Generation and Gender in Academia

Edited by

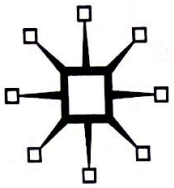
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First published 2013 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

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ISBN 978–1–137–26916–4

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

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Thanks must go to all the members (past and present) of the Women in Higher Education Management (WHEM) Network who are, to a woman, intellectually stimulating, hard-working, kind, fun, and great friends

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7
Careers of Early- and Mid-career Academics

Teresa Carvalho, Özlem Özkanli, Heidi Prozesky and Helen Peterson

7.1 Introduction

Even if higher education institutions (HEIs) have been subject to important changes in the last few decades, it is undeniable that today, as in the emergence of the modern higher education (HE) systems enhanced by the Humboldtian revolution, producing and disseminating knowledge is one of their main missions (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff 2000; Olssen & Peters 2005; Santiago et al. 2008). However, what is considered scientific knowledge is still the subject of epistemological and ontological discussion. There has been a discernible shift from the positivist perspective that maintains it is possible to obtain objective and true knowledge by using scientific methods to more recent discussion about the possible existence of a reality that is external to the individual (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2003; Foucault 2002). These newer approaches question the important relationship between the production of knowledge and notions of power and control, and feminist writers have strongly contributed to this debate (Hekman 1992; Alvesson & Sköldberg 2003; O'Connor 2012). Studies of women in science reveal how the role of women in science and HE has been neglected, mainly because science and HE reproduce the dominant stereotypes in society (Rose 1994; Oakley 1997; Schiebinger 1999).

Similarly, Steedman (1991) argues that knowledge cannot be separated from the knower, while Sousa Santos asserts that knowledge is 'self-knowledge', in the sense that the object is part of the subject (2003). Consequently, a reflective/reflexive approach to research has been emerging in social sciences. As Alvesson and Sköldberg assert: 'reflection means interpreting one's own interpretation, looking at one's own perspectives from other perspectives, and turning a self-critical eye onto

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one's own authority as interpreter and author' (2003, p. vii). The testimonies presented here can be interpreted as a reflectivity process in the sense that, in reflecting on their own experiences and practices, academic women are also doing research and contributing to a better understanding of HE on social and cultural reality. The narratives that the five women constructed in Chapters 2–6, revealing their experiences in academia, are in fact good examples of reflexivity and 'self-knowledge'. In writing their stories they acknowledge/rationalise and bring to the level of consciousness the complexity of gender relations and experiences in academia.

Despite the social, economic and cultural differences that distinguish their testimonials, the common elements in these narratives give rise to the hypothesis that there are universal gender relations within academia.

The women telling stories of their academic careers come from countries with different historical, social and cultural environments ranging from the more open societies – New Zealand (Chapter 3) and Australia (Chapter 6) – to the more traditional and conservative societies – Ireland (Chapter 2) and Portugal (Chapter 5) – with one narrative focusing on a hegemonic, economically developed country – the UK (Chapter 3). Despite the different historical and cultural contexts in which these women built their academic careers, they all experienced gender discrimination at some stage.

While they came from different family backgrounds, with some having parents who had HE, such as Pat O'Connor (Chapter 2), and others being part of a first generation in HE, such as Jenny Neale (Chapter 4), all considered their families' valorisation of education as a precondition of social mobility. As Kate White states in Chapter 6: 'My parents both had an unwavering belief that education was the way out of poverty.'

Another interesting common element was the lack of gender consciousness or awareness they all acknowledge in the first phase of their career. This is particularly surprising in the case of those, like Jenny and Kate, who were involved in social movements fighting for women's rights, but it can be explained by the institutionalised notion of universities as meritocratic and knowledge production as objective and free from political influence (Oakley 2001). But it can also be interpreted as the result of so few academics turning their research lens on the practices of academics, and instead focusing outside on the wider society (Reay 2004).

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Particularly relevant are the different strategies they implemented to cope with discrimination and to develop their careers. The description of these specific strategies are not only extraordinary and stimulating testimonies but are also an expression of the idea that we are constantly 'doing gender' and that gender relations are negotiated on a daily and micro-political basis (West & Zimmerman 1991).

Reading these narratives does not allow simple dichotomous perspectives of putting women on one side of the 'barricade' and men on the other. They clearly demonstrate how men can be strongly supportive of women's careers both inside and outside institutions (take, for example, the supportive attitude of Jenny's husband or the commitment of some male colleagues to Pat O'Connor at crucial moments in her career). At the same time they are also an expression of the way other women can create obstacles to progression (most strongly expressed in Kate's testimonial). All these women also report the extraordinary emotional labour they invested in their work, and in this context Pat and Kate's discourses are particularly relevant because they seem to have struggled with a dual perception of self.

These women's stories reveal that at some point in their careers each found, in the words of Reay (2004, p. 36), academia as 'an alien and confusing space'. Many women see themselves as invisible in the workplace (Collinson et al. 1990). However, this is particularly important for academics. Bourdieu states that the struggle for individual distinction is crucial for academics: 'to exist as an academic is to differ, that is to occupy a distinct, distinctive position' (Bourdieu in Reay 2004, p. 218).

These discourses are historically contextualised and incorporate the more general economic and social aspects of time and space where action developed. Most of these testimonials are from experiences vivid in a time when societies were embracing second-wave feminism (calling for changes in gender inequalities in law and culture) and universities were opening their doors to women within a process of massification and democratisation.

Direct actions (such as those presented in the previous chapters) were strategically taken by several anonymous women and men in universities in the last decades in not only a formal but also an informal way and on a daily basis to improve women's situation in HE. It is now time to reflect on where we have arrived and what we can expect from the future, by analysing a reflexive process developed by four women at the beginning or middle of their careers in academia.

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7.2 The next generation

7.2.1 Heidi Prozesky – South Africa

I can trace my forebears on both my father's and mother's side to Germans who migrated to South Africa in the mid- and late nineteenth century. Many of my family members were and still are schoolteachers and academics. My father lectured at various universities for more than 30 years, but his foremost love remained research, for which he has received various awards and prizes. Although my mother achieved high marks at school and wanted to study entomology at tertiary level, she was expected to work at her family's art dealership, which she did for two years before she married and then dedicated herself exclusively to fulfilling her role as a homemaker and mother to three children. This was the mid-1960s, when women constituted less than 23 per cent of the labour force in South Africa (Baden et al. 1998), and the time of apartheid, which protected Afrikaner (white) masculinity and allowed it to assume a hegemonic form over other forms of masculinity and the gender system as a whole (Swart 2001). Apartheid ideologies also privileged specific types of femininity that were typically domestically focused. Growing up in this context, and especially in the then conservative, primarily Afrikaans-speaking, capital of South Africa, raised my political awareness of women's rights, which became an important focus of my academic research in later years.

Academic achievement has always been highly regarded in our family, and subtle though constant pressure was exerted on me and my two siblings to perform exceptionally well at school and university. My own achievements at school, although relatively modest compared with those of my siblings and parents, at least earned me a merit bursary for undergraduate study and caught the attention of a regional newspaper, which typecast me as a member of the 'clever Prozeskys'. In the ensuing article I am quoted as saying that 'an issue I feel strongly about is the place of the woman in the South African society', and (in my then 18-year-old opinion) that 'Afrikaans women in particular are too submissive' and 'women have the ability to perform as well as men, if not better'.

I decided that I would become a journalist, and as journalism was only offered as a postgraduate programme after a general BA degree, I enrolled for this degree, with sociology, psychology and English literature as majors in my final year. At that time the BA programme had a low status, based on the fact that its entrance requirements were the lowest. During my second undergraduate year I found my 'calling': social

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research methods, a course taught as part of my sociology major, and one in which I was top of the class. I therefore applied for work as an assistant in the course the year after I completed it. The lecturer who accepted my application became a strong, positive influence on my academic career and is currently the chair of the department where I work. He mentored and challenged me, by giving me the responsibility to manage his tutor programme when I was still an undergraduate student, allowing me to attend seminars to which only postgraduate students and lecturers were invited and to lecture large classes in my first year of postgraduate study. After I taught my first lecture, I was convinced that I could only have a fulfilling career if teaching or research, or preferably both, formed a central part of my day-to-day work.

In 1992 I was awarded my first degree *cum laude*, as well as a merit bursary to continue with an honours degree. For this I chose sociology (above journalism and my other majors) because of my passion for social research methods, as well as the critical perspective on the status quo that sociology offered. After completing my honours in sociology, my social-research mentor offered me the position of research assistant in a large project, which provided me with valuable hands-on training in conducting social research. The project focused on women on South African farms, and my involvement in this, as well as a later project on teenage girls on commercial farms in South Africa (Prozesky 1999), further deepened my political awareness of women's rights issues. On the teaching front, I had proven myself to be a valuable tutor and lecturer to the department (praised especially for my strong administrative capabilities), and this secured me various tutoring and teaching positions in the mid-1990s. During this time I taught a wide variety of subjects in addition to research methodology. In most cases I was replacing more senior (and therefore primarily male) lecturers who were on sabbatical to conduct research. On reflection, this constituted what Perumal describes as the 'gross exploitation of women academics' time in the labour intensive execution of teaching and administrative tasks' (2003, p. 78).

Even though my lecturing responsibilities were increasing, and the then chair of the department respected my abilities, my position was from the beginning a 'temporary' or 'rolling contract' one, primarily because this was a very uncertain and volatile time of political transition in South Africa. Investment in science in the years immediately before and after 1994 had been on the decline (Mouton & Gevers 2009), and many of the country's public HEIs were therefore reticent to make new appointments. The resulting increase in contract or 'temporary' appointments during the 1990s was therefore part of a cost-cutting

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strategy among most of these HEIs (DACST 1998; Subotzky 2001) – appointments in which women were disproportionately hired (Maürtin-Cairncross 2003). Ironically, this was also the time when strong gains were made by the women's movement in South Africa and gender equality was enshrined in the new constitution of our democracy (Walker 2013).

I was (and still am) employed at one of 'big five' research-intensive universities in South Africa (Jobbins 2012). Vacated positions were 'frozen' for quite a number of years after South Africa's political transition of 1994, and I therefore found myself in a full-time lecturing position but without any job security or benefits such as medical insurance, the opportunity to contribute to a retirement fund or even the opportunity to apply for any form of leave. For several years a male colleague and I had to share a lecturer's salary. More important, however, was the limitation that repeated contract positions placed on my ability to apply for funding to conduct my own research. As Acar notes, these types of position ultimately result in many women's 'pseudo-participation' in academia (1991, p. 169), by generally limiting their ability to access research funds and opportunities for study leave (CSD 1999), requiring them to teach large numbers of first-year courses and excluding them from faculty governance (Subotzky 2001). Moreover, they do not offer the longer-term job security conducive to planning and conducting research. With the hope that an additional qualification would change my 'temporary' status, I decided to undertake my Master's in social research methods on a part-time basis, for which I received another merit bursary.

I graduated with my Master's degree in participatory action research, again with distinction (Prozesky 1998), and this research was published as a chapter in a book (Prozesky & Mouton 2001) and part of a chapter in a widely prescribed social research methodology textbook in South Africa (Babbie et al. 2001). However, this had no effect on my employment position. Rather, I was now tasked with designing my own courses and teaching an average of 570 undergraduate students per semester, as well as postgraduate classes on participatory action research and questionnaire construction. The administrative and tutoring assistance that I had offered my colleagues in the past was not offered to me, while the majority of the undergraduate BA students I taught were unmotivated and unprepared for a university education. I experimented with various new teaching approaches to address this issue, which eventually led to the then chair of my department nominating me for the rector's award for excellence in teaching. However, I did not win the award. The dean

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of our faculty took great pains to explain to me that it would be awarded to a (male) lecturer who was close to retirement, but that I would definitely win the award if I applied the following year. This promise shook my naïve belief that these awards were given solely on merit. I never applied again.

Any aspirations to undertake a PhD were dampened by the fact that a temporary position excluded me from the exemption of tuition fees that permanent staff enjoyed. Financially my fiancé and I were struggling at this stage; a business he had started a year before failed. As my meagre salary was insufficient to cover class fees, pursuing a PhD in order to further my career depended on obtaining a bursary. However, I found myself in a 'catch-22' situation: bursaries were not available for full-time employees. In addition, my heavy teaching load left me with almost no time for PhD research, while my temporary status excluded me from applying for study leave. Moreover, no one in the department encouraged me to continue my postgraduate training. A senior female colleague actually discouraged me from starting on my own PhD until I was 'intellectually more mature'.

On a personal level, I had to postpone plans to marry, buy a house and have children. I was overworked and underpaid, and felt severely under-appreciated and exploited, which eventually impacted negatively on my self-esteem. The then chair of my department understood my frustrations but felt powerless to change my position, and even suggested that I consider non-academic employment. However, this did not make sense to me, as I was highly committed to my department and trained and experienced in teaching and research in sociology – a field that is not generally practised outside of academia (Adesina 2012). Above all, my fiancé was unwilling to leave the town where he had lived for decades (a factor which would later also limit my career mobility). I felt trapped and powerless, and became an outsider to the academic establishment which accorded me what Perumal refers to as women's 'second-class academic citizenship status' (2003, p. 76).

But I was not alone; already in 1987 Lamanna et al. (cited in Dwyer et al. 1991) suggested that academia is approaching a dual labour market characterised by a male-dominated class of tenured and tenure-track professors and a growing female-dominated class of part-time and temporary positions. By the end of the 1990s academic contract workers in South Africa started networking and mobilising across campus for permanent positions. In my first 'activist' role as a feminist I became strongly involved in a network that lobbied for better working conditions of temporary staff at my university, and I offered my social

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research skills in order to collect data on the extent and nature of contract positions on campus. A survey I conducted in 2001 brought to the attention of management the gendering of 'temporary' lecturers and/or researchers, as three-quarters of staff members in these positions were women. These findings, in combination with changes in labour legislation and the lessening of funding pressures on the South African public HE landscape in general, led to significant revisions of the policies governing the appointment of temporary staff at the university. Consequently, in 2002 – eight years after my first contract appointment as a lecturer, and at the age of 32 – I was eventually appointed as a 'permanent' lecturer.

In South Africa the PhD is an important criterion for achieving high academic rank, and in my faculty a PhD was a prerequisite for promotion to the level of senior lecturer. Therefore after my appointment as a permanent member of faculty I immediately started working on my PhD, and in 2003 I was awarded a year's study leave to focus on my doctoral research. Fortuitously, my research dovetailed with a project – the first in its kind – on women in science, engineering and technology in South Africa, which was commissioned by the National Department of Science and Technology (DST) and the National Research Foundation (NRF) (Bailey et al. 2004). The project was conducted by a centre, the director of which was then a highly regarded professor at the department where I worked. We shared a passion for social research methods and the emerging field of science and technology studies in South Africa.

My involvement in the centre's activities extended to another project, completed in 2005, which involved the design and development of a monitoring and evaluation framework to benchmark the performance of women in the South African national system of innovation (Galant et al. 2005). These projects, closely followed by my PhD on gender differences in the publication productivity of South African scientists, which I completed in 2006 (Prozesky 2006), launched my academic research career. It also led to a reconstruction of my 'naïve academic' self (De la Rey 1999, p. 176), as it developed my awareness of the gendered workings of academia and of the relevance of journal publications to achieving academic credibility, especially in South Africa, where articles published in peer-reviewed journals are rewarded with a substantial subsidy. I became fascinated not only with the steering power this managerialist reward system exerted on academic individuals, departments and fields, but also with the structural inequalities built into the system, as it seemed consistently to favour the male-dominated natural sciences' publication norms, traditions and customs. I therefore incorporated

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these debates into an undergraduate, final-year course on the sociology of science which I was teaching at the time, and this ensured that I kept up to date with the literature and other developments on this topic.

A professor whom I invited to participate in the qualitative part of my research had been recently awarded the position of director of a centre of excellence (one of only six in the country) in a sub-field of biology, and the hub of the centre was located at my university. The DST and NRF, the centre's main funders, required a social scientist to be included as a 'core team member' of the centre (these members are not employed by the centre but receive an annual grant to fund their own and their students' research). At around the same time I had started collaborating, as a specialist in social research methods, with an ecologist who was also a core team member and who suggested me to the director as a possible candidate.

When the director approached me, in 2005, I was not, however, eager to accept his offer, as I had not yet completed my PhD (and would therefore be the only non-PhD member of the team) and was still teaching large numbers of undergraduate students, in addition to supervising an increasing number of postgraduate students. On a personal level, at 34, my proverbial biological clock was ticking. However, it seemed I was no match for the powerful and influential director's insistence. At that stage I still deferred to male academic authority (as I was socialised to do), but he was also unwilling to participate in my PhD research unless I accepted his offer. In 2005 my 'second' research career thus began as the only social researcher on a team consisting of some of the top biologists in the country, by far the majority of whom were male.

Less than a year later, I fell pregnant. I was four months pregnant at my PhD defence, and a month before my child was born I was awarded my PhD (I was particularly proud of the fact that I was the first of my siblings to attain a doctorate). I remember still working on another research project the night before he was born. It was a difficult birth, involving an emergency caesarean and a breast infection which did not respond to antibiotics. It landed me back in hospital ten days after the birth and kept me from breast-feeding from then onwards, which had some advantages when I returned to work after approximately four months (three months' fully paid maternity leave, augmented with a few weeks' annual leave). I worked as much as possible during my maternity leave, but mostly from home, using what was then still relatively new 3G technology. When I went back to the office full-time, I found it highly disturbing to leave my five-month-old child with a stranger for most of the day, and it was a few months before I eventually found a crèche

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I trusted and which understood the needs of full-time working mothers. Because my own parents, siblings and in-laws all live far from the rural university town where I reside, I cannot depend on them for support. If my child falls ill, I have no option but to take time off from work. During school holidays my child attends an aftercare facility, but this option will not be available for much longer.

As South African research has shown, women academics with young children (that is, under six years of age) are more likely to experience the problematic tension between their professional and domestic lives than women with older children (CSD 1999; Moultrie & De la Rey 2003). However, during the challenging first year after my son's birth my colleagues were supportive and flexible, even though I was the only female staff member raising a toddler.

At this stage I felt overwhelmed by my ever increasing and demanding workload, not to mention my new role as mother, and was plagued with the uncertainty of whether I was actually 'good enough' for the permanent job for which I had fought so hard. I struggled to increase my publication output beyond the minimum expected of me – one peer-reviewed article per year. Like so many other South African women, my past experiences of patriarchal and apartheid ideologies in the South African context also kept me from readily believing that I have contributions to make to knowledge production, or that my insights are of significance as a contribution to the existing body of knowledge (Prinsloo 2000, cited in Maürtin-Cairncross 2003). I felt I let those around me down, and I remember tearfully apologising to my mentor for wasting his time by falling short of the high expectations he and others had of me.

It was a challenging time for me at the centre of excellence. I felt marginalised not only as the youngest and least experienced core team member (to whom no mentoring was offered), but also as part of a minority of women and the only social scientist on the team, reflecting Mouton's observation on social science in sub-Saharan Africa: 'Where reference is made to the social sciences and humanities, they usually appear in an appendix, in support of the natural sciences' (2010, p. 67). Again I found myself to be an outsider – or rather an 'appendix' – but this time as a function of the intersections of my age (both chronologically and professionally), and therefore lack of experience and credibility, my status as a 'soft' scientist and my gender.

More than once I considered terminating my relationship with the centre, but by then I had invested too much time and effort into retooling myself in environmental sociology, and the director insisted that

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I continue as a core team member (even though I did not meet his expectations of publishing at least two highly cited articles per year). Ironically, the professor in ecology who initially suggested me to the director has been one of the most important supportive catalysts of my career thus far, primarily by involving me in her projects and supervision of postgraduate students. She is a dear friend, also a mother of a young child, and a well-known advocate of women's rights on campus and in the natural science sector in general. Although she warned me that the other male core team members, particularly the director, could be highly assertive, she seemed to hold her own in her interactions with them, and I learned a lot from her as a role model in this regard.

My research collaboration with her, although demanding at times, has significantly extended my research networks and increased my research outputs. In 2009 I also developed, and have been teaching since 2010, a Master's course in the conceptualisation and design of research that is considered instrumental in our department's postgraduate students' ability to produce high-quality research proposals and theses. These contributions, as well as undergraduate and postgraduate students' consistent assessment of my teaching as excellent, eventually secured my promotion to senior lecturer in 2011. Only then did I feel that strategic career planning was a luxury I could afford myself, especially since my child was almost five years old and becoming increasingly independent. I was again, to some extent, able to work after hours or at weekends – something I did not allow myself during the first five years of my son's life. Housework has also become less of a burden: with my increased salary I can now employ a domestic worker more frequently.

My husband – who is employed full-time in the corporate world – has always been supportive and, compared with most male South Africans of his age, highly involved in caring for our son, especially since my career became more demanding. However, the traditional gender division of labour is still prevalent in our house, which is compounded by the fact that I have been socialised to have very strong commitments to my family and domestic responsibilities. In South Africa it is still extremely rare for parenting to be co-equal, as parental identity is defined differentially for women and men; and employers, including universities, assume that their employees have wives to attend to obligations of family and household (De la Rey 1999). I do, however, value my husband's experience (he is ten years older than me), especially our daily discussions of our experiences at work, from which I have gained many useful insights on the non-academic, corporate world, where he is in a managerial position.

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In the latter half of 2011 I was granted six months' study leave and was nominated by my institution to attend the annual Higher Education Resource Services (HERS)-SA Academy – a seven-day professional development opportunity for women currently employed, or possessing the potential to be employed, at senior management level in HE. Attending the academy and befriending other academic women, especially a newly appointed vice-dean of another faculty in my university who has become a role model, was a truly rewarding experience that instilled in me a sense that I could also perhaps, one day, fill such positions. I returned inspired to accept every opportunity that was presented to me, regardless of how daunting and challenging it might seem at the time, or how much travel it entailed. A few months later I was diagnosed with skin cancer, which further motivated me to pursue a '*carpe diem*' strategy at work.

Consequently, I am now involved in a wide variety of research projects and supervise a large number of postgraduate students in both of my fields (sociology of science and environmental sociology). My extensive experience in social science research methodology, developed during almost two decades of teaching, has proven very useful in this regard. The majority of my projects are collaborative and trans-disciplinary. I now also serve on many administrative and academic bodies at various levels within and (to a lesser extent) outside my university, including the board of HERS-SA, a managed network to improve the status of women in HE in South Africa, and I am an academic staff representative on the university's institutional forum – one its three main statutory bodies that is mandated to advise the council on gender equity policy, among other matters. This latter appointment has provided the opportunity to engage with the (exclusively male) top management of the university, and thereby experience at first hand how power operates. Operating at this level required me to develop the self-confidence to express my opinion and not to fear the (often bullying) tactics of those in authoritative positions. Fulfilling the role of a mother, and the maturity this brings, contributed to my empowerment in this regard as well.

Although challenging at times, my committee work is heightening my profile at the university and beyond, and garners respect from colleagues (many of them male professors), which continuously feeds back positively into my self-esteem and my performance at work. I have also realised the importance of responding to invitations to use the marketing and communication tools of the university (from newspapers

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and online nuggets to glossy research reports) to publicise my research projects, publications and other achievements. In each of the last two years I have been awarded a performance bonus that accrues to only 20 per cent of all staff at the university. Thus, my experiences reflect Vasil's (1993) findings that perceptions of confidence – or self-efficacy beliefs – play a critical role in academic performance.

However, I have been advised by the NRF that my career is not focused enough to allow for my work to be rated fairly by the foundation. Its ratings are based on researchers' recent research outputs and impact as perceived by international peer reviewers, and – contrary to the proposal-driven funding system that operates in many countries – rated researchers are awarded funding in line with the level at which they are rated (that is, based on their past performance). Fortunately, I receive sufficient funding as a core team member of a centre of excellence, and in the form of subsidies earned from my publications (currently a single-authored article in a peer-reviewed journal earns the author Rand 10,000, or approximately US $1,000, which may be employed for a wide range of teaching or research purposes). NRF ratings are, however, crucial for promotion to the level of professor, and I am concerned that my lack of strategically focused, 'rateable' research outputs will prove to be a significant obstacle in my future career progression. On the other hand, I am a vociferous opponent of any instances of the 'tail' (that is, research management) 'wagging the dog' (academics' research agendas).

My political awareness of women's rights, in particular, has led me recently to join forces with a well-known feminist professor in political science at our institution to launch an academic women's forum in order to address the enduring neglect of women's rights at our institution (an academic union which staff members can join for this purpose does not exist). I also use my committee, forum and board memberships as platforms from which to challenge the remnants of patriarchal culture (Hearn 2001) that still influence decision-making at my institution, the top management of which seems much more concerned with addressing equity and diversity pertaining to race than to gender. The fact that race tends to 'trump' gender in the university's attempts at 'transformation' should (again) be understood against the historical background of apartheid.

Women are under-represented in decision-making at my university: the rector is a man; all the vice-rectors are men; of the eight positions that support the management team (for example, senior directors, the registrar and so on) only two are women (and one of these is

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the 'executive assistant' to the rector); and of the ten deans of faculties, only two are women. Although 41 per cent of instruction/research personnel are women, these are concentrated in the lower ranks, as only 11 per cent of full professors at the university are women, which severely limits women's representation in high-level decision-making structures. Moreover, this figure does not compare favourably with other universities, as the most recent figures indicate that across all South African public HEIs, 21 per cent of full professors are women (HESA 2011).

I have recently been requested to consider taking over the position of chair of the department. I declined, as I still have much to learn about managing people and micro-politics, and I have reached my limit with regard to the teaching, research and administrative duties I am able (even uncomfortably) to manage at this time. Environmental sociology is not only a rapidly evolving but also an increasingly popular field, which requires me annually to revise substantially the course content of my fast-growing undergraduate courses and has led to increasing numbers of postgraduates to supervise.

Workload issues are compounded by a lack of administrative and secretarial support, which, although always limited in our department and faculty, has reached critically low levels since recent budget cuts. In this context, my tendency towards perfectionism is proving more of a burden than an asset. In addition, my child will soon enter primary school, which will increase my after-work responsibilities as a mother. Currently, I already feel I have no time to maintain any personal interests outside of work and family, and lack of exercise has started impacting negatively on my health – particularly my spine, which I injured when I was young. But I feel I have very little time available to attend to my own physical and mental well-being – there is always a deadline looming and a student who needs assistance – and the past few years I have taken only the minimum leave available to me.

In sum, with the exception of the struggle for a permanent position, I would define my career until now as not only relatively stable but also dull, in the sense that I have studied at, and been affiliated with, only one HEI throughout my whole career. Not only has mobility been mostly absent from my career, but so too has strategic planning. At first outside forces and my own strong aversion to change and risk-taking conspired to stall my career progression, and at present surviving the unending and ever increasing stream of operational and tactical imperatives, both work and family related, leave very little time and energy for strategy.

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7.2.2 Helen Peterson – Sweden

Growing up in a Swedish small town with approximately 4,000 inhabitants, dominated by small-scale industries and geographically remote from any universities, HE did not seem to be an obvious choice for me after graduating from the 'gymnasium' (Swedish senior high-school education) in the early 1990s. The fact that I came from a non-academic family contributed to making that choice even more unlikely. Neither of my parents had any personal experience of HE, nor did anyone else in my family. Nevertheless, my parents, as well as my grandparents, always supported me and emphasised how proud my academic accomplishments made them. Being the first in my family to pursue HE, I had no previous knowledge about what an academic career would involve. Thus I entered the academic world without any social or cultural capital and also without aspiring to build a future career in HE. Instead I was driven by a curiosity and a passionate will to learn. My genuine, but naïve, intellectual ambition, coupled with a lack of pressure from my parents, allowed me to take my time in order to find my own way through academia. The result was a continuous academic journey that has been full of unexpected turns, characterised by not only much hard work, rewards and personal growth but also spontaneity, mobility and an ongoing search for an academic community where I feel that I can intellectually fit in and develop as a researcher.

When I first entered the academic world, in the early 1990s, I did so as an undergraduate student at a small, male-dominated department at Uppsala University, one of the largest universities in Sweden and also the oldest, founded in 1477. The department was not only male-dominated but there were actually no women at all employed as researchers or teachers at that time. In addition, during my two years of undergraduate studies in this department the regular course literature rarely referred to women researchers, nor did the literature touch upon anything related to gender issues. Women also constituted a minority of the students at the department – especially at the more senior levels. Moreover, there were no women doctoral students. Only at the end of my study period there did two women enter the department: one as a doctoral student and teacher and another as a professor. Remarkably, both of these women came from abroad, a fact that is less surprising when taking into account the lack of women in the local recruitment base.

By the end of my undergraduate studies I had started to think that graduate school might be an interesting option. However, I never applied and instead left the department. At the time I did not have

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any clear idea about *why* I left. I just had a vague idea that I needed to broaden my academic knowledge and study in another academic discipline. Today I can look back and recognise the impact that lack of encouragement from teachers and professors at this department had on me. Even though I was never explicitly discouraged from pursuing postgraduate studies, the lack of encouragement was detrimental. I also had an indefinable feeling of not really belonging or fitting in. During my studies at this male-dominated department I completed three different essays in order to receive, first, a Bachelor's degree and then, a year later, a Master's. For each of these essays three male (elderly) professors took the role of my supervisor. Although I received adequate supervision, I did sense that the student–supervisor relationship they had with male students was different from the student–supervisor relationships they built with me. I always kept a distance and worked very independently. I never really asked them for advice or followed in their 'research steps'. Meanwhile, the male students appeared to spend much more time with these professors outside of the supervision meetings. They ate lunch together and talked informally in the corridor, seemingly always engaged in intellectual conversation. At that time I was not able to reflect on my situation, other than that I experienced a sense of being different and an outsider.

Now, several years later, I can better analyse these experiences. The relationship between the male professors and their male students, many of whom later became doctoral students, can, for example, be interpreted in accordance with Pierre Bourdieu's analysis of social capital in academia. Bourdieu (1984) portrays the relationship between the thesis supervisors (the 'heads') and the PhD students (the 'colts') in terms of 'transmission of power'. When the heads ensure the colts a career, they gain loyalty and their own academic prestige and power of attraction is affirmed. What I was witnessing was this kind of transmission of power between the male professors and the male students. At one point I was invited to join in one of these informal discussions between older professors and younger students but shied away. Lacking in cultural capital and being unfamiliar with the codes of conduct in this environment made me feel awkward and uncomfortable. My response to these experiences of being an outsider can thus be interpreted as a silent protest named 'exiting' (Hirschman 1970). However, I did not exit the academic arena entirely – just that specific academic environment.

I left this male-dominated department to pursue undergraduate studies and later also postgraduate studies in the Department of Sociology at Uppsala University. This was a positive move. I experienced

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a gender-mixed environment where women were influential as senior lecturers and professors, many of the undergraduate courses were dominated by women students and I felt more comfortable and could fit in more easily. This was also an environment where I first became familiar with feminist theory, which was taught at undergraduate level, and gender studies, taught in one specific section of the department. Gender studies was headed by an internationally renowned woman professor. Even though I did not enrol in gender studies, it inspired me as it opened my eyes to the possibility of doing research in that field. The notion that gender studies was an established and recognised academic discipline and therefore also a viable choice in which to pursue doctoral studies was also enhanced by the multidisciplinary Centre for Gender Studies at Uppsala University, founded in 1990 as the Centre for Women Researchers and Women's Studies. This centre was located in the same building as the Department of Sociology during my time as a doctoral student, and there was a constant exchange of knowledge and researchers between these two research environments.

I was accepted as a doctoral student at the Department of Sociology in 2001 and enjoyed support from one of the woman professors, who told me she had insisted that I should be accepted when the decision was made by the professors of the department. This was the beginning of an academic career that has come to be characterised by continuous support and encouragement from more senior women academics. When I started doctoral studies on gender and gender equality in the Swedish IT business, I knew who I wanted as a supervisor – a woman researcher who at the time was a senior lecturer but later professor, working within the same field, who had produced research that greatly inspired me. Although initially declining to supervise me because of her workload and lack of experience as supervisor, she soon came round, explaining 'How can I turn down such a request from a fellow woman researcher?' This sense of solidarity with other women in academia among senior women and their sense of responsibility to support and encourage junior women researchers is something that I have continued to experience, both personally and in my research, where I have interviewed senior academic women.

Conducting research on gender relations in academia as a junior researcher is not only interesting and rewarding on a professional level but also inspiring and empowering in a personal way. Since graduating with my PhD I have mostly engaged in research where I have had the privilege to meet and interview women and men at all levels in the Swedish academic hierarchy – doctoral students, post-doctoral students,

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teachers, lecturers, professors, deans and vice-chancellors. They have shared their unique, but gendered, experiences of working in academia. Meeting other women in academia and interviewing them about their career strategies and experiences of gender in academia has given me new and important insights about my own position in academia and about the academic world as a place of work and as an arena to investigate empirically from a gendered perspective. As other women have shared their experiences and personal stories, it has influenced how I understand and interpret my own career possibilities and how I handle expectations put on me as a researcher and woman in academia. It has contributed to how I have been able to develop new career strategies and new ways of challenging a gendered professional ideal in academia. This can be interpreted as an example of how women over time develop a gendered identity as researchers in academia. Haake (2009) identified this kind of identity development in a longitudinal study of academic leaders. After four years as head of department the women in her study, but not the men, had developed a gender-focused and problem-oriented leadership that they did not express in their initial interview. I have continued to become more and more gender-aware while undertaking studies on academia from a gendered theoretical perspective, as it has provided me with access to analytical tools useful to understanding not only other's experiences but also my own position in academia, both as privileged and as disadvantaged.

Reading the contributions from other researchers in this book makes me aware of how privileged I am to work in HE in Sweden. Sweden has a well-deserved reputation for being at the forefront of supporting gender equality in the labour market. It is a country characterised by an official and well-established gender equality ideology. However, as a gender researcher I also know that challenges still persist in Swedish academia. Although often considered an objective, gender-neutral and meritocratic institution, academia is characterised by gendered patterns of hierarchy and occupational segregation. The possibilities of advancement in the academic hierarchy are gendered. Women's and men's academic career paths differ along this vertical dimension. Men move faster and reach higher in the academic hierarchy than women. Their chances of becoming a professor are, for example, described as twice those of women (Dryler et al. 2011). But the character of gender inequality and gender discrimination is changing – from explicit, open and visible to implicit, hidden and invisible (Husu 2005). Discrimination is becoming invisible and indirect and therefore more difficult to identify and confront. My experiences of feeling awkward and uncomfortable as

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a young student at the male-dominated department can be interpreted as one example of this kind of invisible discrimination.

In an academic environment where discrimination is becoming more invisible and indirect, role models and networks become more and more important. One of the more subtle barriers that women with academic career ambitions face is exclusion from influential networks (Peterson 2010; Sagebiel 2010). Recent studies show that female researchers are part of lower status and less powerful networks than their male colleagues (Lindgren et al. 2010; Sandström et al. 2010). My own personal experiences support this analysis of the importance of networks; networks and role models are very much gendered, including quite a few prominent and exceptional women. Time and time again I have been able to welcome amazing opportunities to work with them.

After I received my PhD I received a query from a woman researcher who was moving to Uppsala University from another HEI, asking if I was interested in working with her for two years on a large European project about gender and academia. This was an extraordinary opportunity for a junior researcher, and I gladly accepted. Working in that women-dominated project gave me important research experience, and I was also able to extend my research network to include influential and well-established researchers throughout Europe. After the project ended, the co-operation with several of these researchers continued and recently resulted in a new large research grant from the European Commission for a project from 2013 to 2016, also on gender and academia. One of the women professors in that European project proved to be particularly important to me, as she has recommended me on several occasions. She has contributed to opportunities for me to be invited as an expert and present my research in numerous contexts and receive invitations as visiting scholar to excellent research environments. She also facilitated my inclusion in the WHEM Network.

Other women have provided me with support for positions in the highly competitive academic context. The supervisor for my doctoral thesis was a woman with whom I continued to work after I received my PhD. When she became a professor at Örebro University, she was given the opportunity to establish an assistant professor position in order to build her own research group. This was a position for which she encouraged me to apply. My application was successful, and I received my first full-time employment outside of Uppsala University. After one year at Örebro University another woman professor, whose research I had long admired and been greatly influenced by, and whom I met through the European project, encouraged me to apply for a post-doctoral

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fellowship at Linköping University. This encouragement was exceedingly important, as I felt that my research and knowledge were valued. And although I already had a good position in Örebro, I decided to move to Linköping, as the multidisciplinary research environment there was attractive.

These successful, ambitious, strong and supportive women have been my role models and my mentors, and I consider myself as extremely lucky to have been able to work with them. Such experiences can therefore be interpreted as an example of how women who are excluded from important male networks form their own networks (Sagebiel et al. 2011).

As the other authors in this chapter, and the authors of other chapters, include their experiences of building an academic career related to work–family relations, I want to end my personal story with my contribution to this subject area, because my experiences differ from theirs. Professionally I have investigated the issue of work–life balance for parents in both HE and the IT business (Peterson 2011). Personally I can define myself, using the words of Ramsay and Letherby (2006), as 'an academic non-mother in the gendered university'. A non-mother identity influences career choices. It affects the extent to which it is possible to be geographically mobile and how much time it is possible to dedicate to work (Ackers 2010). These aspects can positively influence an academic career. I have, for example, been able to be geographically mobile and flexible and accept career opportunities as they have presented themselves to me without hesitation. I have also had great freedom to turn down offers involving, for example, lectureships. Being child-free might reduce the pressure and responsibility a parent might feel to give up rewarding but short-term contracts as a researcher in order to accept more secure employment as a lecturer, even if that would inhibit the possibilities of developing as a researcher.

But there are also negative aspects associated with the position of being a non-mother in academia. Being an academic non-mother means, for example, that you might face negative stereotypes about child-free women (cf. Peterson 2012). It is also a position that makes you 'different' and places you in an outsider position in relation to 'academic mothers'. This 'different' position might be interpreted as implying a lack of understanding for how mothers have to struggle to balance work and family responsibilities. A non-mother position might mean that you will be considered more career-oriented than mothers or expected to show more commitment to work than mothers and be available 24 hours a day (Ramsay & Letherby 2006). But an outsider position can also be a valuable asset when doing research, as Kate has

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similarly highlighted in Chapter 6. Whether it involves being a woman in academia, a woman with working-class background or a child-free woman, or all of the above, it can help us question what others take for granted. It might help us to find new ways of posing research questions and critically to investigate middle-class values, the nuclear family norm or the meritocratic ideal. I, for example, was able to receive funding from the Swedish Research Council for Work Life and Social Issues to do the first Swedish research project on voluntary childlessness and another study on gendered academic management. The problem with the 'women making a difference' approach is that is fosters the 'women as different (from the ideal/norm)' approach. It might also entail that women 'have to carry the burden of proving that they make a (positive) difference' (Hovden et al. 2011, p. 409). However, being different from the norm means that there is a potential to challenge the norm in a positive way and contribute to new knowledge. I consider my focus on doing research on gender in academia a way of using another strategy – instead of *exiting* – involving raising my *voice* to protest, suggesting improvements and reforming the system (Hirschman 1970). Having strong and influential role models has helped me to establish not just a position as a researcher that is different from the norm but also a position that I find empowering.

7.2.3 Özlem Özkanli – Turkey

I have a life motto:

> Learn as if you were going to live forever. Live as if you were going to die tomorrow.
>
> (Mahatma Gandhi)

Being a university teacher was my dream job. I feel very lucky to have accomplished my dream job. I believe in lifelong learning. Learning is a cheerful journey for me. I am very happy to earn my money while I am enjoying my job. I love sharing my knowledge and experiences with my students. I love research, especially international comparative studies. I have several academic management responsibilities. All through my profession I have tried to balance my work and family life. I have worked very hard to be successful in both my career and family responsibilities.

In this section of this chapter I will try to explore the important influences on my career, the support from my family to become an academic, the senior academics who supported me in building an academic career and the obstacles I experienced as an academic. I was born

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on 17 August 1967 in Ankara. I am very lucky to have been born into a very well-educated modern Turkish family. Both my parents had HE degrees. My parents believed that Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, who founded the state of the Turkish Republic in 1923, was a great leader. He had an important role in improving women's situation in Turkish society.

One of the crucial targets of Ataturk's reforms was to give women social-political rights and enable them to have equal opportunities with men in all segments of society. Abrogation of Ottoman rule in 1924, adoption of secularism, unification of education, and acceptance of the principle of equality by the constitution have constructed an infrastructure for improving women's rights. In 1928 the country was proclaimed a secular state with a Western-style constitution. Abolition of the veil under the dress reform in 1925 and the adoption of the Civil Code in 1926 reinforced the egalitarian legal framework. The Turkish Republic is founded on secular principles. Thus, women participated in the first municipal elections in 1930 and gained the right of representation in the parliament in the 1934 elections (Özkanli 2007).

Women were admitted to academic professions for the first time in 1932, but their larger-scale recruitment started in the 1940s (Köker 1988). There has been rapid growth in Turkish HE in the past 20 years (Özkanli & White 2008). Currently, there are 168 HEIs (2 higher technology institutions, 103 state universities and 65 private universities). In the universities 41 per cent of all academic personnel and 28 per cent of full professors are women (Council of Higher Education (YÖK) 2012). Despite the high representation of women in the professoriate, women are under-represented in senior management in Turkish HEIs.

Various factors explain the relatively high representation of Turkish academic women in professorial positions. The transparency of the Turkish Council of Higher Education's (YÖK) regulations concerning selection and promotion in academic employment has assisted women's progress (Özkanli 2007). Modern Turkish parents, just like my own, are proud of their children being university teachers, because it is one of the most prestigious jobs in Turkey. My parents believed that education was crucial in modern Turkey.

However, Ozguc (1998) also suggested that traditionally male graduates pursued career opportunities offering better financial prospects outside the university sector and therefore male graduates became increasingly uninterested in academic careers. This has resonance with the Reskin and Roos's (1990) gender queues argument that men, owing to changing market conditions, may leave the competition for certain

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jobs and women take their place in the queue, leading to the gendering of those previously contested jobs (Ozbilgin & Healy).

I had great support from my parents. My dear father passed away three years ago, but until then they worked together for a long time to provide equal opportunities for their children. My parents always encouraged me, my sister and my brother to go to university. They made a lot of sacrifices to pay our tuition fees, but they never mentioned it. They were always proud of us.

We three had a privileged education and graduated from the best private (and most expensive) high school in Turkey (TED Ankara College). All the classes were in English, except for Turkish Literature, beginning from kindergarten. We also learned German as a second foreign language. I believe that our foreign language knowledge and skills helped us to have very successful careers. My sister, Meltem, who was born in 1971, became an English instructor in Ankara University; my brother, Cem, who was born in 1976, became a manager in a multinational company in Istanbul. I became a Professor of Management at Ankara University. As I am the eldest child, I always felt very responsible, like a second mother, to my younger sister and brother. I am fortunate to have had a very happy childhood.

There is a university entrance exam in Turkey. I won a place at the oldest and best Business Faculty in Turkey, which is Ankara University Faculty of Political Sciences, established in 1859. When I was a university student one of the professors, Professor Eke, supported me. He said that I was his best student and wanted me to become his research assistant. However, before I graduated, I took an entrance exam for the Turkish National Productivity Center (NPC) in Ankara. Professor Eke advised me to work there to gain experience in the practice of management and also to complete my MBA and PhD while I was working at the NPC. It was a great advice. He urged me to complete my MBA at Hacettepe University, which had a very high-quality MBA. He considered that I would learn different perspectives from Management professors there, who had mostly graduated from French universities. I therefore learned a lot during my MBA. Professor Eke's advice, academic contribution (as my PhD thesis adviser) and support were very important in developing my career.

I undertook postgraduate study while I was working at the Center as a specialist between 1988 and 1996. Although it was a very difficult period of my life, involving long hours and a good deal of travel, it was excellent work experience and a good start to my career. I led a number of consulting/research/training missions in Turkish private and public

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sector enterprises for eight and a half years. That experience in productivity improvement techniques consultancy has been really useful in my teaching, and I use numerous case studies with my students. I completed my MBA at Hacettepe University in 1991 and my PhD at Ankara University in 1995. Professor Eke invited me to teach a Human Resources Management course part-time for three years while I was working at the NPC. I was living in Ankara, and teaching undergraduate junior students at Ankara University Faculty of Political Science, Department of Management was an excellent experience. I love to be with students, and they also like me. We enjoyed our classes together. I believe that teachers are lucky because they can feel forever young with their students.

When I finished my PhD thesis, I successfully applied for an assistant professorship at Ankara University. I was very happy to return full-time to Ankara University (which is like a 'home' for me) in 1996 as a member of the teaching staff. I began working with Professor Eke. When he became vice-rector, I had to teach all his undergraduate and graduate courses. In addition, I was thesis adviser to more than 42 graduate students. It was a very hard-working period of my life. Furthermore, my son was born on 16 July 1997. In 1998 Professor Eke retired, and I became the head of management and organisation chair.

I could not use my maternity leave because I was the only professor teaching in Management and was organisation chair and I had to begin work in September 1997, leaving my 40-day-old son with a babysitter. At this time my mother was working and my mother-in-law was ill, so I had to hire several babysitters. I had a very difficult time with them for three years until Batuhan went to the Ankara University daycare centre. I was lucky to have a high-quality and affordable daycare centre at my university. I also hired household help once a week.

My husband has been supportive of my academic career. He was considerate in waiting for me to complete my MBA thesis before getting married and waiting until I finished my PhD thesis before having a baby. This planning and time management helped me to gain promotion quickly. I became a full Professor of Management when I was only 40 years old.

In Turkey, even in the well-educated modern families, most of the men think that they can only 'help' their wives. They do not want to 'share' the responsibilities of non-work lives. I believe that my child comes first and deserves the best. My role models are my parents, so I am also trying to do my best for my son, like my parents. I wanted to wait until I finished my PhD thesis before having a baby, so that I could concentrate on my son and spend quality time with him. This strategy

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worked very well. We have a great relationship with him. I attend all of his parent–teacher conferences. I am responsible for both his education and his personal care. I am always proud of his academic achievements and his development of social skills. He is a very successful student; he won a scholarship to a private school, which is the highest-ranked Turkish private school and very expensive.

Balancing career and family was difficult after my son was born. Both my husband and I work full-time, and when Batuhan was ill, it was challenging. I had to turn down an offer from my rector to be a senior manager at the Ankara University Continuing Education Center, and initially an offer by my dean to be head of the Management Department. However, I could not turn down an offer by Professor Akmut to be the deputy head of the Management Department for three years and help him. I also became head of Management and organisation chair after Professor Eke retired.

Nevertheless, I experienced role conflict after becoming a working mother and especially a manager. I think that the most important reason for low participation of women in academic management in Turkey is the work–family relationship. Most of the academic women (like me) are not willing to take administrative responsibility (increased workloads and business trips) because of their motherhood role. Also, in Turkey, to have a full professorship you have to give priority to research and teaching. International publications are very important for academic promotion. For that reason I decided to concentrate especially on research rather than academic management.

I am co-author of a book and two chapters in books, and have published many academic articles and presented numerous papers on gender at both national and international conferences. I won 'Best Paper Award', 'Success Award' and 'Award of Excellence' with three papers presented in different international conferences in recent years. In addition, I have received several research scholarships from the World Bank, the Turkish Academy of Sciences, Ankara University, the Turkish HEI and Curtin University, Australia. I was a visiting professor at the Curtin University Graduate School of Business in Perth, Australia, in 2006, at the Aalborg University College of Business in Denmark in 2008 as part of the ERASMUS Teaching Staff Mobility Programme, and at the Valparaiso University College of Business Administration in the US in 2011. In addition, I was a visiting professor at Northern Illinois University College of Business in DeKalb from August 2012 to August 2013. My family has been able to join me for most of my visiting professorships. When I was away from home, my parents were very supportive,

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just like Maria de Lourdes Machado-Taylor's experience in Chapter 5. My husband and son visited me in Australia, and we returned home together. It was an excellent opportunity for them to learn more about Australian culture and to take a sightseeing trip around the Sydney region.

I was invited to teach at the Valparaiso University College of Business Administration by the dean for one year. I planned to go Valparaiso together with my son and husband, but then we learned that Batuhan had won an excellent scholarship from his school. We therefore decided that Batuhan should accept the scholarship and I would teach at the Valparaiso University for only the autumn semester. It was the hardest and longest time for me to be away from my family. However, my mother, sister and brother were very supportive. This sacrifice of family life was repaid, because the following year I was invited to teach at the Northern Illinois University (ranked in the top 5 per cent of all American universities) for one year.

In 2012–13 I was visiting professor at the Northern Illinois University College of Business, Department of Management, DeKalb, and engaged in both teaching and research. On this occasion we made a decision that my son Batuhan would go to Illinois with me, and he is a DeKalb High School sophomore. He is improving his English and learning French as a third foreign language; he has already been learning German as a second foreign language in Turkey. I believe that foreign language knowledge is very important for a successful career. My son is a very hard-working student in Turkey and is also doing very well in the US. This year will be an excellent academic and cultural experience for both of us.

When I was in Australia, I presented a paper about academic women in Turkish universities at a conference in Fremantle (Özkanli 2006). After the presentation Dr Kate White introduced herself and said that we should do some research together. I am very happy that Kate invited me to join the Women in Higher Education Management (WHEM) Network and contribute to the cross-cultural projects, as the Turkish researcher.

In Turkey the pattern of attrition of women academics persists in all disciplines including academic management. Turkish interviewees in the first WHEM project (Bagilhole & White 2011) believed that there were no barriers to promotion for women in their university, and several asserted that women can create their own barriers. Some thought that marriage, domestic responsibilities, role conflict and the general culture were barriers to promotion (Özkanli et al. 2009).

As discussed by Özkanli and Korkmaz (2000), the most important problem faced by academic women in Turkish universities is role conflict – that is, the demands placed on them by the ever increasing

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obligations of their family roles – rather than institutional discrimination. Academic women experience considerable role conflict, especially during the assistant professorship stage, where their desire for promotion is intense. To succeed in promotion to professorships, they tend to think that men and women have to work equally hard, but in reality they have to work harder. This research shows that the views of Turkish academic women about gender discrimination and role conflict change over time.

Some Turkish academic women, like me, choose to concentrate more on research as a strategy to resolve family role conflict. As soon as I became a full professor, I could in fact spend more time with my family and had more time for research. Özkanli and Korkmaz (2000) found that women are under-represented in senior management in Turkish universities, mostly due to the gradually increasing responsibilities in their daily lives. While some academic women pointed to gender discrimination, others said that they were not willing to take administrative responsibility because they accepted and internalised traditional social roles and gave a high priority to the role of housewife. Other studies have produced similar findings (Köker 1988; Acar 1990; Carvalho & Machado 2010). Although other responsibilities can impact on the career progression of women in universities, the allocation of workloads and gate-keeping in particular disciplines are important factors (Özkanli & White 2008).

Academic women have to seek and find personal solutions to the conflict between their career and family roles either by withdrawing from the family role or by trying to 'shoulder an overload of responsibilities' (Erkut 1982). Most of the academic women in Turkey choose the second option, instead of staying unmarried, and this has negative physical or psychological effects on them (Özkanli & Korkmaz 2000).

As a result, the solution suggested for role conflict may be new forms of social relationships in which women have equal status with men and a democratic family life. Women and men in democratic Turkish families share the responsibilities of their non-work lives and thus reduce the negative effects of role conflict on academic women. Other support available includes paid household help, childcare and supportive parents who can help out in the home and provide care for grandchildren.

7.2.4 Teresa Carvalho – Portugal

I was born in Portugal in 1971, and three years later, in 1974, the 'carnation revolution' put an end to a dictatorial regime that had lasted for almost 40 years. With the political democratisation, the door was

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opened to HE massification. The number of HEIs increased as well as the number of degrees offered. I consider myself a 'product' of these democratisation and massification processes and feel grateful to so many Portuguese who were able to see behind the ideological framework of the Salazar regime and fight (sometimes with their own lives) for a more democratic and egalitarian society.

My parents didn't have the opportunity to get a university education, even though we lived in a city that had one of the oldest universities in Europe. (The University of Coimbra was created in 1290.) But they were very conscious of the importance of education and kept alerting us (my older sister and me) to the value of knowledge. As labour activists they were convinced that having a degree was the only way to be able to have some autonomy and freedom in the hierarchical division of labour in Portugal at the time. At 16 years old I didn't know exactly what I wanted to be, but I was absolutely conscious that I needed to have a degree. By that time some of my friends, and almost all my primary school colleagues, were already leaving school. In 1986 Portugal became a member of the EU, and, as a consequence, there was an expansion of the economy, which led to an increase in consumption. With this economic expansion young people saw their opportunities increase in the labour market, and most of my friends decided that HE was not 'for them'.

Swimming against the tide, I decided to keep my dream. Influenced by the strong political environment in my family, I was always particularly sensitive to social questions. So it was not surprising that sociology became my chosen subject. I was fortunate to be able to obtain the grades to enable me to get into the university in my home city. All my family were quite impressed and happy with my decision – I was the first in many generations to be able to get into HE. Although my parents were apprehensive, because sociology was a new subject (the degree was first offered at the university two years before I started), they always supported me and trusted my choice. I was able to graduate with a very good mark (17 out of 20) from a top university that had a very traditional culture. Maybe because of that culture I never felt totally comfortable or in my 'comfort zone' there.

After finishing my degree, I was immediately able to get a job in a new research institute with a one-year contract as a 'manager of science and technology'. I felt very unhappy because I was mainly doing administrative work and I missed studying; and, most of all, I missed doing research. So I started looking for other opportunities. When a

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vacancy opened up in a new university in the north of the country (the University of Minho), I didn't think twice. I was successful in getting the position, which was advertised nationally. One year after finishing my first degree I was starting my academic career as an assistant trainee (at that time the first step in the academic career path). I didn't know anyone in the university, or even in the city, but I started being a passionate believer of meritocracy. At that time (in 1996) HE was still expanding, in spite of the boom of private institutions in the 1980s and the demographic decline of the population (Teixeira 2012). In the next two years five more young women joined the group, and we all become very close friends. It seemed that the increased number of women as students started to be also reflected at the level of women in academia. Portugal has a high percentage of women as academics in HE compared with other European countries (Carvalho 2012). In 2010 women comprised 53 per cent of students and 43.7 per cent of professors in HE (Pordata 2012).

We were all starting our careers and had a man as supervisor who gave us total autonomy and freedom to choose our research topic and even to decide on the subjects we covered in our lessons. The younger staff had a very good and friendly environment, but we were almost separate from faculty life because we didn't belong to any board or commission, and all the decisions were made by those (men) who had been at the institution for longer than us. As a consequence, I was able to do my work and to do my research without been involved in conflicts or even noticing the importance of micro-politics in academia. The perspective that you only need 'to do your best' was absolutely unquestioned for me. Nevertheless, several times our supervisor alerted us: 'Enjoy your time now; soon you will find that academia is a jungle.'

Curiously, three of the six young women in my group chose to do research on gender, and there was no formal obstacle to this. However, some of my male friends who were also starting their careers criticised this by arguing that the large proportion of women in HE would lead to a research bias because they were all going to do research on gender! I also started feeling uncomfortable because gender was not seen by anyone as an issue. With the democratisation process and the possibility for women to apply for non-traditional positions, gender equality was seen by almost everyone as a 'resolved case'. I didn't want to leave the subject, but I felt my work was not taken seriously. I decided not to give up but instead to broaden my research area. So I focused mainly on the sociology of professions while keeping 'an eye' on gender.

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In the meantime I finished my Master's degree and was feeling good with my work and with my position. But then my first decision involving gender and work–family balance emerged. I needed to decide where to do my PhD. I was quite conscious that going abroad would be the best solution for my career, but I also wanted to have children and to have my own family, and that would make it almost impossible. I therefore decided that, like my mother and her mother before her, I would try to reconcile my work and my family. So I married and started doing my PhD in the same university where I was currently working. My husband worked in another city, and we had a 'weekend marriage', so we kept trying to become geographically closer. That was when an opportunity emerged at the University of Aveiro, where I was able to get an assistant position. I am still teaching there.

Adapting to the new institution was very difficult. I decided to keep doing my PhD in the new university and with a new supervisor, but I also needed to consider changing my PhD subject. I was doing research on the impact of health reforms on nurses. My new supervisor was a specialist in HE and invited me to be part of his research centre, the Center for Research in Higher Education Policies (CIPES). So I was expected to do research on HE and not on health. We agreed that political changes I was analysing in health would also be applied in the future to higher education and HE professionals, and so I kept doing my PhD on nursing and everyone at the centre was highly supportive.

In the middle of my PhD I got pregnant and had a boy. It was a very difficult time. I took maternity leave for six months and then started working again. I didn't live near my parents, and my husband got a promotion at that time. It was one of the most pleasant yet difficult times of my life. I felt so absorbed by the role of being a mother that I began thinking I could never finish my PhD. My supervisor was very supportive. He encouraged me to keep working and meeting the deadlines he set. The director of the research centre was also personally involved in my research, and thanks to him I was able to get the empirical data in a shorter time than anticipated. I obtained my PhD in 2006 and was awarded an academic prize for one of the best PhD dissertations in social sciences in the Portuguese language that year.

My faith in personal effort was strongly sustained. So I kept working hard to obtain a permanent academic position after the five years' probationary period. I went to several international conferences each year and always tried to publish in prestigious journals. My husband has been highly supportive of my career. He takes care of our son and the house not only when I'm away at conferences but also on a daily basis. But

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even though he is absolutely supportive, I still feel guilty for not being as present in my son's life as I would like to be.

During this time I had the opportunity to be involved in some very interesting international research projects and networks. Three of these projects were particularly exciting: a project on global changes in HEIs with researchers from Australia and Netherlands; a project on Changes in Academic Profession (CAP), which involved 23 countries; and, obviously, the WHEM Network project. Importantly with the WHEM project, even if gender is not considered a relevant issue in Portuguese academia and the project lacked initial funding, I had great support from my research centre when I became involved in it.

More recently, I have been invited to be part of a team of national specialists who are developing the restructuring of secondary education in East Timor. I have been responsible for organising a team to develop the programmes, manuals and teachers' guides for the sociology syllabus for the last three years of secondary education. It has been an extraordinary project that has required me to develop a comprehensive understanding of the culture and social organisation of a very young country, with all the differences that this implies.

These projects have not only enabled me to develop professionally and scientifically but also, even more importantly, have led to the development of personal relationships and friendships with amazing people. Probably as a result of the work I have been doing in these international projects, in 2011 I was elected a member of the executive committee of the Research Network of the Sociology of Professions for the European Sociological Association (ESA).

After finishing my PhD I became a 'full' member of the department and took my place on the main boards. It was only then that I started feeling the strong presence of a gendered culture in academia. I was appointed as director of the first degree in Public Administration at a time when we were implementing the Bologna process (a major reform to ensure more comparable, compatible and coherent systems of HE in Europe). That meant I had an additional administrative burden. Curiously, most of the university's first-degree directors at that time were women. The most prestigious positions were, and still are, taken by men, reproducing the traditional stereotypes and the division of labour in academia (Deem 1998). For instance, currently there is only one woman as dean, and men are the majority on scientific and postgraduate boards.

Gender is still not considered to be a serious issue. Although we have a friendly and informal environment in our department in meetings, when I call attention to gender issues the general reaction is laughter.

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Once in a meeting I drew attention to the fact that we had a PhD panel with no woman. With some honourable exceptions, all the men in the room laughed, and argued that the scientific field has few women and so this is not an issue.

In the last few years managerialism has become an important phenomenon in Portuguese universities (Santiago & Carvalho 2008; Carvalho & Santiago 2010; Magalhães & Santiago 2012). As a result, bureaucratic and administrative work has increased significantly. The need for more accountability has translated into complex bureaucratic processes to ensure the assessment of individual and institutional performance. Once again most of the invisible work has been done by women (for instance, I spent a lot of time analysing index reports to classify journals in our research area, which informs the micro-politics and informal negotiations mostly made by men across the university). The main reason for doing this is that I'm now one of the three vice-chairs in my department, in charge of research issues, and so I may classify my work as part of the ivory basement leadership (Eveline 2004).

Gender is still something that people only remember and talk about on international women's day; otherwise it is completely omitted or treated as a joke, even by other women. I remember in 2009 going to a conference in Porto to present the results of the WHEM Network project and being confronted by a Portuguese academic woman who publicly stated that gender was a question that had been absolutely resolved in Portuguese academia. She said: 'Women are already there and only need to work to get into the top. Those who don't get there simply don't want to. These feminist discourses annoy me because you are distorting the reality with your research.' In the same year a study was published in Portugal revealing that Portuguese students take the view that gender does not affect access or choice of institution, although this is not the case in practice (Cerdeira 2009).

In the six years since completing my PhD I have managed to do all the silent administrative work, to support students, to do research and to publish in international peer review journals to be able to get a permanent position. However, this has not been without personal cost. The great number of hours I dedicate to my work inevitably means my family come second.

At the same time I have been assisting in micro-political negotiations and the creation of informal networks that are fruitful to some of those involved in them (Benschop 2009). However, I must say that, although I'm conscious of the importance of networking, I still don't feel comfortable with it and able to 'enter into the game'. These networks are, in

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fact, a good example of social reproduction within academia (Bourdieu 1984). Networks reproduce the cultural and social capital dominant within HEIs and society in general. They work almost like 'secret societies'. Once inside these networks, you may have access to privileged information that you cannot otherwise access. However, there are no explicit criteria for being in or out. The only rule seems to be that you must share the same symbolic cultural capital, translated into specific ways of behaving or even the use of specific language. In Bourdieu's terms, it is mainly related to your *habitus* (Bourdieu 1984).

When compared with my young colleagues, I think that I am really lucky. I was able to enter academia after finishing my first degree, was supported in my PhD and able to do research on my chosen topics and have always been in a relatively secure jobs. However, when I look at the political environment of academia (which inevitably includes gender relations), I must say that I do not believe any more that hard work is enough, and the only way to get to the top. But, as Bourdieu would say, 'to understand is, in the first place, to understand the field where we were made and against which we were made' (2004, p. 15).

7.3 Concluding remarks

These short narratives complement the self-analysis of the more senior academic women in Chapters 2–6. While certainly not free of either analytical or moral dilemmas, this reflexivity reveals the paradoxical outcomes which we observe when comparing the experiences of the different generations of women in academia.

A first interesting point in comparing the two generations is that work–family balance is still a serious issue for women. If it is true that it can be a problem for women in any job in the labour market, it is particularly relevant in academia, where our work is highly individualised and we are expected to engage in the production of critical ideas.

However, the discourses of the new generation seem to reveal that this may also be an important issue for men in the new generation, since the testimony of most young women indicates that their husbands support taking care of children and home, something that was not so clearly stated in the earlier chapters. In the balance between work and family, it is relevant that there seems to be an association between social mobility and geographical mobility which imposes obstacles on families with children (this is a difference particularly relevant in the two testimonies from Portugal). Grandmothers are not available to take care of their grandchildren any more, not only because they are physically

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distant but also because they are still themselves in the labour market. This is a relevant issue for the future; with reforms in the welfare state the retirement age is being pushed back. So, unless the state promotes more policies to support families, women will continue to experience difficulties in reconciling work and family.

Once again the new generation's description of their experiences reveals that gender relations are not simplistic and straightforward (pitting men against women). Narratives mention both support and obstruction from women and men in pursuing a career. For example, Özlem was mentored by men; Teresa also felt supported in her research by men and Helen by women. This seems to confirm Burton's (1997) assertion, for Australian HE, that the barrier that women workers in universities come up against is the pervasiveness of the masculinity of organisational structures.

Nevertheless, as in the earlier chapters, all women have underestimated the status hierarchies and the class system operating within universities. However, their narratives confirm that gender inequalities inscribed in university culture are clearly acknowledged by those women who are conscious of them. The four testimonies in this chapter acknowledge that emotions are enmeshed with gender and class in the academy, and that symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1984) is maintained and perpetuated in the way academics interact with each other.

In these discourses reflexivity was not used as a project for self-knowledge but instead as a concern with the conditions of production of the self within particular HE contexts. Thus the women's stories in this chapter resulted from engagement in a critical self-exploration of their own careers in order to clarify how complex gender relations developed inside academia may influence who they are and what they have achieved.

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