouraged networking and connected her staff
489 with researchers with similar interests: *“...let's get that person partnered with somebody with that
490 knowledge or skill set, or, hey, let's go grab that person down the hall to have them interact with, or
491 those sorts of things”* (ID14). Although mentioned less frequently, other social enablers included:
492 formal networking (e.g. through established networks or organizations for women; N=7), role models
493 (N=8), male allies (N=5) and gaining support and encouragement from family and friends (N=4).

494 Practical and process strategies were also commonly highlighted. Mentoring schemes were the most
495 frequently mentioned enabler (N=14). As exemplified by one participant, *“No scientist can thrive in
496 complete isolation, and none of the success I have experienced could have been achieved without
497 supportive collaborators, mentors and organizations”* (ID10). Another identified enabler was the use
498 of mechanisms to increase visibility and exposure of women scientists (e.g. through the media, social
499 media, and on podcasts; N=9). Raising awareness and visibility of women scientists was perceived to
500 increase career success, as well as to help promote the uptake of women academics into STEM. One
501 participant stated that, *“...the advantage of being a lot in the press and getting a lot of public outreach
502 done and being in the media, that sooner or later most people have heard about my work and then
503 actually it's not so difficult anymore”* (ID30). The remaining practical strategies related to
504 professional development. Specifically: (i) offering leadership training and schemes to women
505 scientists (N=8), and (ii) offering planning and coaching to help women academics to achieve career
506 progression (N=8).

507 Institutional strategies were also a commonly raised category, yielding seven subthemes (see Table 3).
508 The implementation of diversity, equity and inclusion policies was seen as an important strategy
509 (N=13), and included references to unconscious bias training, gender quotas, gender neutral
510 applications, and equal pay. One participant stated *“In my university, we are strong in gender
511 promotion and gender equality. We have a Gender and Development Office that ensures gender is
512 mainstreamed in the policies, plans, activities”* (ID21). Creating a family-friendly environment
513 within academic institutions (N=12) was seen as important. For example, by implementing measures
514 such as affordable childcare, adopting flexible work practices and facilitating re-entry after maternity
515 leave: *“I think that the universities should be more giving, they should give more support to mothers
516 so that they can keep working, and not get so alone”* (ID29). Other institutional strategies included:

517 (i) improving academic or workplace culture (N=13), (ii) raising awareness and understanding of
518 gender issues (N=8), (ii) providing women scientists with opportunities for leadership (N=9), (iii)
519 increasing institutional support and capacity (N=7), and (iv) offering flexible working arrangements
520 (N=5). Finally, individual, financial and other challenges were also discussed (summarised in Table 3
521 and Table S5 and S6).

522 **Discussion**

523 It is long established that a diversity of leaders is essential for identifying innovative solutions for
524 complex environmental challenges^{1,2}. This is particularly the case for interdisciplinary marine
525 research, which draws on diverse forms of knowledge, methods and skillsets and mobilizes diverse
526 networks, to navigate marine socio-ecological challenges²⁰. Yet, women scientists are less likely to be
527 in positions of leadership within academic interdisciplinary marine research institutions and projects
528 compared to their male colleagues. This study sought to better understand the main barriers and
529 enablers to women leadership's in interdisciplinary marine research. A broad framing of leadership
530 was employed (i.e. leadership of research institutions, teams, projects or programs) reflecting the
531 multi-dimensional nature of academic leadership and the cultural practice of different geographical
532 contexts. This paper provides novel insights at the intersection between gender and interdisciplinarity
533 within the context of marine science.

534 **Challenges of interdisciplinary marine research**

535 Through this study, we developed a comprehensive understanding of the main challenges and barriers
536 of working in academia and undertaking interdisciplinary marine research, as perceived by women
537 leaders. Leaders face a range of challenges stemming from their role in academia and interdisciplinary
538 marine research. Many of these challenges are likely to be non-gendered. This finding is reinforced by
539 previous research that has identified challenges faced by leaders (regardless of gender) working
540 within academia more broadly^{64,74,75}. It is unsurprising, as mechanisms within academia tend to
541 reproduce dominant orders and persisting hierarchies and inequalities⁷⁶. However, we acknowledge
542 there may be some overlap with gendered challenges, as academic institutions, processes and careers
543 have been described as gendered in multiple aspects⁷⁷.

544 Institutional barriers such as limited institutional support and capacity, academic or workplace culture,
545 and institutional structure and policies were highlighted by participants. As highlighted previously,
546 many barriers are embedded into institutional and departmental practices⁵⁵. Leaders discussed the lack
547 of available support and capacity within their institution (e.g. aiding research, teaching and
548 administration) and the limited or restrictive institutional structure and policies, identified in previous
549 research as hierarchical structures⁷⁸. In combination, these two institutional challenges were perceived
550 to affect a leader's ability to undertake research (e.g. due to lack of administrative support), apply for
551 and successfully obtain funding, progress with their research goals, and undertake career

552 development. The leaders also experienced issues associated with academic or workplace culture.
553 Previous research has shown that the academic culture in marine research⁶⁴ and other STEM
554 disciplines more broadly, is associated with explicit and implicit norms such as long working hours
555 and having high workloads⁴³.

556 The study results suggested that interdisciplinarity presents a significant barrier. This is due to the
557 various disciplines and fields encompassed within interdisciplinary marine research (i.e. being a jack
558 of all trades and keeping up with the literature), the upskilling required, the various actors to engage
559 with (e.g. academic and stakeholder groups) and the time required to build effective interdisciplinary
560 collaborations. There was also a perception of a lack of recognition and value attributed to
561 interdisciplinary marine research. Interdisciplinary marine research was seen to be marginalised and
562 underfunded in comparison to natural science disciplines. There were also challenges connected with
563 working with researchers from other disciplines, due to differences in terminology, epistemologies
564 and power relationships. Overall, the study suggested that interdisciplinary research presents an
565 additional layer of complexity for scientists and can be more challenging and demanding than single-
566 discipline research. This is consistent with the findings of previous studies examining
567 interdisciplinarity in marine research⁶⁸ and in STEM more broadly^{65,79-82}. For example, research
568 suggests that interdisciplinary marine research is highly complex and presents a steep learning curve
569 for both men and women, transitioning from single discipline science⁶⁴. Furthermore, the multifaceted
570 nature of interdisciplinary marine research can put academics at a disadvantage in terms of research
571 productivity, when compared to single disciplinary science⁸³.

572 Third, we identified that not all leaders experience the same challenges, and that their individual
573 experiences were dependent to some degree on the social environment they had worked and work in
574 (i.e. social challenges⁵⁴). Bias and prejudice can affect a scientist's workplace experiences and inhibit
575 career progression, but the impact of 'glass ceilings' are more pronounced for specific groups. In line
576 with previous research, challenges experienced by leaders were compounded when considering race,
577 ethnicity, nationality, age and socio-economic status^{33,84,85}. For instance, scientists belonging to
578 minoritized groups can face a 'double bind' caused by the interplay between racism, sexism, and other
579 systematic biases and cultural barriers⁸⁵⁻⁸⁸. Indeed, prior work suggests that minoritized groups are
580 still underrepresented within marine research⁸⁹, government²⁷ and conservation and environmental
581 organizations⁹⁰.

582 A lack of diversity in STEM can be attributed to gatekeeping, systemic issues of neo-colonial and
583 globalization research practices and direct harm to individuals and groups³³. Policies and management
584 hierarchies can maintain the status quo, where the cultural majority remain in positions of power and
585 dominance, similar to that where male hierarchies can lead to gendered monocultures. Cultural biases
586 may disadvantage women and ethnic groups who do not model leadership behaviour on traditional
587 white male styles of management^{16,52}. Our study also highlighted the inequity between scientists in the

588 Global North and South, with the Global North being advantaged in terms of capacity, funding and
589 publishing. These unequal research conditions have resulted in the phenomenon of parachute
590 science⁹¹, in addition to the underuse of non-English-language science⁹². Our findings are in line with
591 earlier research which highlighted that the combination of persistent geographic bias has resulted in
592 scientists in the Global South being significantly underrepresented in publishing, which may further
593 contribute to their underrepresentation in future leadership positions^{1,66}. Overall the lack of diversity
594 and inclusion of underrepresented individuals and groups can lead to missed opportunities to harness
595 the perspectives and ways of knowing held by diverse experts³³, which is required to advance social
596 equity and address ocean sustainability challenges in the 21st century⁹³.

597 **Gendered challenges experienced by women leaders**

598 This study provides novel insights on the perceptions on intersection between gender and
599 interdisciplinarity. Our exploratory study suggests that interdisciplinary marine research may be more
600 challenging for women leaders, compared to men. Over 70% of women leaders perceived that
601 interdisciplinary marine research was more challenging for women, as they experience a range of
602 gendered barriers including expectations of women and a lack of trust and acceptance of women
603 leaders (see below for further details). Previous research suggests that women are more drawn to
604 interdisciplinary marine research, have various skills, values and behaviours that make them suited to
605 this type of research⁶² and can increase the success of interdisciplinary marine research¹⁵. Despite
606 their suitability and expertise for interdisciplinary marine research, it appears that women leaders still
607 face more challenges than men in the same field.

608 There was less agreement as to whether there were unique challenges for women scientists seeking to
609 lead interdisciplinary marine research, compared to discipline-specific research. On the one hand,
610 participants thought that interdisciplinary marine research presented additional challenges for women
611 leaders. Interdisciplinary marine research is an emerging approach and presents further complexity for
612 leaders and therefore increases work and mental loads (see 3.1). These challenges may be greater for
613 women, due to the gendered challenges they face in the workplace as well as the domestic burden
614 they experience. On the other hand, participants thought that interdisciplinary marine research wasn't
615 any more challenging than discipline-specific research and actually may benefit women leaders. This
616 reflects the findings of previous research⁹⁴. Participants cited various reasons including: (i)
617 interdisciplinary marine research being a newer, open and less competitive research area, (ii) there
618 being higher diversity and representation in interdisciplinary marine research and (iii)
619 interdisciplinary marine research being a more forward-looking and more fluid area, when compared
620 to discipline-specific science.

621 The notion of barriers to women's leadership has received considerable attention in related fields (e.g.
622 ecology and conservation⁵⁵), STEM^{54,84,95} and in academia more broadly^{47,96}. Research is strong on

623 identifying barriers encountered by women scientists in academia, however, such research has rarely
624 explored the barriers faced by women leaders in interdisciplinary contexts and within marine science.
625 Reflecting the results of previous studies, we find that the majority of women have experienced a
626 wide range of additional barriers and challenges owing to their gender (i.e. gendered challenges)
627 ^{47,54,84,97}. This suggests that the barriers experienced within interdisciplinary marine research are of a
628 similar nature to those encountered in other STEM fields. The women leaders articulated a wide range
629 of barriers they had experienced, which together form the ‘labyrinth’ (also known as the ‘glass
630 obstacle course’⁵⁰). These barriers affect their day-to-day role, mental wellbeing, job satisfaction,
631 success and career progression^{54,84,96}. Gendered barriers are socially constructed and reflect the
632 societal views of what men and women should or should not be, or can and cannot do, and how
633 people should relate to each other in households and society^{98,99}.

634 Social barriers were the most commonly discussed gendered challenge discussed by participants. In
635 line with previous studies, women felt isolated and underrepresented, often due to the male-dominated
636 environment (also referred to as the ‘boys club’ or ‘old boys club’⁷⁰) and lack of women scientists
637 occupying upper divisions of academia. Prior research has shown that women scientists can face a
638 ‘chilly climate’ when exposed to masculine institutional cultures and patriarchal systems^{100–102}. These
639 environments maintain male dominance and make it difficult for women scientists to feel comfortable
640 and gain authority¹⁰³. This has important implications, as women scientists may feel stressed, isolated,
641 marginalized, demoralised and subsequently are demotivated from seeking career progression^{27,104}.

642 Gender stereotyping and expectations were also pervasive issues identified through our study.
643 Stereotyping occurs when people assign characteristics to (members of) groups regardless of actual
644 variation in people’s characteristics. In agreement with previous research, participants recalled
645 situations where they had observed or received subtle or blatant comments which reinforced
646 stereotyping of who ‘does’ science⁵⁴. These stereotypes reflect previous work in STEM^{99,105–107}.
647 Stereotypes paint women scientists as having low status and power which can lead to stigmatisation
648 and for others to devalue them⁴³. This is significant as it may make it more difficult for women
649 academics to reach positions of leadership, gain respect, and influence and can prevent them from
650 fully realising opportunities in their careers¹⁰⁸.

651 Women leaders in this study also contended with prejudice, due to biased expectations of how they
652 should behave and the standards they should meet. This aligns with previous findings which show that
653 women scientists face differential expectations and that double standards apply, meaning that for
654 women to succeed they have to work harder than men in equivalent positions. Moreover, women face
655 a higher bar to pass than men do to advance in their career¹⁰⁸. Participants in our study perceived that
656 they were subject to greater judgement and discussed the idea of a ‘tightrope’. If they showed too
657 much agency or confidence, they were described as ‘bossy’, but, if they were too communal, they
658 were deemed an ineffective leader. Research has shown that successful women leaders often engender

659 hostility or are not liked and are judged for violating gender stereotypic expectations (i.e. ‘backlash
660 effects’^{52,109}). Overall this can lead to fewer women taking on leadership roles, due to negative
661 evaluations and/or the greater incidence of women being appointed to ‘glass cliffs’, which are
662 situations associated with greater risk and more open to criticism¹¹⁰.

663 Women leaders also identified two key practical and process challenges, which are consistent with the
664 existing literature. First, the study highlighted that some of the challenges facing women are
665 compounded due to parenthood and caring responsibilities and they have been disproportionately
666 impacted during the COVID-19 pandemic. These findings are consistent with previous studies in
667 STEM^{53,84,111,112}. Participants highlighted that they often have to make a decision between work and
668 being a mother, because research was often seen as incompatible with raising a family; a finding
669 consistent with an earlier study²⁸. The choice of having children or not was perceived to weigh more
670 heavily on the career goals of women scientists, due to the disproportionate responsibility women
671 assume for domestic duties. Additionally, it was perceived that parenthood had resulted in a slower
672 rate of career advancement, due to balancing work and home life and it was often exacerbated by un-
673 family-friendly structures and policies, the culture of academic institutions (e.g. long hours, required
674 travel and relocation) and un-career-friendly family structures¹¹³.

675 Women face social reproduction burden (or domestic burden), due to the unpaid and undervalued
676 work that women undertake as mothers, carers and teachers, particularly during the COVID-19
677 pandemic¹¹⁴. This confirms the findings from previous research^{43,84,115}. Slow career progression
678 combined with an unsupportive environment has been shown to result in poorer research ‘track
679 records’ for women scientists^{83,116} and even abandonment of research careers²⁸. Second, in this study,
680 career progression was also perceived to be inhibited due to the often unseen and unsanctioned
681 barriers which prevented women from securing leadership positions (i.e. ‘the ‘glass ceiling’^{109,117}).
682 There was a feeling that fewer women were being tapped on the shoulder compared to men and they
683 were being excluded from career advancement opportunities. This affirms prior work which has
684 identified the glass ceiling as a career hindering barrier in academia⁴⁷.

685 Taking the findings together, this study highlights that interdisciplinary marine research may be more
686 challenging for women leaders, compared to men. Women leaders experience a host of challenges
687 associated with working within academia and undertaking interdisciplinary marine research. These
688 challenges exacerbate the existing gender-specific issues they experience in marine research⁶⁴. Our
689 study suggests that these barriers can overlap and intersect - and are particularly challenging for
690 women in minoritized groups, due to prejudice, discrimination and inequality. More in-depth analysis
691 is required to examine whether there are unique challenges for women scientists seeking to lead
692 interdisciplinary marine research, compared to discipline-specific research. Overall, enablers are
693 required to tackle the complex and diverse challenges facing women in interdisciplinary marine
694 research.

695 **Enablers of women's leadership**

696 This study adds to the substantial evidence base documenting the barriers that women scientists
697 experience in STEM, but focuses specifically on actionable strategies to support women leaders
698 within academic interdisciplinary marine research institutions. Participants highlighted a range of
699 formal and informal mechanisms for supporting women leaders.

700 Social enablers were the most frequently mentioned type of enabler, which aligns with previous
701 research^{49,70,95,116}. Previous studies suggest that support for women scientists comes from people,
702 rather than training or institutional structures⁸⁴. Participants reflected on the importance of having an
703 internal and external network of support during their career and having role models and
704 encouragement from various sources (e.g. from leaders, peers, male allies and family and
705 friends^{118,119}. For example, women leaders and role models can provide advice on how to successfully
706 negotiate the academic labyrinth, increase empowerment, counteract the negative effects of
707 stereotypes²¹ and pave the way for women scientists that come after them.

708 Networking opportunities (informal and formal mechanisms) were also seen as an important social
709 enabler for the promotion and success of women's leadership, consistent with previous
710 findings^{101,103,120}. Previous research suggests that career advancement is often dependent on building
711 good social networks (or 'social capital') and can involve breaking into the 'boys club' or creating a
712 women's club⁵¹. Networking can create a community of belonging and resistance¹²¹, support women
713 scientists in forging a scholarly identity¹²² and provide them with information and material support
714 (e.g. information relevant to career advancement^{116,120}) and intellectual and political resources to deal
715 with gender bias and discrimination⁵⁷. Formal networks were discussed and included engaging with
716 networks such as: (i) the Gender in Aquaculture and Fisheries network (GAFS), (ii) Organization for
717 Women in Science (OSWD) and (iii) Women of the Reef. However, informal networks were
718 mentioned more frequently. Women leaders predominantly discussed the significance of meeting and
719 socialising with academic peers in the workplace. They highlighted the importance of informal
720 networks for collaboration, as well as their role as a safe space for women to vent, share their
721 experiences and discuss how to navigate being a woman and interdisciplinary scientist in marine
722 research. Prior research has shown that women tend to underestimate their personal networks far more
723 than men and that face-to-face meetings are important for developing women's networks¹²³. These
724 findings are particularly interesting, in a time when face-to-face networking has been limited due to
725 the COVID-19 pandemic. It will be important to find out more about how this has impacted women's
726 leadership and how the next generation of leaders will form such informal networks across
727 disciplines.

728 Practical and process enablers were also important for supporting women's leadership and could help
729 to reduce gender disparity within academic settings^{103,124-126}. Practical strategies included mentoring,

730 raising the visibility and awareness of women scientists, professional development training (e.g.
731 leadership and interdisciplinary research skills) and career planning and coaching. However,
732 mentoring was the most popular strategy. Various forms of mentoring were discussed, including peer-
733 , career development-, and/or personal mentor. Mentoring can be implemented by academic
734 institutions, in addition to external organizations (e.g. learned societies and research networks).
735 Mentoring is increasingly recognised as a critical element for supporting career progression^{64,109},
736 particularly for academics from minoritized or underrepresented groups^{127,128}. Previous research
737 suggests that mentees gain career development guidance, psychological and moral support and
738 encouragement, it can increase their resilience¹²⁹ and sense of voice¹³⁰ and can alleviate their
739 uncertainties about academic life¹⁷. Consequently, mentored academics are more likely to get
740 promoted to positions of leadership, have increased commitment to the institution (i.e. reduced
741 attrition) and receive more grant income^{116,131,132}.

742 Mentoring needs to be effective, rather than just existing as an institutional measure. Well designed
743 and implemented mentoring can drive transformation towards a fair and safe scientific culture¹⁶ and
744 provide a significant return on investment^{17,116}. Academic institutions that draw on best practices will
745 be more likely to deliver successful, multidimensional and inclusive mentoring programs^{16,133,134}. It is
746 beyond the scope of this study to examine specific dimensions of successful mentoring practices and
747 examples of effective programs. However, previous research has identified a range of attributes that
748 are important for mentoring programs¹³⁵⁻¹³⁹, for example: (i) integration of mentoring schemes into a
749 broader program which targets institutional change in combination with improving women's
750 individual development (i.e. the 'bifocal approach'), (ii) clear delivery objectives for the mentoring
751 program (i.e. for the mentor, mentee and the institution), (iii) delivery of training sessions and
752 resources for mentors and mentees within the program (e.g. development of mentoring skills,
753 guidance on the mentor-mentee relationship and training around the challenges faced by women and
754 minorities in academic institutions) and (iv) rigorous evaluation of the program. Successful
755 mentorship is vital to career success and satisfaction for both mentors and mentees. Yet challenges
756 continue to inhibit faculty members from receiving effective mentorship. Given the importance of
757 mentorship on faculty members' careers, future studies must address the association between a failed
758 mentoring relationship and a faculty member's career success, how to assess different approaches to
759 mediating failed mentoring relationships, and how to evaluate strategies for effective mentorship
760 throughout a faculty member's career.

761 Our study also highlighted the importance of institution-level enablers. Institutions are important for
762 creating an inclusive and diverse research community and to overcome barriers experienced by
763 academics and minoritized groups^{7,48,140,141}. This includes the implementation of policies, systems and
764 processes which address diversity, equity and inclusion (e.g. unconscious bias training, gender quotas,
765 gender neutral applications and equal pay), which has previously been advocated for^{8,11,142}. Although

766 mentioned by participants, alternative mechanisms to support women were more popular, i.e.
767 providing them with development opportunities, and improving the culture of academia within
768 interdisciplinary marine research. This is in line with previous research^{22,143,144}.

769 Participants also highlighted the challenges they had faced during the COVID-19 pandemic and
770 encouraged the employment of policies which could help tackle inequalities associated with
771 parenthood and caring responsibilities. This included creating a family-friendly environment (e.g.
772 provision of affordable childcare) and offering flexible working for carers^{22,53}. Research has shown
773 that such measures are essential for making leadership roles more accessible and inclusive¹⁴⁵ and in
774 recruiting, retaining and advancing high quality faculty staff⁵⁵. They also highlighted the importance
775 of improving the academic or workplace culture for women leaders (e.g. providing a supportive
776 environment, asking individuals and groups to call out toxic behaviour and changing the culture of
777 working long hours). Research suggests that women have higher levels of job satisfaction,
778 productivity and less social isolation when working in a positive or supportive departmental
779 climate¹⁴⁶. Other commonly discussed enablers included raising understanding and awareness of
780 gendered issues, offering more opportunities for women' leadership and increasing institutional
781 support and capacity (e.g. providing more administrative support), which have been acknowledged
782 previously^{140,147}.

783 **2.1.1. Applying enablers of women's leadership**

784 The enablers presented may help to progress towards gender equity and inclusion in interdisciplinary
785 marine research. A conscious and targeted approach will be important for creating an academic
786 environment which offers equal opportunities to women leaders and giving them the ability to
787 influence strategic decisions in marine research and beyond²². This research may have a variety of
788 applications at various scales (e.g. individual, project, team, department, program and institution-
789 level). These findings can serve as a roadmap for institutions wishing to promote and support
790 women's leadership in interdisciplinary marine research, particularly those from underrepresented
791 groups (e.g. ethnic minorities and scientists from the Global South). Institutional enablers in
792 particular, may aid planning and design of gender or broader Equity, Diversity and Inclusion action
793 plans. Institutions and the wider scientific community increasingly need to address deeply embedded
794 institutional and cultural issues and commit to increased action and accountability to accelerate
795 positive change³³.

796 In addition, these findings may also be useful at the individual level, for both women and men
797 wishing to enter leadership positions, or those currently in leadership positions. It may aid women in
798 identifying strategies for change and career development (e.g. training, mentoring and networking)
799 and help them to advocate for such opportunities within internal and external institutions. However,
800 gender equity is not a 'woman's problem'⁵⁴, women should not solely have the responsibility to

801 support one another¹⁰⁴. Men will need to be allies and ‘lean in’ to their roles in addressing gender
802 inequity in academia¹⁴⁸, as they have distinct opportunities to be influential advocates to create
803 change¹⁴⁹.

804 In highlighting these enablers, we do not wish to deny the complexity of the gender-gap, the scale of
805 gender discrimination in society and the cultural practice of different geographical contexts. Nor, do
806 we imply that these enablers should serve as prescriptions of a set of strategies applicable in all
807 contexts. Rather, we aim to highlight the range of potential options available for application at a
808 variety of scales and call attention to the need to tackle the invisible and often unspoken challenges
809 facing interdisciplinary marine leaders, particularly those from minoritized groups.

810 **Limitations and future research**

811 Through this study, we have developed a deeper understanding of the barriers and enablers of
812 women’s leadership in interdisciplinary marine research contexts. This study is exploratory in nature
813 and is not comprehensive, nor is it intended to be. Therefore, there are important limitations to our
814 study which are worth consideration. Reflecting on these limitations helps to provide
815 recommendations for future research, which can further explore and tackle the gender inequity
816 observed in interdisciplinary marine research and academia, more generally.

817 First, the barriers and enablers to women’s leadership are based on the perceptions of a selection of
818 women leaders working in academia and specialising in interdisciplinary marine research (see Table
819 S1). We used a non-probability approach, purposive and snowballing techniques and had specific
820 inclusion and exclusion criteria, hence, it is not a representative sample of the wider population of
821 interdisciplinary marine women leaders. Nevertheless, this exploratory study provides a useful look
822 into the types of barriers that may be experienced by women leaders and how to address these
823 challenges in various interdisciplinary marine research settings. Future research is required to build on
824 this study. Interdisciplinary marine research may have been a limiting concept and instead it may be
825 organised in a different way across regions and cultures. Studies could focus on the barriers and
826 enablers of women’s leadership in geographic regions that are often underrepresented or excluded
827 from interdisciplinary marine research (e.g. the Global South and non-OECD countries). For example,
828 examining any regional differences in barriers and enablers (e.g. comparison of the Global North vs.
829 Global South). This would provide valuable insights into geographic differences and provide
830 recommendations on how to better foster and support gender and geographic representation within
831 institutions and funding structures. In addition, the criteria excluded women leaders working on
832 interdisciplinary marine research and practice in wider sectors, such as NGOs and government bodies.
833 Therefore, researchers could explore the perception of women working in these broader
834 interdisciplinary marine settings, who also have a key role in tackling ocean sustainability challenges.

835 Second, women leaders were invited to participate in and co-author this research (see Note S1). Our
836 choice to collaboratively produce this research is consistent with a growing number of scholars who
837 underscore the importance of co-producing gender research with those who have everyday, expert
838 and/or scientific gender knowledge. This process can: (i) help to produce more rigorous knowledge of
839 important practical experiences and (ii) flatten power hierarchies which can be felt within traditional
840 research, as it brings in minoritized groups to the centre of knowledge produced about and by them
841 ^{150,151}. Although every effort was made to reduce bias, inviting participants to be co-authors on the
842 paper, may have influenced their responses to our questions about barriers and enablers of women's
843 leadership.

844 Third, we examined: (i) challenges associated with academia and interdisciplinary marine research
845 and (ii) gendered challenges experienced by women leaders. Challenges associated with academia and
846 interdisciplinary marine research appear to be the non-gender specific barriers that participants had
847 experienced as a leader. Such challenges have been discussed previously in the context of the
848 academia and interdisciplinary marine research. However, given the exploratory nature of the study
849 and survey sample it is impossible to confirm that they are ungendered. Further research could
850 explore whether and the extent to which the academic and interdisciplinary challenges are also
851 experienced by men (i.e. non-gendered) or whether they are gendered challenges. Moreover, the
852 extent to which gendered challenges are being addressed within academic institutions across the world
853 could be productively explored through future research.

854 Fourth, through this study, we elucidated a range of enablers for supporting women's leadership.
855 However, we were unable to assign relative importance to, or the effectiveness of, each of the
856 systems, processes and strategies identified in the study. Furthermore, we were unable to determine
857 the career stage at which these enablers are most effective (i.e. early, mid and late career). Thus,
858 whilst outside of the scope of this study, we believe that additional research is needed to evaluate the
859 effectiveness of the enablers in practice, when applied at different career stages, to determine the most
860 appropriate strategy or suite of approaches for promoting and supporting women's leadership in
861 interdisciplinary marine research. This would also require the development of a holistic evaluation
862 and monitoring program, building on literature examining the impact of interventions such as
863 mentoring programs^{16,127}. Interventions are gradually on the rise in various institutions, but their
864 effectiveness has had little exploration.

865 Finally, we acknowledge that the articulation of women participants presents a potentially limited
866 perspective of the barriers and enablers. Intersectionality issues emerged through the interview
867 responses (i.e. coded as "social challenges"), which is reflective of the different experiences of
868 participants, and aligns with research on intersectionality¹⁴⁰. In the absence of nuanced detail, it
869 enabled us to provide a higher level overview of the overlap between social categorizations such as
870 gender, race, ethnicity, nationality and age, as they apply to groups of women leaders interviewed as

871 part of the research. Future studies may wish to focus specifically on intersectionality issues in
872 interdisciplinary marine research and explore the issues raised here. For example, whether women
873 with different academic positions or levels of leadership, ethnicities, cultural backgrounds and family
874 circumstances (e.g. parent or carer) experience different barriers and enablers in interdisciplinary
875 marine research.

876 **Conclusion**

877 Interdisciplinary marine research is and will continue to be paramount to addressing ocean
878 sustainability challenges in the 21st century. The greatest innovation, science and discoveries will
879 occur when academic institutions harness the power of diversity, of which gender is a critical
880 component. However, to date, women leaders have been underrepresented in interdisciplinary marine
881 research. Interdisciplinary marine research environments must become more gender inclusive,
882 empowering and appealing places for women scientists to work. Through in-depth qualitative
883 research, this exploratory study examines the main barriers and enablers to women's leadership in an
884 interdisciplinary marine research context. The research identified that the majority of women leaders
885 in this study experience a labyrinth of barriers and challenges, which have affected their day-to-day
886 role, success and career progression. Leaders experience challenges associated with working in
887 academia and undertaking interdisciplinary marine research and they are exacerbated by gendered
888 barriers, facing women scientists. Our initial research suggests that these barriers overlap and intersect
889 and are particularly challenging for women in underrepresented groups (e.g. ethnic minorities and
890 leaders in the Global South). The study also articulated a range of enablers to promote and support
891 women's leadership. They include: institutional reforms that affect the way both men and women
892 work (e.g. parental leave), social support systems, mentoring and networking. The implementation of
893 such enablers are not just the responsibility of the women. Gender inequality is a societal issue and
894 targeted actions will need to be applied at various scales (e.g. individuals, teams, programs,
895 departments, institutes, institutions) using both formal and informal mechanisms, to achieve
896 transformative change. Going forward, these insights could be used to inform the design of gender
897 equity initiatives, policies and frameworks that transform barriers into enablers of women's
898 leadership, which make steps towards gender equality in interdisciplinary marine research and
899 navigating contemporary challenges to marine socio-ecological systems.

900 **Experimental procedures**

901 **Resource availability**

902 **Lead contact**

903 Further information and requests for resources should be directed to and will be fulfilled by the Lead
904 Contact, Rebecca Shellock (rebecca.shellock@anu.edu.au).

905 **Materials availability**

906 This study did not generate new unique materials.

907 **Data and Code Availability**

908 The data underlying this article cannot be shared publicly due to privacy of individuals that
909 participated in the study. The data will be shared on reasonable request to the corresponding author.

910 *Choice of approach*

911 We wanted to gain an in-depth understanding of experiences and perspectives of thirty-four global
912 women leaders representing different nationalities, institutional contexts and types of leadership roles
913 within academic interdisciplinary marine research organisations. A qualitative approach was selected
914 due to the epistemological and ontological position of the study. Epistemology concerns the question
915 of what is or should be regarded as acceptable knowledge in a discipline ¹⁵². We aimed to produce rich
916 and subjective data and were concerned with generating key concepts. Furthermore, we perceived
917 that: (i) there would be multiple realities and truths based on individual constructions of reality and
918 (ii) that realities are constantly changing and evolving ¹⁵³. This aligns with interpretivism and the
919 ‘qualitative’ paradigm. The ontological position of the study also influenced how the research was
920 formulated and delivered. Questions of ontology are concerned with the nature of social entities: (i)
921 whether social entities can and should be considered objective entities that have a reality external to
922 social actors, or (ii) whether they can and should be considered social constructions built up from the
923 perceptions and actions of social actors¹⁵². We perceived that social phenomena from our study
924 would be derived from social interactions which are continually changing (i.e. ‘Constructionism’),
925 which aligns with the ontological orientation commonly associated with qualitative research strategies
926 ^{152,153}.

927 *Data collection*

928 To address the objectives of this paper, the co-ordinating authors (RS, CC, MM, MCM, JB, RK, IvP,
929 PT) engaged with women interdisciplinary marine research leaders from around the globe. In line
930 with previous work⁵⁴, the common characteristic between all participants was their self-identification
931 as a ‘woman’ in interdisciplinary marine research. While recruitment was for ‘female identifying’
932 participants, none of the participants were asked to disclose any detail about their gender identity. The
933 use of ‘woman’ or ‘women’ in this study is acknowledged as presenting an inadequately binary view
934 of gender. However, it is intended to encompass all expressions of female gender identities of the
935 participants in the absence of nuanced detail. Future studies may wish to use a specific gender-identity
936 frame of analysis to explore the issues raised here.

937 The study intended to explore the experiences and perceptions of being a woman leader in
938 interdisciplinary marine research, using an intersectional lens. Intersectionality was first introduced by

939 Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989¹⁵⁴ and is a “*theoretical framework for understanding how multiple social*
940 *identities such as race, gender, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, and disability intersect at*
941 *the micro level of individual experience to reflect interlocking systems of privilege and oppression*
942 *(i.e., racism, sexism, heterosexism, classism) at the macro social structural level”*¹⁵⁵ (p1267). Using
943 an intersectional lens, we can attempt to better articulate the invisible positions of women scientists
944 who experience multiple disadvantaged statuses^{156,157}.

945 A recruitment email was sent to all women leaders (see Note S1) and they were invited to participate
946 in this research and co-author subsequent publications. The survey was administered between January
947 and June 2021, and each leader had the option of answering the questions via semi-structured
948 interviews (N=8) or by providing a written response (N=25). In the case of interviews, the questions
949 were shared with the participants in advance to allow them time to carefully consider their responses
950 and to provide in-depth recollections of their experiences. The interviews were conducted over Zoom
951 and Webex and lasted on average 55 minutes (ranging from 33-69 minutes).

952 The study employed an information-oriented, maximum variation approach to sampling (based on
953 ¹⁵⁸). The goal of this sampling strategy was not to include all women leaders working in academic
954 interdisciplinary marine research. Instead, it was used to ensure the inclusion of a variety of
955 perspectives and exploration into the types of barriers that may be experienced by women leaders and
956 how to address these challenges in various interdisciplinary marine research settings. The cases were
957 selected on the basis of maximising diversity of participants (i.e. diversity of leadership, disciplines
958 and geographic regions) and ensuring the inclusion of diverse perspectives, to avoid overlap in
959 geographic areas and where participants were most accessible to the research team (e.g. due to
960 logistical constraints, the study was undertaken in English¹⁵⁹). The co-ordinating authors identified
961 relevant participants through ‘purposive’ and ‘snowball’ sampling, which are widely employed
962 methods of sampling in qualitative research^{152,160}. The following criteria was used to select
963 participants for the study: (i) they held a form of leadership role at any level (i.e. leading a research
964 institution, team, project or program), (ii) they worked within an academic institution and (iii) their
965 research focused on marine socio-ecological systems. A broader definition of leadership (and hence
966 criteria) was selected for two reasons. Firstly, due to the multi-dimensional nature of leadership within
967 academia, which varies across regions and cultures. Second, previous research suggests that there are
968 still relatively few women reaching more senior positions of leadership (e.g. leading research
969 institutions)²². This wider definition of leadership enabled us to understand the barriers and enablers
970 to various leadership roles that women have secured in the field and this also aided data collection.

971 Purposive sampling is a form of non-probability sampling and it was used to sample participants who
972 were relevant to the topic and fit a specific profile¹⁶¹, so that those sampled were relevant to the
973 research questions being posed¹⁵². We first targeted women leaders within the co-ordinating author’s
974 professional networks (and web searches) and then asked those participants to share contacts who

975 they believed would be relevant to the study. This step was also used to identify women leaders in
976 underrepresented geographic locations during the first stage (including Africa, Asia and Latin
977 America and the Caribbean). This was repeated at the end of each subsequent interview and
978 prospective participants were invited to participate. Leaders were contacted if they met the
979 aforementioned criteria. Overall, 25 participants were identified by the co-ordinating authors, with a
980 total of 21 taking part in the study. This approach was selected as there was no accessible sampling
981 frame for the population from which the sample is to be taken ¹⁵². Furthermore, by virtue of there
982 being fewer women leaders, the network of interdisciplinary marine women leaders is subsequently
983 quite small, hence, this was the most feasible approach. This was supplemented by 12 participants
984 identified through the snowballing technique, who were selected based on the criteria.

985 The co-ordinating authors made a concerted effort to identify women leaders across the world, but
986 there were challenges with identifying participants in specific regions (e.g. Africa and the Middle
987 East). This may be attributed to the personal networks of the co-ordinating authors and participants
988 and the inclusion and exclusion criteria set for the study. The criteria excluded women leaders
989 working on interdisciplinary marine research and practice in wider sectors, such as NGOs and
990 government bodies. In addition, interdisciplinary marine research may have been a limiting concept
991 and instead it may be organised in a different way across regions and cultures. As highlighted
992 previously, expansion of interdisciplinary marine research (e.g. Marine Social Science) has
993 predominantly been focused within academic institutions in Western regions ⁶⁸. Overall, as a result of
994 this approach to sampling, the thirty-four cases spanned twenty-seven countries (see Table S1).

995 *Survey instrument*

996 A qualitative research approach was adopted in this study to provide a more in-depth and
997 comprehensive exploration of the three study objectives. Qualitative approaches have been employed
998 in similar studies, for example, in identifying strategies for building and managing trust at the marine-
999 science-policy interface¹⁶² and tips for developing interdisciplinary socio-ecological researchers⁶¹. A
1000 survey instrument was developed by co-ordinating authors to ensure a consistent approach and was
1001 produced in two forms: (i) self-completion survey and (ii) interview guide. Questions pertained to: (i)
1002 the main barriers and challenges that they had experienced as a leader in academia and
1003 interdisciplinary marine research contexts (ii) the main gender-based barriers and challenges that they
1004 had experienced as a woman leader in academia and interdisciplinary marine research contexts and
1005 (iii) the strategies or enablers that can be used to successfully develop women scientists in leading
1006 interdisciplinary marine research (see survey instrument; Note S2). Participants were asked about the
1007 main barriers and challenges they had experienced as a leader. This question helped to us to
1008 understand the broader range of issues that women leaders had experienced in academic institutions
1009 and to examine the multiple disadvantaged or minoritized statuses (i.e. intersectionality). This was
1010 followed by a question that focused specifically on gendered challenges (i.e. those experienced due to

1011 being a woman leader in academia). Qualitative pre-testing was undertaken to ensure the adequacy of
1012 the survey instrument (e.g. providing insights into participants' comprehension of the materials). The
1013 guide was peer-reviewed by three external researchers specialising in marine social science and was
1014 piloted among the co-ordinating authors and refined accordingly. Minor changes to language and
1015 wording were made to the guide to improve the clarity and context specificity of questions. This was
1016 particularly important, as for many participants, English was not their first language. Data collection
1017 was undertaken by seven of the eight co-ordinating authors (RS, CC, MM, MCM, JB, RK and IvP).

1018 *Data analysis*

1019 Interview transcripts were professionally transcribed to ensure their accuracy. The transcripts and
1020 written responses were then analysed using NVIVO 12 qualitative data analysis software. The
1021 research objectives formed the basis of the coding, and the analysis of raw data was completed
1022 following an inductive approach, based on Grounded Theory Analysis¹⁶³. Based on best practice,
1023 there were three main stages to data analysis¹⁶⁴. The first was initial coding. The purpose of initial
1024 coding was to start the process of categorisation and assigning meaning to the data, comparing
1025 incident-to-incident, and to look for emergent patterns in the data¹⁶⁵. The raw data (surveys and
1026 interview transcripts) were broadly coded against the three research objectives. Each transcript was
1027 coded against a set of descriptors designed to identify emergent themes and to capture the key
1028 elements of these themes¹⁵². Using participants' own words to derive and summarize key themes ("in
1029 vivo" coding) allowed the research findings (key themes) to emerge naturally from the interviews,
1030 without the restrictions imposed by more structured methodologies¹⁶⁶. Hence, the results are a direct
1031 reflection of the language and words commonly used by the research participants, as opposed to the
1032 potentially subjective interpretations of the co-ordinating authors¹⁶⁷.

1033 The second stage was focused coding. During this process, the researchers pursued a selected set of
1034 central codes throughout the entire dataset and study. This required decisions to be made on which
1035 initial codes were most prevalent or important, and made the most analytical sense to ensure data were
1036 categorised incisively and completely (i.e. assessing the adequacy of codes from the initial coding
1037 stage^{164,167}). The third stage was theoretical coding. Theoretical coding integrated and synthesised the
1038 categories derived from coding and analysis. Initial coding fractures the data while theoretical codes
1039 "*weave the fractured story back together again*"¹⁶⁸ (p72) in order to identify key themes and
1040 concepts¹⁵². This stage resulted in the barriers and enablers being categorised into eight themes (where
1041 applicable), and was based on previous research^{169,170}. They included: (i) practical and process (i.e. the
1042 implementation and application of actions, rather than theory and ideas), (ii) institutional (i.e. relating
1043 to academic interdisciplinary marine research institutions), (iii) social (i.e. stemming from social
1044 interactions and networks within the academic or workplace environment), (iv) financial (i.e.
1045 connected to the availability and suitability of funding), (v) material (i.e. related to materials, such as

1046 documents and social media), (vi) individual (i.e. at the personal level), (vii) political (i.e. associated
1047 with policy and decision-making), (viii) other (i.e. miscellaneous topics).

1048 Two practices were undertaken to ensure the validity of the emerging themes and subthemes. First,
1049 three of the co-ordinating authors (RS, CC and MM) each performed initial coding for a subset of the
1050 transcripts (N=5), which were selected based on the level of detail and length of the interviews with
1051 the assumption they would cover most themes¹⁷¹. Collective author reflection on the themes during
1052 the group synthesis and preparation of this paper further verified their relevance and value. The co-
1053 ordinating authors then collectively discussed and further refined the findings, before distributing
1054 them to study participants¹⁶¹. Second, the themes were continually verified against the raw data from
1055 which they were derived (following previous studies, e.g.^{161,172}). This iterative process aided the
1056 development of a coherent synthesis of key themes (and subthemes)^{173,174}. Data analysis was
1057 undertaken by the lead author to maintain independence of interpretation. All 34 of the participants
1058 were included as co-authors on the paper and they were involved in the validation and interpretation
1059 of findings (i.e. 'respondent validation'). Participants did not have access to the data and were unable
1060 to modify the results. Instead, they validated and interpreted the findings by providing written
1061 feedback on the draft manuscripts (e.g. adding additional text to aid interpretation of the data) or by
1062 discussing the findings with the lead author. This is in line with best practice, which recommends
1063 sharing findings and providing participants with the opportunity to clarify, corroborate or approve the
1064 findings¹⁵².

1065 **Acknowledgements**

1066 We thank Katherine Maltby, Sara Mynott and Natasha Simmonds for providing feedback on and
1067 piloting the interview guide. We also thank S.A. McCormack (Visual Knowledge) for the
1068 development of Figures 1 and 2. We also thank the three anonymous reviewers for their comments
1069 that helped to improve the paper. AB thanks CNPq for a productivity scholarship grant (#
1070 301592/2017-9).). GHC would like to acknowledge the support by funding in part from the Global
1071 Challenges Research Fund (GCRF) via the United Kingdom Research and Innovation (UKRI) under
1072 grant agreement NE/P021107/1 to the Blue Communities project, which is partially hosted by the
1073 Universiti Malaya under reference no. IF052-2017. MS-M acknowledge support from the Norwegian
1074 Research Council, grant no 288192 (BarentsRISK). NV was supported by a grant of the Romanian
1075 Ministry of Education and Research, CNCS - UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P1-1.1-TE-2019-
1076 1444, within PNCDI III and the project T4BS (grant no. EASME/EMFF/2019/863621). MSW
1077 acknowledges the MISSION ATLANTIC project funded by the European Union's Horizon 2020
1078 Research and Innovation Program under grant agreement No. 639 862428.

1079 **Author contributions**

1080 Conceptualization, R.J.S, C.C., M.M., M.C.M., J.B., R.K. IvP; Methodology, R.J.S, C.C., M.M.,
1081 M.C.M., J.B., R.K., IvP; Investigation, R.J.S, C.C., M.M., M.C.M., J.B., R.K., IvP; Formal analysis:
1082 R.J.S, C.C., M.M., M.C.M.; Validation, all authors; Writing – Original draft: R.J.S. Writing- Review
1083 & Editing, all authors.

1084 **Declaration of interests**

1085 The authors declare no competing interests.

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1491 **Figure titles and legends**

1492 *Figure 1: The ten most frequently discussed academic and interdisciplinary challenges.*

1493 The most commonly discussed academic and interdisciplinary challenges and gendered challenges
1494 experienced by women leaders (N=34). For the purpose of this study, a ‘leader’ is defined as a
1495 researcher who holds some form of leadership role at any level within an academic institution (i.e.
1496 leading a research institution, team, project or program).

1497 *Figure 2: The ten most frequently discussed enablers of women’s leadership.*

1498 The most commonly discussed enablers of women’s leadership, including systems, processes and
1499 strategies (N=34). For the purpose of this study, a ‘leader’ is defined as a researcher who holds some

1500 form of leadership role at any level within an academic institution (i.e. leading a research institution,
1501 team, project or program.

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1530 **Tables titles and legends**

1531 *Table 1: Analysis hierarchy of non-gender specific challenges to women's leadership.*

1532 The themes derived from research participants, related to the challenges that leaders experience as a
 1533 result of working in academia and undertaking interdisciplinary marine research (N=34). The themes
 1534 are ordered from most frequently mentioned to least frequently mentioned.

Theme	Subtheme	Frequency^a	Number of sources^b
Institutional	Limited institutional support and capacity	31	15
	Academic or workplace culture	21	13
	Institutional structure and policies	17	13
	Career progression and job insecurity	9	7
	Isolation and integration	8	6
	Poor leadership within institutions (e.g. from superiors)	6	4
	Lack of recognition of interdisciplinary marine research	43	17
Practical and Process	Working with researchers from other disciplines	28	13
	Complexity of interdisciplinary marine research	22	13
	Publishing	7	7
	Leading and managing staff	8	6
Social	Lack of leadership training	6	5
	Racial discrimination and prejudice	28	14
	Age discrimination	22	12
Financial	Inequality	12	8
	Lack of available and suitable funding	26	15
Individual	Demanding workload	16	10
	Gaining credibility or authority	9	6
Political	Socio-political challenges	10	6
Other	No general challenges	4	2
	Miscellaneous ^c	17	11

^a Frequency refers to the number of times a theme was coded across all interview transcripts.

^b The number of sources represents the number of unique interviewees (i.e. participants) who raised the theme during the interview process (maximum potential N=34).

^c Miscellaneous topics described by participants (e.g. poor science communication and switching to online teaching).

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1544 *Table 2: Analysis hierarchy of gendered challenges to women's leadership*

1545 Analysis hierarchy of themes derived from research participants related to gendered challenges to
 1546 women in leadership within academic interdisciplinary marine research institutions (N=34). The
 1547 themes are ordered from most frequently mentioned to least frequently mentioned.

Theme	Subtheme	Frequency ^a	Number of sources ^b
Social	Isolation and underrepresentation	51	24
	Stereotyping	41	19
	Expectations of women	41	19
	Engagement in external activities	18	12
	Power imbalance	13	8
	Lack of awareness of gender-issues	6	5
Practical and process	Parenthood and caring responsibilities	51	27
	'Glass ceiling'	22	14
	Job insecurity	8	5
	Gender pay gap	4	4
Individual	Gaining credibility	40	22
	Bullying	25	14
	Self confidence	12	7
	Acceptance of women leaders	10	8
	Sexual harassment	8	7
	Appearance	6	4
Institutional	Institutional policies and support	23	13
	Workplace and academic culture	9	8
	Hiring and evaluation	7	6
	Institutional structures	4	3
Financial	Lack of suitable funding opportunities	3	3
Other	No gender-based challenges or unable to identify them	24	13
	Miscellaneous ^c	11	7

^a Frequency refers to the number of times a theme was coded across all interview transcripts.

^b The number of sources represents the number of unique interviewees (i.e. participants) who raised the theme during the interview process (maximum potential N=34).

^c Miscellaneous topics described by participants (e.g. lack of expertise in mentorship and the COVID-19 pandemic).

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1556 *Table 3: Analysis hierarchy of enablers of women's leadership.*

1557 Analysis hierarchy of themes derived from research participants, related to enablers of women's
 1558 leadership within academic interdisciplinary marine research institutions (N=34). The themes are
 1559 ordered from most frequently mentioned to least frequently mentioned.

Theme	Subtheme	Frequency	Number of sources
Social	Support and encouragement from superiors	54	21
	Support and encouragement from peers	27	16
	Informal networking	23	14
	Formal networking	12	7
	Role models for women scientists	10	8
	Male allies	5	5
	Support and encouragement from family and friends	4	4
Practical and process	Mentoring schemes	31	14
	Increasing visibility and exposure of women scientists	14	9
	Offering leadership training and schemes	12	8
	Career planning and coaching	10	8
	Offering interdisciplinary research training	10	5
Institutional	Implementing diversity, equity and inclusion policies	21	13
	Creating a family-friendly environment	19	12
	Improving academic or workplace culture	17	13
	Raising awareness and understanding of gendered issues	12	8
	Providing women scientists with opportunities for leadership	14	9
	Increasing institutional support and capacity	12	7
	Offering flexible working	7	5
Individual	Adopting specific characteristics and /or behaviours	54	20
	Putting women scientists forward for career opportunities	16	11
	Adopting research strategies	17	12
Financial	Providing funding for women scientists	14	11
Other	Miscellaneous	10	9
	No strategies or enablers	2	1

^a Frequency refers to the number of times a theme was coded across all interview transcripts.

^b The number of sources represents the number of unique interviewees (i.e. participants) who raised the theme during the interview process (maximum potential N=34).

^c Miscellaneous topics described by participants (e.g. evaluation of institutions and 360 degree reporting).

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