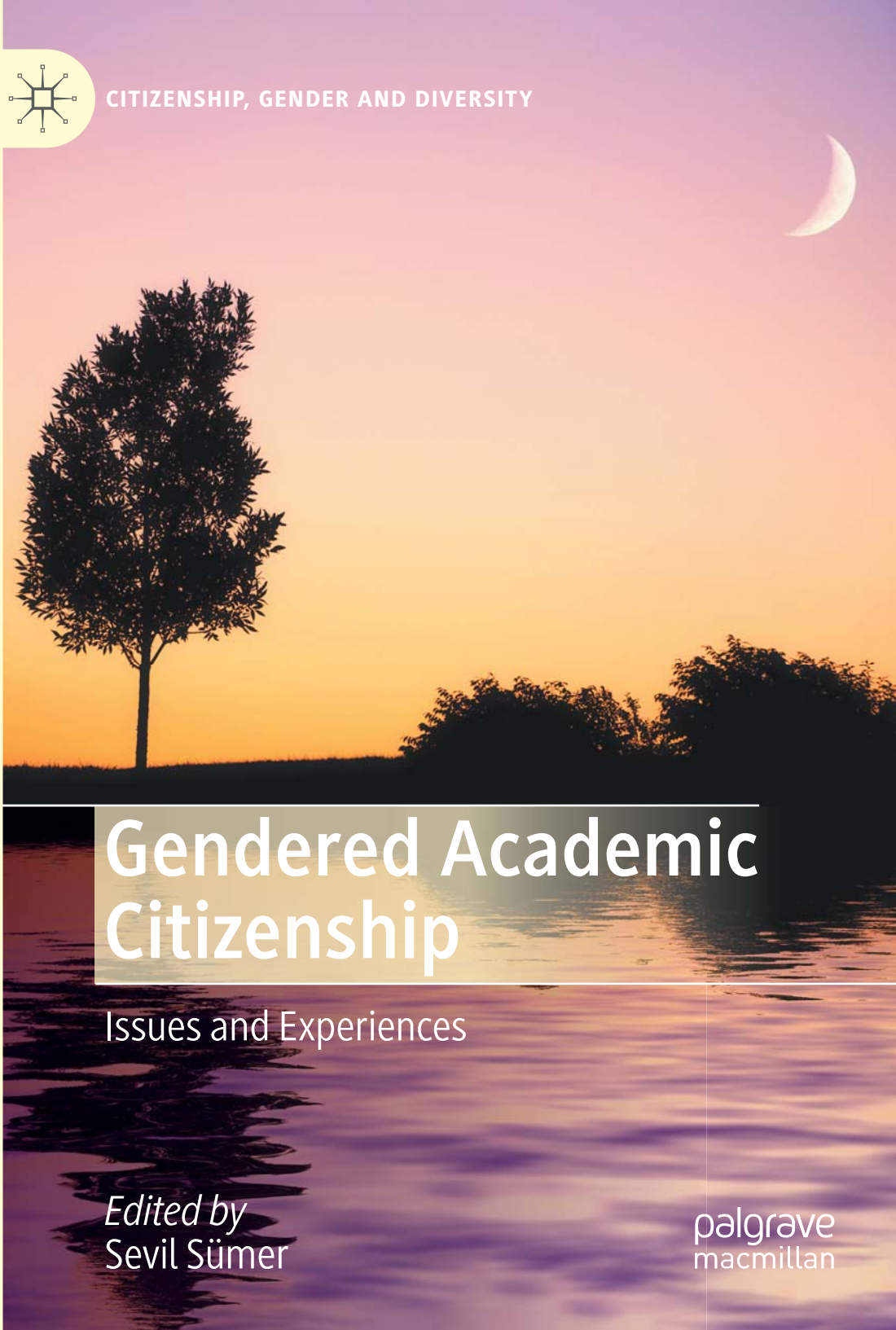
CITIZENSHIP, GENDER AND DIVERSITY
Gendered Academic Citizenship
Issues and Experiences
Edited by
Sevil Sümer
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Citizenship, Gender and Diversity

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Editor

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For my sunshine, Selma Sümer Mutlu

Acknowledgments

The idea of developing the concept of *Gendered Academic Citizenship* came to me in a flash when I was thinking about a possible book proposal for this series. Citizenship was my former field of research, through the FEMCIT: *Gendered Citizenship in Multicultural Europe* project for which I was the Scientific Coordinator. Since 2013, however, my main research topic has been *Gender in Academia*. I started thinking if these two fields could be combined through the lens of *Gendered Academic Citizenship*. I contacted two experts in this field, whose opinions I trusted completely. Both Nicky Le Feuvre and Pat O'Connor thought that this was a good idea and agreed to co-author the introductory chapter with me and contribute with chapters based on their recently completed research projects. I then contacted possible contributors from different countries, whom I had known from earlier research projects or applications and whom I knew were working on these issues. I received mostly positive replies and put together the book proposal by the end of 2018.

As the editor, I wholeheartedly thank all the authors who have contributed to this book. It has been a pleasure to read the different chapters and to see them develop so nicely. Special thanks to Nicky and Pat: their valuable expertise, co-authorship and care made this book possible. Thanks to the editors of the book series Beatrice Halsaa and Sasha Roseneil for their support. Special thanks to Beatrice for her comments on all the chapters. Thanks to Birte Siim for the insightful feedback on the first version of the manuscript. We revised some of

the chapters and wrote a concluding chapter based on her constructive comments. The writing of the conclusion coincided with the COVID-19 lockdown which turned our lives upside down. We believe that the gendered academic citizenship perspective developed in this book will be especially useful for analysing the multiple faces of inequalities and their consequences in times of the pandemic and its aftermath.

Sevil Sümer

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CHAPTER 1

The Contours of Gendered Academic Citizenship

Sevil Sümer, Pat O'Connor, and Nicky Le Feuvre

Introduction

What is academic citizenship and how is it gendered? An everyday understanding of the term associates academic citizenship with affiliation to a specific university, research institution or scientific community. In a broader perspective, the term is often used to describe the service duties and responsibilities that academics have, both to their scientific communities and the society at large, beyond the core tasks

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of teaching and research. More analytical approaches, emphasising the formal and informal aspects of academic citizenship and stressing their gendered dimensions, are rare. They constitute the focus of this book. We adopt a wide-ranging definition of academic citizenship, involving not only formal membership of academic institutions, but also the relational and emotional aspects of participation, recognition and belonging, within Higher Education and Research Institutions (HERIs) and broader academic communities.

Somewhat paradoxically, the notion of academic citizenship is currently gaining attention, precisely in a context where some HERIs appear to be undermining academics' sense of membership and recognition. Academic citizenship is thus threatened by a shift from the shared belief in knowledge production as a worthy end in itself, to a concern with the rationality and profitability of the academic endeavour and its contribution to the consolidation of so-called 'knowledge economies' on a global scale. Despite some international variation (Le Feuvre et al. 2019), academic institutions are increasingly being run according to the principles of private enterprise, emphasising corporatisation, marketisation and profitability, while also fostering a highly competitive academic labour market. The term 'academic capitalism' is often used to describe these processes of commercialisation, internationalisation and competition (Slaughter and Leslie 2001; Collyer 2015). Under such circumstances, the very notion of 'academic citizenship' may appear to hark back to a time when contributing to the smooth functioning of academic institutions and scientific communities was an unproblematic academic activity. In this book, our emphasis is on gendered power relations that influence academic practices in this context of competitive individualism. We propose to analyse the conditions under which different members of the scientific community contribute to such structural shifts and experience them in their daily lives.

Our concept of *gendered academic citizenship* involves three key components: *membership, recognition* and *belonging*. Emphasising the manifold ways in which gendered power relations influence academic practices, we identify four *ideal-types* of academic citizenship: full citizenship, limited citizenship, transitional (or probationary) citizenship and non-citizenship. Later in this chapter, we discuss their key characteristics in the context of increasing managerialism, competition and individualism in HERIs across Europe. In establishing this typology, we are particularly concerned with reaching a better understanding of gendered experiences, discriminatory processes and persisting hierarchies in the academic world.

While our focus is on gendered practices, we acknowledge the complex interrelationships of gender with multiple inequality structures, including class, race/ethnicity, age, sexuality and disability. Several chapters of this book directly address these cross-cutting mechanisms of subordination and discrimination. Building on both international comparisons and national case studies, the chapters contribute to a fine-grained analysis of the overall dynamics of the gendering of the academic world in the contemporary context. Situated in the legacy of feminist contributions to citizenship studies, the concept of *gendered academic citizenship* enables us to capture the multi-dimensional and complex power dynamics and everyday practices in academia. Before presenting our own conceptualisation of academic citizenship, we start with a brief review of the earlier contributions to the gendering of the citizenship concept.

Gendering the Citizenship Concept

Citizenship is a contested yet robust concept that has been the object of numerous projects of 'remaking' and 'gendering' (e.g. Hobson and Lister 2002; Lister 1997, 2000, 2007; Lister et al. 2007; Benhabib 2004; Abraham et al. 2010; Siim 2000; Yuval-Davis 2008; Yuval-Davis and Werbner 1999; Halsaa et al. 2012; Hobson 2000; Siim and Squires 2008; Roseneil 2013). Historically developed by political scientists in relation to membership of the Nation-state, the concept of citizenship has gradually become more interdisciplinary and multi-dimensional, capturing the dynamics of rights, obligations and belonging in a wide range of life domains.

As a concept, citizenship has roots that go far back in history, to ancient Greece, where it was established as a political ideal: political participation was considered a civic *duty* through which the citizens' 'full potential as a political being is realized' (Hobson and Lister 2002: 24). In the classical liberal tradition that developed during the seventeenth century, civil and political *rights* are considered to be the essence of citizenship, with the citizen seen essentially as a 'bearer of rights' (ibid.: 25).

Much of contemporary scholarship on citizenship has been inspired by the work of the British sociologist T. H. Marshall (1950), who expanded the liberal concept of citizenship beyond civil and political rights to include *social rights*. Marshall's notion of social citizenship included social and health services, education as well as social benefits and social insurance with the aim of reducing social (class) inequalities. He defined citizenship as 'a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community' (2000: 36). This understanding of citizenship involves not only legal rules

'governing the relationships between individuals and the state, but also a set of *social relationships* between […] individual citizens' (Lister 1997: 15, our emphasis).

The multi-dimensional potential in Marshall's thinking and its overall focus on membership and participation has inspired generations of feminist theorists who have advocated a broad definition of citizenship, recognising the multiple dimensions of membership (e.g. Yuval-Davis 1999; Halsaa et al. 2012). They often begin by noting that gender is absent from most of the traditional conceptualisations of citizenship (Walby 1994). It is a particular group of men (adult, white, heterosexual and able-bodied) in whose image the 'citizenship template has been forged' (Hobson and Lister 2002: 26). The male worker thus 'serves as the ideal typical citizen', while the gendered character of social rights and related claims on the State is often ignored (Orloff 1993: 308). Feminist scholarship has thus illuminated the ways in which citizenship developed as a quintessentially male practice, founded on the rigid separation of public and private spheres, a gendered division of labour, together with the 'male-female qualities associated with it' (Hobson and Lister 2002: 26). Thus, a key step in gendering citizenship is to acknowledge and theorise how the public and private spheres impact on each other and their 'interdependence' (Lister 2000: 46).

Feminist research has furthermore asserted that 'full and equal citizenship for women can only be achieved by extending notions of democracy from the traditional framework of parliamentary politics to both the workplace and the family' (Skjeie and Siim 2000: 351). The critical scholarship of citizenship progressively widened the focus on different spheres of society (political, economic, social as well as the 'private' domains of family and intimate relations), thus potentially opening up opportunities to reflect on the gendering of citizenship, through the 'symbiotic' processes of both *inclusion* and *exclusion* (Lister 1997) and a gendered analysis of *power relations* 'underpinning binary categories' (Lister 2000: 76).

In a previous international project entitled FEMCIT: *Gendered Citizenship in Multicultural Europe*, we developed a multi-dimensional, inclusive and extensive conceptualisation of citizenship, concerned with gender (but also sexual and racial) justice and equality, through the lens of rights, recognition and participation (Halsaa et al. 2012). The FEMCIT

project focussed on six interrelated dimensions of citizenship (political, social, economic, multicultural, bodily and intimate) and explored struggles for inclusion, recognition, autonomy and self-determination through empirical investigations. Central to this understanding of citizenship are feelings, experiences and narratives of being included and excluded, recognised and misrecognised (cf. Fraser 2003), heard and ignored, i.e. the practice of *lived citizenship* (Roseneil et al. 2012), a *lived practice* within different life spheres (e.g. Lister et al. 2007).

Critical contributions to the re-conceptualisation of citizenship have stressed the *double-edged* nature of the concept, addressing questions of inclusion and exclusion, and of citizenship as enforced 'from above' and as struggled for 'from below' (Lister et al. 2007; Strasser 2012; Nyhagen et al. 2012). As underlined by Isin and Turner (2007), 'citizenship is both a legal status that confers an identity on persons and a social status that determines how economic and cultural capital are *redistributed* and *recognized* within society' (ibid.: 14, emphasis original).

Citizenship may well serve as a 'passport' to rights and recognition, inclusion and belonging (Roseneil et al. 2012), but any study of such processes must also be concerned with *non-citizenship*, namely the absence of rights, the denial of responsibility, the lack of agency, non-participation and exclusion (ibid.: 5). Hierarchies do not only exist between 'citizens' and 'non-citizens', they also exist among the privileged citizens and within the excluded and marginalised non-citizen groups (e.g. Nyhagen et al. 2012). Thus, beyond a dichotomous opposition between full citizens and those subjects who are denied full incorporation into a national community (sometimes referred to as *denizens*, see Hammar 1990), scholars have insisted on the multiple, complex and ambiguous forms of partial or transient incorporation into a social entity—nation-state or organisational context—that many individuals are experiencing in todays' global environment. In this respect, the work of Brubaker (1989) makes a potentially fruitful contribution to citizenship studies, in so far as he recognises that the political, economic and social dimensions of citizenship do not necessarily combine in such a way as to create a coherent and universal set of rights, duties and sense of belonging for all members of a given social entity. Thus, any community commonly includes an 'inner circle', composed of full citizens, and an 'outer circle', composed of what Rogers Brubaker calls 'permanent resident aliens' (1989: 148). The latter can be entitled to a limited range

of social and political rights, but may nevertheless play a decisive role in shaping social norms and practices, despite their apparent marginality.

In this book, we build on these insights and propose a multi-dimensional and comprehensive understanding of citizenship as it is experienced in the academic world. Our concept of *gendered academic citizenship* embraces both structural and cultural elements, located in the context of national policies, organisational cultures and involving micro-political practices. It enables us to analyse various gendered processes across HERIs, in and at the margins of Europe, as well as the day-to-day experiences of the individuals who work there.

Academic Citizenship

We propose that 'academic citizenship' is a suitable concept to study processes of inclusion, exclusion and participation patterns in HERIs and scientific communities more widely. However, this implies considerable expansion of existing uses of this concept where academic citizenship is often used to refer to the contributions that academics make to their scientific and academic communities, beyond the core tasks of teaching and research (Shils 1997; Macfarlane 2007a, b). A classic essay in the field, *The Academic Ethic*, by Edward Shils (1997) connects academic citizenship with 'membership' of the academic community and identifies it as an obligation that is complementary to teaching and research tasks. In an attempt to provide tools to 'recognize and reward' academic citizenship, Bruce Macfarlane and Damon Burg adopt a broader definition. According to them:

> Academic citizenship consists of a very wide variety of activities, such as personal tutoring of students, mentoring colleagues, serving on university committees, undertaking leadership and management roles within the university, acting as a peer reviewer for an academic journal or funding body, working as an external examiner, organising a conference for a professional or academic society, editing a journal, or serving on a public committee of enquiry. These are just examples of the breadth of work, both within and without the university, undertaken by academics. (Macfarlane and Burg 2018: 3)

They argue that the attitudes and activities associated with academic citizenship are central to institutional success and thus should be framed

as a positive behavioural norm and be recognised and rewarded. The mapping of recruitment policies of selected HERIs result in the acknowledgement of the need for a comprehensive definition and positive framing of the concept of academic citizenship (Macfarlane and Burg 2018).

Other studies use the notion of 'academic citizenship' in relation to individual practices and attitudes within HERIs. For example, Petrella and Gore (2013: 115) use the term 'organizational citizenship behaviour' to describe 'discretionary behaviour that promotes the efficiency of an organization'. They further observe that: 'Men are more likely to engage in behaviour that promotes themselves, whereas women feel they must be modest if they engage in citizenship behaviour' (ibid.: 116). A correlation has also been observed between 'helping behaviour' and positive feelings of well-being at work (Coldwell et al. 2016: 20). Affirming that the concept of academic citizenship is underdeveloped, these authors emphasise the need for further investigation of the 'lived experiences' of academics in different organisational and cultural contexts (Coldwell et al. 2016: 22). These studies also point to potentially gendered variations in feelings of entitlement, agency and attitudes to self-promotion, which may help to better understand the gendered aspects of the inclusionary and exclusionary processes at work in the academic labour market.

In their study of the gender practices in the recruitment of early-career researchers, Channah Herschberg, Yvonne Benschop and Marieke van den Brink (2019) use the term 'academic citizenship' to describe a 'tacit selection criteria' that exists alongside confidence, commitment and international mobility, which is associated with being a 'collaborative team player' (ibid.: 117). These authors argue that many committee members consider scientific excellence and teamwork as mutually exclusive qualities and believe that female applicants generally 'have better relational skills and are more prone to collaboration' than their male counterparts (Herschberg et al.: 136). However, although women tend to be ranked higher on the criterion of academic citizenship than men, this does not necessarily increase their chances of being selected for a stable academic position, since 'good academic citizenship' is clearly valued below 'excellence' in the current HERI environment.

From a public policy perspective, there is also a growing concern that 'academic citizenship', understood as the performance of 'invisible' but 'essential' tasks, such as organising conferences, peer review, writing references, mentoring and pastoral care, may be 'under strain', in a careerist academy with increasing pressures on time-resources (Havergal 2015).

The concept of 'academic citizenship' adopted in this book is not limited to the assigning of institutional duties and responsibilities to individual academics, nor to analysing the unequal attribution of such academic 'dirty work' (Anderson 2000) or 'housework' (Heijstra et al. 2017). While fully acknowledging the possibility of gender bias in the distribution of undervalued academic roles, especially 'student service' (cf. Macfarlane 2007b), we advocate a more comprehensive approach to academic citizenship. Inspired by the legacy of feminist contributions to citizenship studies outlined above, our definition of academic citizenship is concerned with the gendered distribution of power, recognition and resources, within and across institutional settings and employment categories and participants' experience of this. This analytical framing of academic citizenship is in line with an integrated concern for both redistribution and recognition. Our approach is as attentive to gender-specific forms of distributive injustice as it is to the misrecognition of everything coded as 'feminine' (Fraser 2007: 26).

Gender Inequalities in Academia

In this book, we argue that the concept of *gendered academic citizenship* provides a useful tool for unpicking the mechanisms and social processes behind the gender inequalities that appear in many statistical studies of women's careers and status within HERIs. For example, according to the latest edition of the European Commission's survey of women in science:

> There are striking imbalances between the number of women and men at the highest levels of academia in the great majority of EU countries. The overall numbers of women and their ratios to those of men in senior academic and decision-making positions are much lower than what would be expected given the growing numbers of women among higher education graduates in recent decades (European Commission 2019: 116).

The same report underlines the gender differences in working conditions and salaries: Across the EU, women researchers earned on average 17% less than their men colleagues and this gap was found to widen with age (European Commission 2019: 6). Furthermore, 8.1% of women (as against 5.2% of men) researchers worked under insecure contract arrangements considered as precarious employment (ibid.).

Table 1.1 provides an overview of the skewed distribution of women within the academic hierarchy, across a selected range of countries which are discussed in different chapters of this book. In 2016, women represented less than a quarter of the higher grade academic staff in most European countries, with some exceptions in the former Socialist member states, like Bulgaria. However, these national averages mask significant variation in the structure of academic labour markets, within and between countries, making meaningful international comparisons difficult (Le Feuvre 2009; Le Feuvre et al. 2019).

Firstly, there are substantial differences in the proportion of women in Grade A positions within a single country, according to the disciplinary field. Thus, for example, in Norway, women represent 33% of professors in the Humanities, but only 16% in the Natural Sciences (European

Table 1.1 Proportion of female academic staff by grade, selected countries[a]

Country	*Grade A*		*Grade B*		*Grade C*		*Grade D*	
	2013	*2016*	*2013*	*2016*	*2013*	*2016*	*2013*	*2016*
Belgium	15.6	18.3	30.1	30.4	35.8	37.5	48.3	48.5
Bulgaria	31.7	36.6	43.3	45.7	:	:	54.6	54.2
Denmark	19.2	20.7	31.2	33.2	42.9	42.9	50.7	53.1
Estonia	17.2	24.3	37.1	:	56.6	:	66.6	:
EU-28	20.9	23.7	37.1	40.5	45.1	46.4	46.9	46.9
Germany	17.3	19.4	22.8	25.6	28.8	44.1	42.9	43.2
Hungary	24.1	20.1	39.8	32.8	39.6	44.5	43.7	42.2
Ireland[b]	28.2	20.6	42.3	34.2	48.7	48.9	46.9	:
Norway	25.2	27.9	41.0	45.6	51.0	49.6	56.8	57.1
Spain	20.9	21.3	39.5	42.4	48.9	48.4	51.0	48.8
Sweden	23.8	25.4	44.8	45.8	45.8	45.7	50.0	49.7
Switzerland	19.3	23.3	29.3	33.9	38.5	41.5	41.5	43.6
Turkey (2010)	28	:	35	:	48	:		

[a]The categories used in *SHE Figures* are defined as follows: Grade A: The highest post at which research is conducted (Professorships); Grade B: All research positions which are not as senior as the top position (A) but more senior than the newly qualified PhD holder (Associate Professors or Senior Lecturers in most national contexts); Grade C: The first post into which a newly qualified PhD graduate would normally be recruited; Grade D: Postgraduate students/researchers not yet holding a PhD (European Commission 2019: 190)

[b]The apparent reduction in the proportion of women in Grade A positions in Ireland between 2013 and 2016 reflects the fact that in 2013 associate professorships were included in the Grade A category. In 2016 there was a reversion to the established practice of including only full professorial positions in that category

Source: European Commission (2013, 2016, 2019)

Commission 2019: Annex 6.2, p. 133 our calculation). The picture is similar in Austria, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland.

Secondly, there is a great deal of international variation in the relative chances of reaching a Grade A position within different national contexts. This is related to the structure of academic labour markets, which are not all 'bottom heavy' to the same extent (Le Feuvre et al. 2019: 58). Thus, for example, in Iceland, Grade A professors represent 45.6% of the male academic workforce, and 27.5% of the female academic workforce, whereas the equivalent figures are just 8.3% and 2.9% in Germany (European Commission 2016: 132).

Thirdly, the structure of academic careers, the normative rhythm of progressing through the ranks and the criteria for advancement have been shown to vary considerably, between countries and across disciplinary fields (Le Feuvre et al. 2019). It is therefore possible that the intensity and timing of the trends currently affecting academic labour markets (e.g. managerialism, marketisation, massification, etc.) may vary across the range of countries studied in this book. Likewise, we would expect that national specificities in the diffusion of neo-liberal principles (Enders and Musselin 2008) may produce quite different experiences of gendered academic citizenship across time and place (Le Feuvre et al. 2019).

While each academic system is embedded in its own national traditions, we believe that the notion of *gendered academic citizenship* makes an original and fruitful contribution to a rich and flourishing field of research on gender segregation and hierarchies in HERIs. In the following subsection, we briefly review a selection of literature on gendered processes in academia pertaining to our conceptualization of academic citizenship. We differentiate between three analytically distinct but interrelated levels of analysis: the systemic, organizational and individual/interactional (O'Connor et al. 2015), which are the focus of the following chapters.

Systemic Level: Neo-liberalism, Internationalisation, Managerialism, Academic Capitalism

The systemic level identifies the policy and structural context within which academic citizenship is located. A number of interrelated concepts have been used to describe that context. The most over-arching is 'neo-liberalism', which has been defined as a 'theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can be advanced by liberating individual economic freedoms and skills within an institutional

framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade' (Harvey 2005: 2). Thus, neo-liberalism involves a focus on market type mechanisms and competition, the commodification of services, an entrepreneurial culture and a blurring of public/private boundaries (Shepherd 2018). It has become an increasingly common ideology across Western societies and has been applied to a wide range of public services. In the case of HERIs, neo-liberalism involves a reduction in state funding, a focus on enterprise and income generation, combined with increasing privatisation, a depiction of the purpose of education and research as meeting socio-economic needs, a focus on students as customers and an increasing casualisation of academic staff (Lynch et al. 2012; Lynch 2006; Shepherd 2018).

'Internationalisation' is another *grand discourse* dominating the current debates on higher education and research (Herschberg et al. 2018). It frequently focuses on the attraction of international students and staff in a context where universities face increasing competition and use international students as revenue generators to replace state funding. Within the managerialist rhetoric, the internationalisation of student and staff recruitment is promoted as an 'unconditionally good' practice (Morley et al. 2018). Likewise, the geographical mobility of staff and students is generally seen as unambiguously positive. In a recent study analysing the opportunity structures of academic mobility, Louise Morley and her colleagues emphasise the 'less romantic side of mobility', which is mainly felt through the experience of 'otherness' (2018: 550). Their research also demonstrates that mobility is not an option for everyone and that the 'gendered, sexualised and racialised constraints on freedom of movement' (ibid: 546) are often ignored.

Internationalisation can also refer to a concern with the university's positioning on global ranking systems (Hazelkorn 2015, 2018)—a positioning influenced by research-related metrics, as well as by the presence of international students and staff. The marketisation of academic and research activities have imposed an 'academic enterprise model' with consequences for the type of knowledge produced and the way knowledge is produced (Bozzon et al. 2019: 18).

The prioritisation of research and the fostering of competition in all areas of academic work undermine the notion of the university as a collective entity and pose fundamental challenges to academic citizenship. The research fields, methods and approaches that are prioritised are often defined according to a 'neoliberal policy doxa' and these criteria

then permeate the 'structures, discourses and values of the university' (Blackmore 2014: 86). Thus, research assessment and ranking procedures reproduce old disciplinary hierarchies, favouring the male-dominated natural sciences over the more feminised humanities (Blackmore 2014; Steinthorsdóttir et al. 2018).

There is a consensus that principles of managerialism have permeated HERIs in Western societies (e.g. Deem et al. 2008; O'Connor 2014; Acker and Wagner 2019) and that 'New Managerialism' represents 'the organisational arm of neoliberalism' Lynch (2014: 1). While recognising blurred boundaries with related concepts such as neoliberalism and academic capitalism, Shepherd (2018) identifies some key elements in managerialism, including increased control and regulation of academic work by managers and a perceived shift in authority from academics to managers. In the HERI sector, the spread of managerialism has been described as involving: 'increasing financial constraints, processes of differentiation within massified higher education systems, demands for accountability and responsiveness to societal needs, market-like approaches to higher education, and rising international co-operation and competition' (Enders and Musselin 2008: 14).

The concept of 'academic capitalism' denotes 'market-like behaviour' referring to the processes of commercialisation, financialisation, internationalisation and increased competition for external funding (Collyer 2015; Jessop 2018). Academic capitalism is thus an outcome of the 'interplay between neoliberalism, globalisation, markets and universities' (O'Hagan et al. 2019: 206). It is an internally differentiated and contested concept, involving different stages and mechanisms, mobilising different discourses in different national contexts (Ferree and Zippel 2015).

A recurring argument in the studies focusing on this macro-level regulation of academic institutions is that these processes reproduce gendered hierarchies and further contribute to a 're-masculinization of the academy' (Thornton 2013: 128). However, illustrating the interweaving of the systemic, organisational and interactional levels, the ways academics 'have internalized academic capitalism as a regulatory mechanism' (or not) need to be explored (O'Hagan et al. 2019: 219). Academic capitalism indeed effectively works through 'the languages of love, flexibility and productivity' (Mannevuo 2016: 86). Academics are not located outside the system; they are active players in creating, maintaining and (potentially) resisting it. As Collyer (2015: 315) also underlines, further work is needed to

theorise why academics adopt or resist market behaviours and 'become involved or co-opted into these new organisational arrangements'.

Although at first glance, the wider neo-liberal, managerial and academic capitalist context appears gender neutral, it clearly has implications for *gendered academic citizenship* (e.g. Kahlert 2018). Studies focusing on the explicit relationship between 'New Academic Governance' and gender underline that: 'neo-liberalism is not essentially male, but it has reinforced asymmetrical power relations and the male dominance of the research economy by valuing and rewarding the areas and activities in which certain men traditionally succeed' (Morley 2018: 34). There are growing concerns about the ways that neo-liberal managerialist practices threaten academic freedom in general and feminist academics in particular (Taylor and Lahad 2018). The gendered repercussions of academic capitalism constitute a major focus of this book.

Organisational Level: The Hegemony of Gender-Neutral Constructions

Here the attention is on organisational structures, cultures and practices. This includes the organisation of formal positions and related career paths; as well as the procedures and criteria involved in academic recruitment and promotion procedures. Organisational culture has been used to refer to a complicated fabric of management myths, values, stereotypes and practices that legitimise the differential evaluation of activities, and/or of categories of people (O'Connor 1996). Organisations are characterised by inequalities, that is 'systematic disparities between participants in power and control over goals, resources, and outcomes' as well as 'in respect and pleasures in work relations' (Acker 2009: 202).

In line with previous feminist research, we see academic organisations as being inherently gendered:

> To say that an organization, or any other analytic unit, is gendered means that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine. (Acker 1990: 146)

In this context, we understand hegemonic masculine structures as patterns of practices that allow male dominance and sustain gendered

hierarchies, subordinating both feminine traits *and* alternative masculinities (cf. Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Obviously, individual women and men may contribute to the reproduction of these hegemonic masculine structures, but they are also potentially restricted and harmed by them.

Building on Joan Acker's classical theorisation of gendered organisations as involving constructions of the disembodied, abstract worker that marginalise women, recent studies have demonstrated how the constructions of an 'ideal academic' display hegemonic masculine traits:

> The ideal academic does not have time for work/life balance; work/work is what is demanded. If this paragon has children, someone else is expected to take responsibility for them. (Thornton 2013: 138)

The culture of male-dominated organisations is frequently underpinned by stereotypes that legitimise the gendered allocation of devalued activities (such as undergraduate teaching, course administration and pastoral care) to women, thus normalising their positions at the lower levels of the hierarchy and portraying managerial jobs as primarily masculine (Bagilhole 2002; Benschop and Brouns 2003). Women's 'excessive' engagement in such activities is simultaneously seen as the reason for their stalled or truncated career advancement, since these activities are devalued in a managerialist context (Angervall and Beach 2018). Other gender stereotypes have also been identified. For example, Lund (2015: 139) argues that the Finnish academic context is dominated by 'the discourse of competitive performance', with eligibility as an 'ideal academic' necessitating the display of masculine traits involving 'entrepreneurialism, informalism and careerism'. Similarly, Ivancheva and her colleagues argue that the moral imperative on women to care effects female academics disproportionately as the 'ideal academic' is constructed by the 'masculinist care-free norms of hypermobility and 24/7 availability' (Ivancheva et al. 2019: 459).

The need to perform has become an inescapable dimension of governmentality in HERIs. In the context of competitive commodification of academic activities, everything needs to be visible and calculable: 'If there is no "output" the activity is discounted' (Thornton 2013: 132). The 'good academic citizen' is increasingly depicted as the 'effective market competitor' (Morley 2018: 21). This has critical implications for the status

and allocation of institutional activities, such as routine teaching (particularly at undergraduate level), pastoral care of students, mentoring and course administration.

'Excellence' is the dominant logic in managerialist academic organisations and is linked to the masculinised discourses of 'meritocracy' underpinning recruitment and career progression decisions, which tend to reproduce hegemonic structures of inequality. The 'myth of meritocratic impartiality' asserts that gender is irrelevant during academic evaluation processes (van den Brink and Benschop 2011: 509). Recent research findings from various European countries, however, show that academia is not a 'pure meritocracy' and that the criteria for academic success are still highly coded in masculine terms (e.g. Nielsen 2015, 2016; Husu and de Cheveigné 2010; O'Connor and O'Hagan 2016). Excellence is still typically presented as an objective standard against which individual profiles can be assessed, despite the fact that there is no agreement on what it actually means (see, for example, Campbell 2018; O'Connor and O'Hagan 2016; Montez-Lopez and O'Connor 2019, and Chapter 2 in this volume). It is thus appropriate to depict excellence as 'essentially contested', since even actors involved in constructing Research Excellence Indicators at the level of the European Commission identify it as a 'value-laden concept' (Ferretti et al. 2018).

Masculinised constructions of excellence have consequences for the allocation of academic opportunities (Rees 2011; Śliwa and Johansson 2014; Husu and de Cheveigné 2010). There is an increasing concern that it is mostly *senior male* academics who are able to define 'academic excellence'. The concepts of meritocracy and academic excellence thus contribute to a reproduction of gendered inequalities in the academic system (e.g. Rees 2011; Montez-Lopez and O'Connor 2019).

To summarise, these neo-liberal transformations create a new 'academic governance', which goes hand in hand with the 'implementation of managerialist tools, such as target agreements, rankings and evaluations; the demand for scientific excellence and its measurements; and the marketisation of knowledge production' (Kahlert 2018: 2), and this has significant gendered consequences.

Individual/Interactional Level: Micro-Politics of Academic Interactions

Micro-politics refer to the ways in which 'power is relayed in everyday practices' (Morley 2000: 232). Micropolitical practices in academia refer to: 'actions, relations and perceptions which reflect the operation of informal power and which are seen to impact on academic recruitment/progression' (O'Connor et al. 2017: 4). They include those practices that actually or potentially facilitate men's careers, such as discriminatory workload allocation, skewed sponsorship and biased selection criteria (see Chapter 2 in this volume for details). They affect differential access to positions, but also to research funding, positive student evaluations of teaching and citation levels (Vettese 2019). Such practices are often reflective of in-group, homosocial behaviour, as well as more subtle interactions that 'play a role by shaping different senses of entitlement' (Ridgeway 1997: 229). Since pioneering feminist analysis of the role of homosocial reproduction in constraining the opportunities available for women (Kanter 1977), researchers have tried to identify how such in-group factors, such as access to resources and self-esteem, help men advance faster in their career. Vettese (2019) has suggested that the key underlying factors include men's preference for men, scepticism about women's abilities, and a kind of vanity or self-importance, which is reflected, for example, in men's much greater likelihood to self-cite (Dion et al. 2018).

In addition to those practices that facilitate men's access to academic positions, studies also show that women encounter specific 'gender-based stressors' in academia, which can be defined as 'microaggressions' (Blithe 2019). These microaggressions can be verbal or nonverbal, implicit or explicit, communicative acts that demean, insult and discriminate against people from marginalised groups (Sue 2010, cited in Blithe 2019: 3). They include devaluation/denigration, exclusion/marginalisation, physical or verbal abuse, scientific sabotage and sexual harassment (O'Connor et al. 2017; Naezer et al. 2019, see also Chapter 7 in this volume). Microaggressions are challenging to address as people are often unaware of their own bias towards a group (Blithe 2019). Stereotypes and biases prevail at institutional and individual levels and disadvantage across different distinctions: gender, class, race/ethnicity, age, disability and sexual orientation.

As a comprehensive review of studies on implicit bias concludes, the existence of implicit biases with respect to race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, social status and other distinctions is 'beyond reasonable doubt' (Jost et al. 2009: 42). It is increasingly documented that 'implicit' bias influences academic evaluations and is a key challenge to the meritocratic principle and thus to women's academic careers. A recent Advice Paper, compiled by the League of European Research Universities concludes:

> There is ample evidence that implicit bias is a (if not the) major cause of less favourable assessment of women's academic capacities in research, teaching and leadership. This bias is present in access to resources, especially research funding and salaries, and positions of power. (LERU 2018: 19)

Analysing a comprehensive dataset of publication records and job positions at US Universities, Weisshaar (2017) found that evaluation bias was the leading culprit for women's lower promotion rates. Overly scrutinising women's work, including questioning women's intellectual autonomy (see Chapters 3 and 4 in this volume) and research contributions (Ahlqvist et al. 2013) are just some examples of 'subtle gender processes that can culminate in different evaluations of academic women compared to men' (Weisshaar 2017: 556). The classic study by Wenneras and Wold (1997) identified gender bias and nepotism as crucially important in the allocation of medical research funding in Sweden. A key finding of that study was that female applicants had to be 2.5 times more productive than the average male applicant to receive an equivalent competence score (ibid.: 3).

Despite good intentions and a commitment to fairness, both men and women are likely to undervalue women's accomplishments (European Commission 2012). In an experimental study, Moss-Racusin and her colleagues (2012) found that, when presented with identical CVs, both male and female evaluators favoured appointing the male candidate and at a higher salary than the supposedly female candidate. Other studies have also shown that identical academic resumes were evaluated differently, with the ostensibly male candidates having a significantly higher chance of receiving the job offer (Mervis 2012). In an in-depth qualitative study from the U.S., Monroe and her colleagues (2008) identified the processes by which women's work is devalued through both overt discrimination (including sexual harassment) and subtle institutional and cultural forms of discrimination, arguing that: 'work or positions once

deemed powerful and conferring high status frequently become devalued as women increasingly take on these roles' (Monroe et al. 2008: 230).

The misrecognition of women has also been demonstrated in the tendency for women researchers to be allocated less funding than their male counterparts (O'Connor and Fauve-Chamoux 2016; Vettese 2019). Recent studies continue to document the existence of the 'Matilda effect' identified by Rossiter (1993), denoting the systematic *under-recognition* of female scientists, with publications from male authors being associated with greater scientific quality, particularly if the topic is male-typed (Knobloch-Westerwick et al. 2013: 619). If it is not male-typed, then the topic (or indeed the discipline) is likely to be marginalised and devalued, thus implicitly diminishing the value of women's scientific contributions (Vettese 2019, see also Chapter 4 in this volume).

Summarising about 30 years of research in psychology and sociology on gender stereotypes and biased evaluations, Correll (2017) identified four primary mechanisms by which stereotypes depress the rating of women. Firstly, women are subjected to a *higher bar*, requiring more evidence than men to be seen as qualified. Secondly, women experience *extra scrutiny* of their accomplishments, including self-imposed scrutiny, as women tend to judge their own research more critically (Ramos et al. 2015). Thirdly, gendered stereotypes lead to *shifting criteria* where evaluators more heavily weight the criteria evidenced in men. And, finally, stereotypes often lead to a *double bind* in which judgements of competence and likability are negatively correlated for women, but not for men (Correll 2017: 729–730).

Another key factor operating at the interactional level is academic networking. There is a vast amount of research analysing the role of networks in career development and their differential impact on men and women. A general finding is that men have more access to higher status networks while women experience barriers to networking (e.g. Ibarra et al. 2010). A comprehensive study looking into gendered academic networking showed how gatekeepers influence professional recruitment, thus perpetuating gender inequalities (van den Brink and Benschop 2014). Using the notion of 'mobilizing masculinities' van den Brink and Benschop show how both men and women gatekeepers prefer the male candidates that resemble the proven 'masculine success model' (2014: 476). The authors conclude that the lack of awareness of routinised gender practices in accounts of networking is an important explanation for the persistence of academic gender inequalities (2014: 487).

A recent comparative study documented that women in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) tend to lack access to senior academic sponsors, other than their PhD supervisor or their head of department. Furthermore, the failure to differentiate mentoring from sponsorship has further obscured men's indirect advantages since they are more likely to be sponsored, and with considerably greater effect, while women are more likely to be mentored (O'Connor et al. 2019).

Overall, research on gender inequality in higher education from different contexts has documented the multi-level and interrelated factors that reproduce and maintain hegemonic structures of inequality, with gendered implications.

Gendered Academic Citizenship

Inspired by feminist theories of citizenship, and by the evidence emerging from this selective review of literature on gender inequalities, we propose the concept of *gendered academic citizenship* as a framework that is well-equipped to capture the multi-dimensional and complex dynamics of power relations and everyday practices in academia. To our knowledge, only a handful of previous studies have focussed on the gendered aspects of academic citizenship as outlined earlier. One recent study (O'Keefe and Courtois 2019) analyses the increasingly precarious nature of academic jobs from a citizenship perspective. These authors argue that, in the Irish context, women disproportionately perform the most exploited forms of academic work and thus have a status similar to that of 'domestic workers' in relation to their tenured colleagues. This predominantly female precarious workforce faces insecurity, poverty and economic dependence and its' members are: 'subordinated and controlled by webs of power that strip them of respect and recognition in relation to work and legal status, decision-making and social realms' (O'Keefe and Courtois 2019: 26). As a result, female academics, and particularly those in the early stages of an academic career, risk becoming 'non-citizens' of the academy, since they lack access to the basic rights of tenured 'academic citizens'. O'Keefe and Courtois further argue that attempts to understand the gendered nature of citizenship in academia 'must look downward, not upward, to the ranks of the precarious academics' (ibid.). This call echoes previous studies of 'non-citizenship', defined as a heterogeneous category of social membership in its own right, which is characterised by the experience of vulnerability (Tonkiss and Bloom 2015: 849). Our approach to

academic citizenship looks both upward and downward, including women at varying levels of the academic hierarchy, focusing on relations of power within different employment statuses.

In the light of the feminist contribution to citizenship studies outlined above, we understand academic citizenship as involving three key components: **membership** (yielding certain *rights* and *duties*); **recognition** (yielding *power, voice* and *respect*) and **belonging** (yielding a sense of *identity, entitlement and 'fitting in'*). This framework enables us to analyse the subtle processes and complex practices of inclusion and exclusion, privilege and discrimination, reward, recognition and denigration, and the ideologies that legitimate those processes and practices in the academic context.

The membership component of academic citizenship is mainly related to formal work contracts of individual academics and a key differentiation is the one between permanent and temporary employment contracts. It is related both to the systemic level which defines workers' rights and obligations as well as to the specificities of their articulation in the organisational context. Recognition is not solely linked to the formal employment status, but more to the organisational level, involving the field of expertise, possibilities of influencing key processes and decision-making within specific HERIs. This dimension also refers to the level of respect and acknowledgement academics receive from management, colleagues and students. The belonging dimension of gendered academic citizenship denotes a sense of being part of an academic society; the feeling of being 'at home' and fitting into a particular institution and to a broader academic community.

Based on these components, we identify four *ideal-types* of academic citizenship: **full citizenship, limited citizenship, transitional citizenship** and **non-citizenship**.

1. Full academic citizenship is granted to a core of tenured academics who are usually employed on a permanent and full-time basis, paid relatively well compared to other members of the academic community, while enjoying a range of social citizenship entitlements, such as parental leave, sick leave and pension schemes. Full academic citizens score high with respect to membership, recognition and belonging. These academics often have a linear career path and are able to define, to a certain extent, the core values of the academic community and the nature

of valued knowledge. They are able to participate in decision-making fora and experience recognition and a sense of belonging. In line with the feminist citizenship literature outlined above, there is clearly a potential for hierarchy, marginalisation and inequality within this group. Thus, for example, female tenured academics may be devalued as women; departmental micro-politics may result in their exclusion from certain reward systems; their access to competitive research funding may be limited if they do not comply to the 'standards of excellence' that are largely based on the most wide-spread research practices in male-dominated fields (Steinthorsdóttir et al. 2018). Hence, on the basis of gender or other intersectional criteria, tenure does not necessarily imply equal access to full citizenship. The internal hierarchies are based on organisational structures and cultures, and the experience of 'lived citizenship' cannot be presumed to equate with a job title or pay-scale.

2. Limited academic citizenship is associated with institutional positions that are generally less prestigious and rewarding than those of the full academic citizens, with lower salaries and associated benefits, poorer promotion prospects and less voice in institutional decision-making processes. Compared to full citizenship, limited academic citizenship implies reduced recognition and sense of belonging—akin to a second-class citizenship. The power inequalities associated with this status are reflected in limited influence on the professional ethos of the academic community, leaving those who occupy these positions potentially disillusioned and disadvantaged. The presence of those who have limited academic citizenship is critical to the self-definition and functioning of full citizens. A managerialist focus on global rankings and prestigious research publications play a key role in differentiating between those who are on the 'inner track' as compared with those who are in career cul-de-sacs or 'mommy tracks', with teaching and pastoral care being overwhelmingly allocated to the latter. This has consequences for feelings of inclusion and belonging, as well as for recognition and voice and opportunities for attaining full citizenship. Women are likely to be the majority of those in positions that offer a parallel and partial form of belonging to the academic community (see Chapter 4).

3. Transitional (or 'probationary') academic citizenship occurs at a specific point in the career trajectory and is experienced by those early-career academics who aspire to an academic career (and associated full citizenship rights), but who are currently located on the periphery of

academic institutions (see Chapter 3 in this volume for more details). These 'early-career' academics are faced with intense competition for access to a stable academic position, and they run the very real risk of becoming trapped in a limited academic citizenship status or of being relegated to non-citizenship. Due to the numerical expansion in postdoc positions and the imbalance between PhD holders and the availability of permanent academic positions, all aspiring academics are now expected to pass through an early academic career stage following their PhD defence. The unpredictable postdoc period provides transient membership of the academic community and limited recognition. As developed further in Chapter 3 of this volume, transitional or probationary citizenship involves particular forms of subordination, both to individual academics or university departments and neo-managerial indicators of academic performance. This ideal-type is also potentially internally differentiated by gender and other power relations, since the duration of the probationary period and the chances of a favourable outcome are coloured by the structural and organisational characteristics of HERIs through which these aspiring academic citizens progress, but also by the broader gender culture of the societal context in which they are embedded.

4. Non-citizenship we have chosen to label the fourth and final form of academic involvement **non-citizenship**. Those in this category lack even basic entitlements and citizenship rights. Non-citizens score low on all the three dimensions of membership, recognition and belonging. They are allowed to work in the organisation but are effectively treated as disposable 'hands and minds'. They are the *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers) or 'permanent resident aliens' (Brubaker 1989: 148) of the academic community, whose contribution to undervalued work such as teaching is critical, but who are individually considered as marginal, transient and disposable. This form of academic citizenship is offered to those who are in casual hourly paid work or on precarious short-term contracts, with relatively low wages, little social protection or employment rights (Murgia and Poggio 2018). Non-citizens have only scant career prospects and no voice in decision-making structures. Their work is essential to the functioning of the institution, but they are organisationally invisible and substitutable. We argue that such non-citizens in the academic world are structurally most vulnerable to abuses of power, as they struggle with marginalisation and a low sense of belonging. Again, this is not an undifferentiated category, as it is fraught with its' own internal hierarchies.

The gender profile of each of these ideal-types of citizenship in any particular HERI is open to empirical investigation. Neo-liberal and managerialist pressures have fostered the increased presence of academics who are transitional or non-citizens and thus have precarious positions (Ivancheva et al. 2019; Bozzon et al. 2019). From a demographic point of view: '[the growth in] academic employment over the past fifty years […] has affected all levels of the academic occupational hierarchy, but has often been more spectacular at the junior levels (PhD candidates, postdocs) than amongst tenured professors, leading to a widening of the base of the occupational pyramid' (Le Feuvre et al. 2019: 55). As a consequence of neo-liberalism and managerialism, it would appear that the number and proportion of *non-citizens* within the workforce of most academic institutions is currently growing. Several studies point at the rise in precarious academic employment and a deep polarisation 'between elite permanent academics and a reserve army of teaching and research staff with hyper-flexible contracts' (Ivancheva et al. 2019: 449).

These demographic and organisational changes have implications for gendered academic citizenship on a global scale. The following chapters of the book will take up and discuss academic citizenship practices and their gendered repercussions in a range of national contexts.

Content of the Book

The chapters of this book focus on rights, entitlements and processes of inclusion and exclusion, recognition and denigration, privilege and discrimination with consequences for *membership, recognition and belonging* in a range of academic contexts. They all consider the gendered processes and practices operating within these forms of academic citizenship, as well as the conditions and consequences of transition from one ideal-type to another. The specific practices we focus on include the stereotypically gendered construction of the full academic citizen, the criteria used in assessing excellence and the micropolitical practices that operate within HERIs, potentially marginalising women and perpetuating male privilege.

The following chapters provide both in-depth analyses of national case studies and cross-national research findings. The book offers a combination of 'top down' analyses of policies and structures that construct academic citizenship with 'bottom up' qualitative studies of lived academic citizenship (cf. Halsaa et al. 2012). Our comparative

approach is sensitive to both similarities and differences across national contexts.

The different chapters of the book provide comprehensive reviews of the relevant research literature, present new and in-depth empirical data analysed in light of macro-trends and systemic factors and thus provide original insights into the dynamics of gendered academic citizenship across and within different national contexts.

As outlined above, our approach to academic citizenship is not only concerned with the formal procedures and gendered patterns, but also the informal and invisible processes and academics' perception of these issues—namely the experiences of *lived academic citizenship*. To explore academic's lived citizenship experiences, we rely mainly on different types of qualitative data (personal and focus group interviews), interpreted in light of macro-level statistics and structural changes.

The book presents findings from research conducted in fifteen countries: **Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey**. These countries exemplify different welfare-, gender- and academic regimes, with diverse HERI systems (Sümer 2016; Le Feuvre 2015). This scope enables us to map and analyse trans-national trends as well as local processes. Four of these countries (Norway, Switzerland, Hungary and Turkey) are studied widely in different chapters of the book through in-depth case studies, while others feature in broader studies, receiving less detailed analysis of their specific national contexts. Chapter 2 provides comparative data from three international studies involving nine European countries. Chapter 3 provides an in-depth analysis of the Swiss case. Chapter 4 focuses on the Norwegian case. Chapter 5 presents qualitative data from Bulgaria, Denmark, Ireland and Turkey. Chapter 6 focuses on Hungary and Chapter 7 presents an analysis of the Turkish case. Data sets from two EU-funded international projects feature in several of the Chapters: Chapter 3 develops an innovative analysis of data gathered in the course of the *GARCIA (Gendering the Academy and Research)* project, while Chapters 2 and 5 provide new insights from data collected during the FESTA (*Female Empowerment in Science and Technology Academia*) project.

Chapter 2, authored by Pat O'Connor, focuses on the concept of 'academic excellence' analysing its repercussions for academic citizenship. It challenges assumptions about the universal and objective nature of excellence and highlights the importance of informal power relations in the

definition of 'excellence' as a meritocratic metric. Based on data from three empirical studies, O'Connor identifies four micropolitical practices in relation to 'academic excellence', including: procedural subversion and selective gender blindness; gendered devaluation and stereotypes; relational practices involving sponsorship by individual power holders and, finally, inbreeding favouring 'insiders'. Micropolitical practices reflect the operation of informal power and arise in a context where constructions of excellence are neither as universal nor as objective as they are depicted. The chapter highlights variation in the constructions of excellence with consequences for access to various kinds of academic citizenship and for membership, recognition and belonging (or non-belonging) experiences of individual academics. The chapter emphasizes that academic citizens are not de-gendered automatons that exist outside informal power, but agents with identities and interests who engage in everyday practices to advance their own agendas. It also demonstrates that academic evaluation is a social process involving micropolitical practices.

Chapter 3, authored by Nicky Le Feuvre, Pierre Bataille and Marie Sautier, analyses the academic citizenship experiences of postdoctoral researchers in the Swiss context. Adopting the notion of 'probationary citizenship', the authors provide new insights into the contradictory expectations placed on early-career academics, together with an analysis of their implications for the gendering of academic citizenship more generally. In the Swiss context, the transitional status of a large number of postdocs offers a variety of potential outcomes in the form of relatively stable positions that involve a combination of teaching, research and administrative tasks, but that are not designed to enable subsequent progression to a tenured professorship (and thus to *limited* or eventually to *full academic citizenshi*p) or alternatively to *non-citizenship*, in the form of voluntary or involuntary exit from the academic career structure and labour market. Within this framework, the authors identify one of the core aspects of the postdoc experience that has been relatively undocumented earlier; namely the 'divergent prescriptions' male and female postdocs face at different stages of a typical academic career path, and consequently divergent experiences of membership and recognition.

Chapter 4 directs attention to a Nordic country and analyses the specific problems that women academics encounter in a national context which tops the international rankings of gender equality, namely Norway. The authors, Gry Brandser and Sevil Sümer reflect on this paradox, analysing data from a research project that was funded by the Norwegian

Research Council's BALANCE programme targeting gender balance in senior academic positions and research management. The authors focus on three factors that have direct relevance for gendered academic citizenship: increasing competition and the metrics of evaluation; the role of formal and informal networks in recruitment and promotions; and stereotypical definitions of the Professor role. In the context of increasing competition for full-time, permanent academic positions amid demands for faster and more strategic publishing, the authors identify a third M-effect (in addition to the Matthew and Matilda effects that are already well-documented) that is the 'Medusa-effect'. Using the visage of Medusa to symbolize uneasiness with powerful women, the authors pay attention to the negative lived citizenship experiences and marginalisation of women, highlighting factors leading to *limited* academic citizenship for those who are in full Professor positions, with permanent work contracts.

Chapter 5, authored by Mine G. Tan, Gülsün Sağlamer and Hülya Çağlayan (with contributions from the rest of the FESTA-team), focuses on work–family issues within academia. The authors argue that family and care responsibilities are directly related to academic citizenship in that they clearly influence women's academic labour market participation patterns. As documented in various recent studies (e.g. Ivancheva et al. 2019), the moral imperative on women to care effects female academics disproportionately, since the 'ideal academic' is increasingly constructed by the masculinist norms of hypermobility and full-time availability. The analyses of interview data in Chapter 5 show that the stereotypical gendered construction of the 'academic citizen' still implies someone freed of care obligations, with unlimited availability and mobility resources. The authors demonstrate that, from an academic citizenship perspective, an in-depth understanding of women's academic career opportunities can only be achieved through a systematic consideration of the impact of the gendered division of unpaid care work. The chapter also shows how academics tend to conceptualize the work–family interface as a 'private problem', rather than questioning the structural factors leading to their difficulties.

Chapter 6, authored by Judit Lannert and Beáta Nagy, analyses the Hungarian case, a highly interesting and important context which recently attracted media attention, after the government's banning of the MA programmes in Gender studies. The authors start by a detailed analysis of gendered segregations in the Hungarian education system and then move on to discuss various factors behind the current women-unfriendly academic climate. Official statistics enable the authors to document the

pattern of gender segregation across different disciplines and to analyse women's decreasing presence the higher one moves up the academic hierarchy. The chapter demonstrates that, despite increasing gender-balance at the lower levels of the Hungarian academic system, women who aspire to an academic career nevertheless face numerous obstacles in their struggles to attain full- or even limited academic citizenship. The authors also discuss the recent restrictions on Gender studies in Hungary and stress the significant consequences of these restrictions for women's academic citizenship within the wider political context.

Chapter 7, authored by Yıldız Ecevit and Fatma Umut Beşpınar, brings attention to a key issue influencing gendered academic citizenship, namely sexual harassment. The authors examine the phenomenon of sexual harassment and recent institutional responses to the problem, in the increasingly conservative Turkish academic context. The concept of *gendered academic citizenship* enables the authors to conceptualize sexual harassment as an attack on bodily integrity and consequently as a potential impairment of women's recognition and belonging within the academic community. In this framework, bodily integrity and control over one's body is conceptualised as a key but the under-researched dimension of academic citizenship (Outshoorn et al. 2012). The authors identify key mechanisms leading to sexual harassment (conservatism and sexism; hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity and ambiguous perceptions about sexual harassment), discuss their interrelationships and the ways they threaten gender equal academic citizenship.

The concluding Chapter, authored by Sevil Sümer, Pat O'Connor and Nicky Le Feuvre, that is us, summarises the key findings of the book and the particular strengths of the Gendered Academic Citizenship perspective. Chapter 8 also discusses the main similarities and differences across the national contexts. The chapter ends by setting a comprehensive research agenda for the future using the gendered academic citizenship framework.

The current situation, where only a minority of academics have *full academic citizenship* and where women's representation drops with the increasing prestige and membership benefits is neither sustainable nor favourable to an inclusive academic society. The perpetuation of gendered and other hierarchies within academia undermines the possibility that knowledge production and dissemination can promote an effective challenge to such divisions within the broader social context. In order to recognize and debate these problems, a multi-dimensional framework,

enabling a simultaneous attention to the factors at systemic, organizational and interactional levels is needed. We hope that the gendered academic citizenship framework identified in this book will not only enable a more nuanced analysis of gendered power relations within academia, but will also inspire an informed critique of the trends observed and thus enable varied forms of individual and collective resistance to emerge.

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CHAPTER 2

Accessing Academic Citizenship: Excellence or Micropolitical Practices?

Pat O'Connor

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with access to academic citizenship (particularly full or limited academic citizenship, see Chapter 1) in higher educational research institutions (HERIs). Women are under-represented in these positions (EU 2019). Excellence is frequently the rationale for decisions about such access: the implication being that its assessment is a universal, gender neutral process. Thus, it is assumed that those involved in such assessments are detached automatons, who make decisions solely based on what purport to be universalistic criteria; assumptions that have been challenged theoretically and empirically (Nielsen 2016; Van Den Brink and Benschop 2012; O'Connor and O' Hagan 2016).

In this chapter, evaluations of excellence are seen as political processes: 'academic evaluations are not simply technical endeavors intended to

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measure the quality of academics; instead, they are political endeavors that involve negotiations between multiple actors' (Van Den Brink and Benschop 2012: 509). It is suggested that micropolitical practices play a key role in such processes in the context of ambiguities around the construction of excellence (Nir and Zilberstein-Levy 2006; EC 2004). Micropolitical practices involve the enactment of informal power understood as 'the strategies and tactics used by individuals and groups in an organisation to further their interests' (Van Den Brink 2010: 25). This enactment involves processes of inclusion and exclusion and has implications for individuals' access to various types of academic citizenship.

The data in this chapter is drawn from research findings in three studies: Study 1 involving five higher educational contexts (Wolffram et al. 2015; O'Connor and O'Hagan 2016; O'Connor et al. 2017); Study 2 involving a comparative study of an Irish and Spanish university (Montez-Lopez and O'Connor 2019) and Study 3 on funding allocations in a large research funding programme (O'Connor and Fauve-Chamoux 2016). This chapter challenges assumptions about the universal, objective nature of excellence and highlights the importance of informal power.

Four micropolitical practices are identified and discussed:

- Procedural subversion and selective gender blindness
- Gendered devaluation and stereotypes
- Relational practices involving sponsorship by individual power holders
- Inbreeding favouring 'insiders' or local fit.

This chapter highlights variation in the construction of excellence and the ways in which informal power is used in such micropolitical practices, with consequences for access to various kinds of academic citizenship.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical perspective is that of Feminist Institutionalism (FI) (Mackay et al. 2010; Mackay 2011). Building on the work of Acker (1990, 2006) on gendered organisations and Connell (1987, 2002) on gender regimes, feminist institutionalism is concerned with 'the gendered character of institutions and the gendering effects of institutions' and helps us 'answer some of the big questions and real-world puzzles about

gendered power inequalities in public and political life' (Mackay 2011: 181). FI sees gender operating at a structural and cultural level and a formal and informal level. Each institution has a particular 'gender regime' (Connell 2002: 53) that operates through a '"hidden" day-to-day interplay of formal and informal norms with gendered implications' (Verge et al. 2018: 88). FI includes a focus on the ways in which such informal relationships and the unwritten rules governing them perpetuate gendered patterns. Little attention has been paid by FI to HERIs. Mackay et al. (2010: 580) see gender as a 'constitutive element of social relations based upon perceived (socially constructed and culturally variable) differences between women and men, and as a primary way of signifying (and naturalising) relations of power and hierarchy'. Thus, it suggests that a devaluation of women is implicit in the very construction of gender. Gendered structures, culture, procedures and practices legitimate that devaluation.

The concept of micropolitics was originally used by Ball (1987: 280) to highlight informal power in schools, and particularly to reveal the 'darker side' of organisational life'. He saw conflict and domination reflected in the use of informal power, focusing on the control strategies pursued by heads and the politics of advancement. The concept of micropolitics (sic) was applied by Morley (1999: 4) to higher education: 'Micropolitics is about influence, networks, coalitions, political and personal strategies to effect or resist change'. She focused on informal power in 'the subterranean conflicts and minutiae of social relations… It is about relationships rather than structures, knowledge rather than information, skills rather than positions, talk rather than paper' (Morley 1999: 73). She was particularly concerned with the ways in which such informal power was used to marginalise, frustrate, undermine and coerce women in the academy.

Although other work referred to informal power as involving "intrigue, subterfuge and a rackety underworld of scams and plots" (Mackenzie-Davey 2008: 667) and although power and practices have been discussed theoretically and empirically (Martin 2003, 2006; Poggio 2010; Lumby 2018; O'Connor et al. 2019) a focus on micropolitics in the academy has generated relatively little recent interest, with a small number of exceptions (such as O'Connor et al. 2017; Teelken et al. 2019; Lumby 2015; Montes Lopez and O'Connor 2019). The recent interest occurs in a context characterised by a focus on excellence in academia. This focus can be traced to Peters and Waterman (1982), with Shepherd (2018:

1672) suggesting that excellence 'mutated' into managerialism. Managerialism reflects the adoption by public sector organisations of policies and practices from the private sector and is compatible with state pressure for greater accountability (Deem et al. 2008). Managerialism is 'the organisational arm of neoliberalism' (Lynch 2014: 968). Excellence legitimates the institutionalisation of a new managerial 'collective belief structure' (Barnett 2004: 55) and 'can be conceptualised as a component of the ideological apparatus' of managerialism (Santiago and Carvalho 2012: 513).

In higher education, a managerialist logic can be seen as including an explicit focus on what purport to be objective, gender neutral, key performance indicators (KPIs), particularly involving research performance (Ramirez and Tiplic 2014). The focus on excellence in HERIs emerged at different dates in different countries, depending on when managerialism took hold. Thus, for example, it was identified in the UK from the early 1980s (Deem et al. 2008), but only became entrenched in Irish universities in the twenty-first century (Lynch et al. 2012). However, Shepherd (2018: 1676) found that even in the UK, in pre-1992 universities, the appointment process for pro-vice chancellors was characterised by 'micropolitics in the form of the maintenance of self-interest, power and status'.

The implicit assumption of gender neutrality in constructions of excellence has been challenged by gender theorists (Acker 1990, 2006; Risman and Davis 2013). There has been an increasing recognition that evaluations of excellence, no matter how they are done, are not really objective (Lamont 2009; Campbell 2018). Biases are implicit not only in the procedures and criteria involved in recruitment and promotion, but in the whole way in which careers, and HERIs themselves are gendered (Van Den Brink and Benschop 2012; Nielsen 2016; Vettese 2019). The possibility has been raised that excellence in higher education (EC 2004; Nir and Zilberstein-Levy 2006), has become a 'hooray word' (Whyte 2005) which is widely used, entirely uncritically as an 'idealised cultural construct' (Meyer and Rowan 1977: 342) and a 'rationalising myth' (Nielsen 2016).

Micropolitical practices include nepotism which legitimates individual relationships with powerful others as the basis for accessing academic citizenship. It is discredited (Wenneras and Wold 1997). However, an attempt has been made to relabel it as sponsorship, talent management

or 'backing winners'. It involves senior managers with influence leveraging their own power and influence to advance the career of their protégé, whether by advocating, recommending, protecting or fighting for him/her (De Vries and Binns 2018: 7; see also Ibarra et al. 2010; O'Connor et al. 2019). Equalising access to such relationships between men and women, although helpful for individual women, perpetuates nepotism as a basis for access to academic citizenship (O'Connor 2018).

Excellence has become such a taken-for-granted legitimating discourse in HERIs that the question as to what legitimating discourse existed prior to the dominance of managerialism has rarely been posed. However, Vazquez-Cupeiro and Elston (2006) identified a moral discourse of responsibility, loyalty and care in Spanish HERIs for those who had been nurtured by the department, and to whom it felt a responsibility to provide access to some form of academic citizenship. This has been depicted as 'inbreeding' (Montez-Lopez and O'Connor 2019; Cruz-Castro and Sanz-Menéndez 2010; Sanz-Menéndez et al. 2013) and although it is officially denigrated, it persists at some level within the collegial Spanish system. A less extreme version of it was documented in an Irish context, where 'local logics' or fit were seen as important in making appointments outside HE (Lynch et al. 2012; Grummell et al. 2009). It can be seen as at least potentially opposed to excellence.

In this chapter four types of micropolitical practices are identified. **Firstly,** micropolitical practices involving the subversion of organisational procedures and selective gender blindness; **Secondly,** micropolitical practices involving gendered devaluation and stereotyping; **Thirdly**, relational micropoliticalpractices in which access is based on sponsorship relationships with powerful individuals; **Fourthly,** inbreeding or 'local fit' micropolitical practices where access is based on local compatibility/acceptability/loyalty.

In summary, micropolitical practices reflect the operation of informal power. They arise in a context where constructions of excellence, which are part of the legitimating apparatus, are neither as universal nor as objective as they are depicted by managerialism.

Description of Case Studies

Case studies enable a contextual understanding of evaluative practices (e.g. Buzzanell and D'Enbeau 2009). The approach adopted here is to draw on three studies involving a total of seven cases. The focus in each

of these studies was on gendered inequalities involving those in full-time academic and/or research positions. Hence this chapter is particularly concerned with access to full or second-class academic citizenship (see Chapter 1).

Study 1 (S1) draws on data from 67 academics from Science, Technology and Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) in HERIs in Bulgaria, Germany, Ireland, Italy and Turkey, carried out as part of an EU funded project. It was concerned with looking at constructions of excellence (Wolffram et al. 2015). Respondents were roughly evenly divided between men and women (32 women and 35 men), and between those who had been involved as evaluators ($n = 29$) and candidates ($n = 38$). Four of the HERIs were public universities with the fifth being a non-profit research organisation operating as a research foundation. The universities, which were all public, varied in age although most had low international ranking (QS 2017) (see Table 2.1).

The data in Study 1 is mainly drawn from qualitative interviews (in addition to a small number of focus groups). Interview guides were developed and agreed among the partners. Candidates were asked: *What criteria were used to assess candidates*? *Do you think these criteria signify academic excellence*? *Are there other skills or qualities a candidate could possess which would signify academic excellence*?

Members of hiring and promotion boards were asked *'How do you define academic excellence'*? References to micropolitical practices emerged in response to a variety of questions such as *'Has gender affected your career progression in a positive or negative way?' 'When you look back over your career what do you see as the critical points?' 'Is there any difference in the careers of men and women here?'* Interviews averaged one hour and were tape-recorded. Data collection was undertaken, recorded and transcribed by local researchers in each context. Evaluative micropolitical practices emerged in a content analysis involving the Irish HERI and this frame was then used across the other HERIs.

Study 2 (S2) was a comparative study involving forty-three interviews with academics at early, middle and senior levels in a Spanish university (twenty-two women and twenty-one men) and twenty five women and eighteen men in the Irish university (including not only interviews with the purposive sample of fourteen candidates or board members (seven men and seven women) in S1, but also twenty-nine people (eighteen men and eleven women) selected by random sampling from those at early, mid

Table 2.1 Data sources in Study 1 (SI), Study 2 (S2) and Study 3 (S3)

	Country	*Case study organisation*	*International ranking of organisation*	*Focus*	*Methods*	*Number of respondents (M and F)*	*Evaluators (E) or Candidates (C)*
S1	IE	New university	500–550	STEM	Interview; documentary	7M; 7 F	6E; 8C
	GE	Old university	146	STEM	Interview; documentary	6M; 7 F	5E, 8C
	IT	Research foundation	n/a	STEM	Interview; documentary	10M, 4F	9E; 5C
	BG	New university	unranked	STEM	Interview; documentary	8M; 10W	5E; 13C
	TR	Old university	651–700	STEM	Interview; documentary	4M; 4F	4E; 4C
S 2	IE	New university	500–550	STEM	Interview; documentary	18M; 25W	
	ES	Old university	550–600	Careers in academia	Interview; documentary	21M; 22	
S3	Nordic		n/a	Evaluation process	Documentary analysis, questionnaire Interview	36 Qs 18 interviews	Q's 3E; 33C Interviews 3E; 15C

and senior levels, using an on-line, random sequence generator) (Montez-Lopez and O'Connor 2019). The data is not entirely comparable since the Irish study focussed on STEM, while the Spanish study included all disciplines. However, both were concerned with the position of women in academia; both included men and women, and both used a broadly similar methodology. References to micropolitics emerged in response to a variety of questions such as: *'Has gender affected your career progression in a positive or negative way?' 'When you look back over your career what do you see as the critical points?'* (Irish university); and *'What have been the most decisive moments in your career?' 'Is there any difference in the careers of men and women in the university?'* (Spanish university). In S2 interviews averaged one hour and were tape-recorded and transcribed. The Spanish study analysed the interviews using the computer software programme Atlas.ti to systemise, code, compare and explore the data. Concepts related to micropolitics emerged in this second part of the process. The Irish study was undertaken as part of a wider cross-national research project, where language constraints made it impossible to use a computer software programme. Hence as in S1, content analysis was used.

The methodology in Study 1 and 2 was processual and reflexive, in the grounded theory tradition. Respondents are identified as from S1 or 2; a code which indicates the country in which they were employed (Turkey-TR; Bulgaria-BG; Germany, DE; Italy- IT; Ireland: IE; Spain: ES); gender and a unique identifier number. In the interests of confidentiality, identifying information (such as position) are not included. No attempt is made to focus on national variation since only one HERI was included from each country.

Study 3 (S3) was an evaluative study of a large Nordic research funding programme involving 158 project applications (O'Connor and Fauve-Chamoux 2016). The initiator was a Swedish Foundation joined by a further two funding organisations from Sweden, three from Finland, one from Estonia and a more broadly based North European one. A multi-method evaluation involved a documentary analysis, including the call for applications, the ranking of proposed projects by a (gender balanced) team of experts; minutes of Steering Committee/Group meetings; questionnaire data ($n = 36$) collected from four key stakeholder categories (Steering Group, Programme coordinators, project leaders and researchers: response rate, 64%); and 18 interviews with members of these key stakeholder categories. Questions were modified slightly for

the various stakeholders. Thus, for example, project leaders were asked: *'To what extent were gender aspects taken into account a) in the staffing of your project? b) in other decisions? (Please give an example) c) in the research process'; 'How were the researchers in your project recruited'* Since it was clear from the documentary analysis that the proportion of female-led applications that were funded was considerably less than those who applied and than those which had been assessed as excellent, this topic was explored in the interviews. The main focus here is on gender, drawing particularly on the documentary analysis.

The focus in this chapter is on variation in the construction of excellence and the similarities that emerge across these different studies in terms of micropolitical practices.

Breeding Ground for Micropolitical Practices: Constructions of Excellence

Excellence is a problematic concept (Campbell 2018; Ferretti et al. 2018; Van Den Brink and Benschop 2012; Nielsen 2016). The absence of a universal, unambiguous construction of excellence creates conditions conducive to the use of informal power as reflected in micropolitical practices. In this section such variation is outlined. Drawing mainly from Study 1, it shows that only a minority of respondents either used broad constructions of excellence or criteria which were likely to favour women. The majority defined excellence in research terms (although varying in terms of the aspect they focused on). There was no consensus on what constituted excellence.

Broad or Implicitly Gendered Constructions of Excellence?

Broad constructions of excellence were referred to by only a minority of respondents. In one case a broadly based construction was used in the context of a traditional construct of academic citizenship (see Chapter 1 in this volume). It saw the university as a community where the individual's responsibilities transcended those involved in undertaking research:

> For a job at a university, you are responsible for doing high quality teaching, you are responsible for being a good academic in terms of a good scholar. And in my view you also have the responsibility of what I call being an academic citizen. And being an academic citizen is in fact

> the service to your department, service to your faculty or service to your university or to your profession. …. you are not a silo individual… You are an academic citizen of the institution and so therefore you have responsibilities to the institution, you've responsibilities to your profession. (S1, IE, woman, 7)

Broadly based constructions are helpful to women since they do not devalue those activities that are typically allocated to them such as teaching and service. However, they were rare. Occasionally in the German HERI (the most highly ranked of the universities) the three criteria of research, teaching and service were referred to:

> We also had applicants that were considered to be among the top scientists in the field worldwide, but we did not invite them [for interview] … Scientists who may be really good individually, but are not able to build a group or lead it, that are not able to give a proper lecture, … well, they are out of the question. (S1, DE, man 1)

Insofar as women have traditionally been seen as more likely than men to be committed to teaching (Sax et al. 2002), the inclusion of teaching skills in the construction of excellence can be seen as potentially helpful to women. In the Turkish and Bulgarian universities teaching was included at some level. These organisations had the highest proportion of women with full academic citizenship (i.e. at full professorial level) both overall and in STEM (patterns that were replicated at the national level: EU 2016). Yet even in Turkey, there was a suggestion that the valuation of teaching was not officially supported: 'It's not only publications we are doing here. We are educating students…We are teachers… But such abilities are not part of the hiring legislation' (S1, TR, woman, 1). In the Irish university women's concern with teaching was seen as hindering their career progression:

> Women are wasting their time doing the right thing… They are more committed lecturers, they are more committed to… looking after the students, being more diligent with lecture preparation… and all those other areas that give them no brownie points when it comes to promotion. Not quantifiable. (S1, IE, woman, 1)

In Bulgaria, language skills were seen as almost as important as scientific knowledge for participating in international fora, for membership of international journals' editorial boards and teaching or researching abroad: 'the first is excellent knowledge of his or her scientific field. The second one is the good command of the foreign language which is acknowledged and used in his or her particular research field' (S1, BG, man, 02). Given women's greater facility with languages such criteria potentially implicitly advantage women as a group. However, female academics, partly because of family responsibilities and other cultural factors, face more barriers to international collaboration than men (Vabø et al. 2014; Padilla-González et al. 2011). Nevertheless, it was striking that the proportion of women with full academic citizenship (full professor) in the Bulgarian HERI and nationally was one of the highest in the EU.

Roth and Sonnert (2010) highlight the problems that emerge from a lack of management skills in research organisations. Such skills are implicitly linked with a male stereotype (Eagly 2011 [2007]). The Italian respondents were explicit in their focus on management skills:

> It is not always the candidate with the highest impact factor that best serves the centre. It may very well be that at a given time it is more important to choose the candidate with the best managerial skills…it is not sufficient to bring heavy scientific luggage. One also has to have soft skills in order to appreciate and to create value from different human resources. (S1, IT, man, 2)

Typically, when there is a move away from objective criteria the suspicion that this will involve gender bias is difficult to eliminate. A reliance on intuitive feelings or subjective assessments also emerged in evaluators' constructions of excellence: 'I only read his first two pages… I gave him full marks on the basis of the first two pages. That was enough for me…… I didn't, I just flicked through the rest of it, and said yeah, absolutely' (S1, IE, man, 3). This man felt able to assess an application which he had not read and was completely unaware of possible gender bias (Ahlqvist et al. 2013). The subjective element was also legitimated by the Italian evaluators:

> Of course, measurable parameters must not be denigrated and neglected, but they are to be taken with a grain of salt…. When I have to judge a candidate, I first consider the measurable parameters, but then, in order to

> achieve a reasonable judgment, I have to add subjective parameters to my consideration. (S1, IT, man, 07)

As in Lamont's (2009) study, some evaluators suggested that it was necessary to go beyond the factual information: 'a lot of the time you are going on this word called potential…. You try and make your best judgement - these are judgement calls' (S1, IE, woman, 7). Other evaluators recognised that their own criteria were very vague: 'you expect a person relative to his or her position to show that he or she is performing in a way that distinguishes, no, no, not distinguishes him, but shows that he or she is making the right strides relevant to the level in the discipline. That is very vague' (S1, IE, man, 6).

In managerialism the implicit assumption is that the assessment of excellence is universal and gender neutral. It appears however that this is not the case.

Focus on Research in Constructions of Excellence

A focus on research receives legitimation from a neo-liberal state concerned with global university rankings (Hazelkorn 2015) and from managerialist HERIs. For the most part, among the respondents in Study 1, the main focus was on research excellence but there was no agreement as to which aspect was most important (publications, funding, PhD students, reputation, citations, etc.) nor on the balance between these elements (for example, could high levels of research funding offset limited publications or vice versa?). Research excellence was seen by some as reflecting an infatuation with numerical indicators:

> Excellence is, to my mind, research…It's also easier to assess… Because you have papers, you have [PhD] students, you have funding, you have awards, you have - you know - there is a lot of metrics, and particularly scientists and engineers, but I think everybody just likes to stick a number on something. And teaching is a much more nebulous sort of thing to assess. And what people tend to do is they will write large briefs about their teaching strategies and ideas. It's very hard to distinguish between those. (S1, IE, man, 2)

However, there was confusion about the point at which adequacy became excellence. Thus, as a Bulgarian woman noted: 'I have never come across an exact definition, a scientific one, of this term. Maybe the Nobel Prize

… but …How many Nobel Prize winners are there?' (S1, BG, woman, 16).

Others suggested that it was sufficient for elements of the research portfolio to be excellent: 'I would expect to see a body of work in which there are elements that are excellent' (S1, IE, man, 6). An Italian man suggested that although objective measures of scientific excellence, such as publications, were important, they were not sufficient: 'for the ability to create value, which is really a sign of excellence, there are no standards. Either you are in a league of your own or you're not' (S1, IT, man, 02). Some of the respondents from the Bulgarian university stressed usefulness as a key criterion: 'I think that the best researchers are those whose results have scientific and applied implications' (S1, BG, woman, 04). The dominant pattern was one of no agreement.

A focus on the quantity of publications has been shown to have potentially gendered implications. There is evidence that the gap between men and women's research output is reducing, with the remaining gap being explained by differential access to resources, position and discipline (Xie and Shauman 1998; EC 2004). A potentially less gender biased measure involves a focus on quality: 'it's got to be in terms of publication in good quality journals. So that you become well known in your field with an established reputation for yourself and that you are publishing regularly' (S1, IE, man 3). Bibliometric indicators such as citations in the web of science have been widely used (despite concerns about their limitations: Anninos 2014; Roth and Sonnert 2010; Valian 2018; Vettese 2019). Among Bulgarian and Italian respondents, citations were seen as reflecting international scientific visibility: 'If they cite you, it means you are good' (S1, BG, man, 07). However, male authors are less likely to cite publications by women leading Hakanson (2005: 321) to conclude that such trends could be seen as 'part of the social stratification system of science and contradict central scientific principles such as objectivity'. Even within the sciences, citation rates favour some disciplines over others (EC 2004; O'Connor 2014). Respondents from the Bulgarian university were critical of what they saw as: 'The imposition of general criteria, unified for and applied to all sciences' (S1, BG, man, 02).

Funding success has become a popular indicator of excellence in neoliberal global ranking systems. It was seen as such by respondents in the German HERI: 'What is really great is if you reel in some external funds worth some millions' (S1, DE, woman, 6). The respondents in the Italian HERI, who were all full-time researchers whose jobs depended on

funding, shared that view: 'The economic crisis today requires that a good researcher is also able to find the funding to finance his research' (S1, IT, man, 10). Women academics are likely to be less successful in accessing research funding (Husu 2014), and even when successful they are likely to receive lower amounts (Vettese 2019; O'Connor and Fauve-Chamoux 2016). Hence this indicator is implicitly gendered.

Excellence is depicted in 'top down' managerial policies as objective and gender neutral and unrelated to context. In fact, considerable complexities emerged in constructions of excellence, creating a fertile ground for the emergence of micropolitical practices.

Constructions of Excellence and Micropolitics

Micropolitics refers to the exercise of informal power to advance the interests of particular candidates and to create and maintain a hierarchy of (gendered) academic citizenship. Micropolitical practices reflect the day-to-day activities and experiences of academic citizens. The perception of the evaluative context as one dominated by micropolitics suggests the existence of a political rather than a bureaucratic model underpinning the evaluation of excellence. At times, informal power was explicitly referred to as an inevitable part of organisational life: 'Because an organisation is made up of people [it] gets captured by people with their own agendas. Yeah so that's, that's the problem always with organisations really. It's all politics' (S1, IE, woman, 40).

The gap between the construction of excellence and the existence of micropolitical practices was occasionally explicitly referred to. Thus, for example, through personal friendships, candidates in the Irish university (S1) were able to compare scores with other candidates. In one case this revealed that a successful candidate with considerably less teaching experience and the same kind and level of teaching evaluations scored higher on teaching than an unsuccessful candidate. On raising this issue in the feedback session, the response of the Dean was one of discomfort and surprise. The candidate's conclusion was that teaching scores were less important than research ones and could be 'adjusted': 'if your research is excellent, and if you have the bare minimum done for teaching, the board would increase your teaching [score] to excellent' (S1, IE, woman, 10). This undermined her confidence in the process.

The four types of micropolitical practices will now be discussed in greater detail: Procedural subversion and selective gender blindness;

Gendered devaluation and stereotypes; Relational practices involving individual sponsors: Inbreeding or local fit.

Micropolitical Procedural Subversion and Selective Gender Blindness

The focus here is on micropolitical practices that subvert organisational procedures involving access to academic citizenship. They include the narrow framing of advertisements, the tweaking of criteria and marking schemes, 'horse trading', i.e. the pragmatic support for candidates favoured by other evaluators (O'Connor and O'Hagan 2016) and selective gender blindness.

There are typically rules governing the procedures for recruitment or selection of academic citizens. However, practices that seek to benefit some people over others can be reflected in the framing of the job specification:

> I've had first-hand experience and other anecdotal experience where people tailor the job specification to suit a certain individual who is maybe already in the job and just needs to be made permanent… all the criteria are pre-arranged. (S2, IE, woman, 08)

Transparency was seen as important (ETAN 2000) but was perceived not to exist: 'My experience is that the application of the criteria is not transparent' (S2, ES, man, 33). In the Turkish context the fact that the jury could interpret the official criteria to favour one applicant over another was referred to: 'Although the criteria for promotion are clearly defined by the Council of Higher Education, it all depends on how the jury members interpret those criteria' (S1, TR, woman, 44). In the Spanish context (S2) there were suggestions that ostensibly objective evaluative criteria were modified to support one candidate. For example, if one person has forty publications and the other person has twenty-two publications, the committee can decide that twenty or more publications deserves ten points. In this way, the second person is being helped by the committee and the objective difference between the two candidates on this criterion is eliminated (Montes-Lopez and O'Connor 2019).

Although decisions about the best and worst research applications are usually reasonably clear cut, differences in the middle are frequently very small, culminating in 'rather arbitrary' decisions affected by the composition of the board and the characteristics and behaviour of the evaluators

(Van Arensbergen et al. 2014). Lamont (2009) suggested that in the multidisciplinary research funding teams she studied, although there was an expectation that consistent and universalistic standards of evaluation would be applied, in practice respondents assented to decisions that others felt very strongly about, in the hope that in this way they would gain credibility and goodwill and that this flexibility would be reciprocated. This reflects the perception of the evaluation process as a pragmatic negotiating context where 'horse trading' (O'Connor and O'Hagan 2016) exists. Thus, as long as decisions involving access to academic citizenship, through recruitment or promotion, were 'within the zone of acceptability' (S1, IE, man, 6) they were supported. In such contexts the chair could play a key role in encouraging particular people to comment on individual candidates and/or to review their numerical assessments in the light of such comments.

In Study 3 there was evidence of selective gender blindness at a procedural level. (O'Connor and Fauve-Chamoux 2016). Excellence was assessed by the (gender balanced) expert evaluation panels, on the basis of the research plan, the scientific competence of the applicants and the budget. They ranked the applications from one to five, five being excellent. Although 45% of all the 158 research applications were made by women; and just 40 percent of those assessed as excellent by the expert panel were led by a woman, only 22 percent of those funded were led by women. Male project leaders who applied for funding had a roughly one in 12 chance of being successful (7/87), whereas female project leaders had a roughly one in 35 chance of being successful (2/71). This under-representation of women as project leaders occurred among the Swedish and non-Swedish applications. It was particularly acute in group-led projects. Thus, although there was little difference in the proportion of group project applications led by women and men, five of the funded group projects were led by men and only one by a woman.

The consistency of the pattern of gender bias was impressive: it was reflected in the composition of the Steering Group at the time funding decisions were made; in the use of nation (but not gender) in deciding which projects were to be funded; in the blatant deviation from the expert group ranking in funding a male project which was not assessed as excellent; in the awarding of a very large grant to a (male) individual researcher despite the prioritisation of group projects in the call; and the allocation of the lowest proportion of funding applied for to the only female-led group. The decision by a Finnish based body to top up the funding awarded

to the only female-led (Swedish based) group project was the solitary example of a pro-female decision. The discretion exercised by the Steering Group overwhelmingly served to perpetuate male-dominant project leadership and this went entirely unnoticed. In interviews with the Steering Group gender was seen as very much a residual consideration and there was little interest in fostering women's leadership.

In summary, micropolitical practices involved the subversion of procedures and selective gender blindness, with potential consequences for accessing academic citizenship.

Micropolitical Practices: Gendered Devaluation and Stereotyping

These micropolitical practices advantage men and were frequently referred to in Study 1 and 2. They included the devaluing of women as well as gendered stereotypes about scientists or work/life balance. Gendered devaluation has been widely identified in teaching and research contexts (Vettese 2019) and experimental studies (Moss-Racusin et al. 2012). Here it was reflected in the differential evaluation of the social contributions of men and women on predominantly male promotion boards, where women's voices were marginalised because they were women:

> It's not what the woman says or what the man says. It's the fact that it's coming from [a man or a woman]. Its gendered…the person listening to it will automatically associate a positive connotation to whatever the man says and a less positive, less, just put it that way, to what the woman says. (S1, IE, woman, 08)

Gendered processes may operate so that women but not men are expected to be exceptional (Van Den Brink and Benschop 2012; Vettese 2019): 'a woman is evaluated more critically' (S1, GE, woman, 12). The Bulgarian respondents referred to a preference for men: 'They prefer men even if the achievements of the candidates are equal' (S1, BG, woman, 16). For a minority of women in the Spanish university (S2), gender inequality was seen as reflected in the differential support for women in evaluative fora:

> In matters of appointments, I see clearly that there is a preference for a man […]. I know very valuable people who have struggled to be professors… and the chairs were obtained by men. And I know the curriculum vitae

> of each person, and from the objective point of view, it seems to me an injustice. But a chair is for a person that has five supports in a board, right? (S2, ES, woman, 07)

Thus, the respondent highlighted the composition of the board as the key factor in affecting access to full academic citizenship (i.e. full professorship). In this as in other studies (O'Connor 2014; Currie et al. 2002) women were more likely to advert to gendered consequences: 'Women will say that. That you have to work longer and harder… to prove yourself better than a man…certainly men got promoted here who certainly were nowhere near [as good as] shall we say the women' (S2, IE, woman, 1).

Another element in these micropolitical practices involves homosociability, i.e. the tendency to appoint people like oneself (Grummell et al. 2009). This is highly likely to be gendered in a context where men occupy most of the structural positions of power, and so is particularly likely to affect access to full and second-class citizenship. Occasionally respondents in S1 referred to it:

> Guys tend to group together. They tend to form teams. It's something that's, I think it's natural in guys to do that …and in the process of doing that, if you're not on the team, you're outside the team. And there could be, not a, not if you like an overt gender bias, but there could be an implicit one on that basis. (S1, IE, man, 2)

Concerns with intellectual autonomy ('doubt raisers') were voiced. Evidence from the Swedish Research Council (Ahlqvist et al. 2013) suggests that such 'doubt raisers' were more likely to occur in the case of women.

Gendered stereotypes underpin the image of a scientist and this has implications for women (White 2014). In some cases, the stereotype was a gendered monastic one, with the assumption that the commitment and lifestyle of a scientist was incompatible with caring responsibilities. Only in Bulgaria (possibly reflecting its communist history) was it recognised that men with children potentially had the same problem as women in a 'long hours' culture:

> Everything is based on the assumption that a person should be available 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, 365 days a year. …it's difficult for men, too. Especially, when a man is strongly engaged with his family. This career

> model… deprives people of their personal lives. … A real scientist cannot come home at the evening, close the door and forget about his work. (S1, BG, man, 14)

Women in all countries noted that domestic and/or caring responsibilities made meeting the stereotypically gendered criteria of excellence difficult for women: 'men and women are almost equal with the only exception that a woman always has more family duties' (S1, BG, woman, 11). Similar views were expressed by respondents in the German and Turkish HERIs. Other evaluators explicitly recognised that: 'You are not judging the quality of what they do within the 39-hour week, you are judging what they do 24 hours a day seven days a week. And some people, more so women than men, have less time to devote twenty-four seven' (S1, IE, 7). Female respondents in Turkey saw childcare as essentially a private problem: 'The jury members cannot help women but their husbands can help' (S1, TR, woman, 41) (see Chapter 5 this volume).

In summary, in both Study 1 and 2, there was evidence of micropolitical practices involving gendered devaluation and stereotyping, implicitly undermining purportedly gender-neutral constructions of excellence, with implications for access to full and limited academic citizenship.

Micropolitical Relational Practices

Informal relationships with power holders are a key factor in micropolitical relational practices and traditionally have been referred to as nepotism (Wenneras and Wold 1997). Such practices are widely seen as unacceptable. Sponsorship is seen in a very different light (De Vries and Binns 2018) although it also has a relational base. Men are more likely than women to be sponsored and by senior people (Ibarra et al. 2010); with women being much more likely to lack such sponsors (other than their PhD supervisor or Head of Department: O'Connor et al. 2019). Relationships with powerful internal people were seen by respondents in both Study 1 and 2 as crucial in affecting access to academic citizenship. Thus, as a Bulgarian evaluator saw it:

> What matters most are the close relations of a candidate with jury members. Yes, I know that they sign a declaration that there is no conflict of interests, but it does not necessarily mean that they have no friendly relationships. …It's the most difficult task to assess the work of a friend…

> since there is always an emotional aspect that produces a bias. (S1, BG, man, 05)

The women in the German HERIs, like their Italian and Irish counterparts disapproved of such relationships and contrasted them with 'honest work' (S1, DE, woman, 16). However, men in the Bulgarian and Irish HERIs stressed the importance of relationships with those in power for success in promotion/recruitment competitions: 'Most often the successful candidate… is a protégé of the institutional or departmental management' (S1, BG, man, 12). For the Bulgarian male evaluators this was unrelated to gender: 'Gender of the candidates does not matter at all. What only matters is whether your boss, the head of the department, your dean, or someone else at the top favours you or not' (S1, BG, man, 05). In the Spanish context the interviewees stressed that the absence of such ties can block the career of 'someone brilliant' and facilitate others who are 'less brillant': 'I have known many kinds of selection procedures, they have changed with the passage of the time, but they have always depended on those [informal ties] and now too' (S2, ES, man, 33). Thus, although they recognised that it was necessary to meet the relevant criteria, they were also very aware of the importance of having a sponsor, someone powerful in the HERI who uses their influence to advocate for their protégés: 'It depends on one hand, obviously, on the qualifications of the candidate, but it also depends in part on the influence that your immediate superior has in the university… on the relationship… your boss has within the university' (S2, ES, man, 27). As they saw it, this person could help their protégé move from non-academic citizenship to full academic citizenship:

> Once you enter college you need someone to bet on you. Even if you are good at research, you need one person in the higher ranks of university, preferably full professors, to bet on you… to make an academic career, apart from your work and effort, you need to be helped by someone, someone who knocks on doors to open them. If nobody helps you, you do not go a step alone on that staircase. This is a career that is made with the help of another person. (S2, ES, woman, 09)

Several times the word 'godfather' appeared in the Spanish study referring to sponsors, i.e. those who are strong advocates for their protégés. Respondents from the German HERI also referred to: 'a squad of older

men, to put it frankly, who are in a position of power' (S1, DE, woman, 12) and who are 'relatively ruthless in placing their own people' (S1, DE, man, 07). Irish respondents referred to the strategy of 'paying forward', i.e. doing favours for those in positions of power, on the assumption that this will create obligations which will be repaid and will facilitate their access to academic citizenship in promotional contexts: 'If you've nobody on the other side of the table fighting your case, you've no chance…You arrange [that].., through [favours], you know…. And you do it not just once you might do it fifty times. So, when your application [for promotion] goes in you'd expect them to support you' (S1, IE, man, 23).

In summary, individual relationships with powerful sponsors were important micropolitical practices used to access academic citizenship. Such practices are not inherently gendered, although given homosociability, and the predominance of men in the structures of power, it seems likely that they will be.

Micropolitical Practices: Inbreeding and Local Fit

In this section the focus is on micropolitical practices involving 'inbreeding' or local fit. Inbreeding refers to favouring the in-house candidate. The exercise of informal internal power perpetuates inbreeding and local fit: 'It is the finger that indicates who will occupy an associate professor vacancy or who will occupy a chair. This is called the inbreeding system' (S2, ES, woman, 09). Given vagueness surrounding the concept of excellence, evaluators can prioritise specific elements/criteria to facilitate the recruitment of local candidates that 'fitted'. This was sometimes stated explicitly: 'scientific excellence is not what we are looking for; we primarily seek someone who can meet the needs of our department' (S1, TR, woman, 40). German evaluators referred to a tension between institutionally valued excellence and departmental members' desire for fit: 'There can be candidates that are really good but just don't fit' (S1, DE, man, 06). In these cases, the most valued attribute is not excellence as reflected in the curriculum vitae but to be 'a good colleague'. Such practices are officially denigrated but have their own morality, rooted in availability, affection and loyalty:

> Choosing the in-house person is bad, obviously, that is inbreeding and should not be. But I also think that if they have been working, have been

> teaching, that also has to be evaluated….There is also some affection that is created over time 'Look, this boy does what he can, he has not got much but we cannot leave him in the street, right?' Because our profession, doing a PhD thesis, after that you are not useful for many things…It is not easy to find a job outside after having worked in the university for many years. Then, what is it the easiest? Favouring the in-house person. (S2, ES, man, 23)

The respondent criticises it, but at the same time justifies it, highlighting the work done by in-house candidates, often initially as non-citizens (see Chapter 1), implicitly adverting to a moral duty towards them, underpinned by ties of affection and loyalty. In the Spanish system geographical mobility is inversely related to tenure and the odds of accessing limited academic citizenship (Chapter 1) are more than double for men and are particularly high in predominantly male areas such as engineering (Cruz-Castro and Sanz-Menéndez 2010: 36).

For some women there was a good deal of confusion as they sought to combine a focus on the purportedly objective criteria in the definition of excellence with what they saw as the reality of gendered micropolitical practices. Thus, although the idea that 'excellence is research' was officially endorsed, gender was seen as affecting the outcome, through providing differential opportunities for loyalty and friendship: 'all that playing golf at the weekends, it certainly does help' (S1, IE, woman, 1).

The vagueness surrounding the definitions of excellence facilitated local micropolitical practices, hence enabling those who 'fitted' or were inbred to access academic citizenship. Again, this practice is not inevitably gendered, but given gendered processes and the structurally powerful position of men in most departments, it seemed likely to have gendered consequences in terms of accessing academic citizenship.

Summary and Conclusions

In increasingly managerialist HERIs excellence is presented as the rationale for decisions about access to academic citizenship. It is depicted as unambiguous, gender neutral and unaffected by context. It is assumed that those involved in its evaluation are detached automatons, who make decisions solely based on what purport to be universalistic criteria. This chapter looked at the extent to which there is unanimity about the

content of excellence, and in the absence of this, identified micropolitical practices involving the enactment of informal power that affect access to academic citizenship in HERIs.

Drawing on three studies involving seven HERIs (including five universities, a research foundation and a major funding project), this chapter builds on and extends work on organisational gender bias. Thus, it identifies and illustrates four micropolitical practices, i.e. procedural ones including gender blindness; gendered devaluation and stereotyping; relational micropolitical practices favouring those who have strong ties with powerful sponsors and those involving inbreeding or local fit. Some of these micropolitical practices are explicitly gendered, while others are implicitly so. They potentially affect access to all types of academic citizenship. Since only those in full-time positions in HERIs were interviewed, the focus in this chapter is on accessing full and second-class academic citizenship. (Unfortunately, the data did not allow us to differentiate between these two types).

These micropolitical practices were identified in what are for the most part low ranking universities of different ages (see Table 2.1). The extent to which they exist in more highly ranked ones needs to be systematically explored. The inclusion of two research structures (a research foundation and a large research project) suggests that these practices are not peculiar to universities, although this also needs to be further explored.

It is suggested that ambiguities in the construction of excellence is an important factor in their emergence. Thus, in a context where excellence is an important criterion for access to academic citizenship, but where its content is unclear, informal power comes into play and is reflected in these micropolitical practices. It underlines the fact that academic citizens are not de-gendered automatons that exist outside informal power, but agents with identities and interests who engage in everyday practices to advance their own or others 'agendas', with consequences as regards access to academic citizenship. Underpinning this is the idea that evaluation is a social process: an idea that raises challenging issues for HERIs.

The identification of these micropolitical practices across seven HERIs raises questions about the impact of the contexts in which evaluative decisions are made. It highlights the importance of recognising academic citizens as active agents with their own interests and identities. It raises fundamental questions about the extent to which 'top down' policies involving excellence are actually implemented and whose interests are

served by their persistence. It raises the question as to whether evaluations of excellence can ever transcend micropolitical practices: practices which are frequently, albeit not always, gendered, and which play a crucial role in maintaining a hierarchy of academic citizenship and at least potentially in creating and maintaining its gender profile.

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CHAPTER 3

Probationary or Second-Class Citizens? Postdoctoral Experiences in the Swiss Context

Nicky Le Feuvre, Pierre Bataille, and Marie Sautier

Introduction

Despite national specificities, the academic profession is generally recognised as being increasingly selective and segmented (Le Feuvre et al. 2018). The intensified competition for stable academic positions is due to three parallel phenomena: an exponential increase of PhDs awarded by Higher Education and Research (HER) institutions in recent years, the continuing attractivity of an academic career to PhD graduates, and

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a limited number of permanent faculty positions to which prospective academics could be recruited (OFS 2017).

These processes have led to an increase in the number and duration of fixed-term positions through which PhDs are expected to pass on their route to a stable academic career. Appearing under a diverse range of denominations and contractual arrangements, many of the fixed-term positions that exist within HER institutions are designated by the generic term 'postdoc'. All national contexts have witnessed an increase in the number of such positions, although the rate of expansion has varied by country and by disciplinary field (Murgia and Poggio 2018). For example, between 2000 and 2012, it has been estimated that there was a 150% increase in the number of postdocs in science in the United States of America, whilst the number of full-time faculty positions plateaued (Powell 2015: 144). As a consequence, the 'queue' for access to stable academic jobs has lengthened (Reskin and Roos 1990), competition has increased and working conditions associated with such positions have been aligned with the general shift towards 'marketisation, managerialism and performance management' (O'Neill 2014: 1) within the HER sector across Europe and beyond.

Due to this 'postdoc bubble', an increasing share of scientific knowledge across the globe is produced by individuals who have no durable contractual relationship to a specific academic institution and who are subjected to a series of precarious employment contracts, potentially in different universities spread across the globe (Conesa Carpintero and González Ramos 2018). Thus, what it means to be a 'postdoc' has become increasingly blurred over time (Bataille and Sautier 2019). Such positions were traditionally seen as the first stage of an academic career, but they now lead to a wide range of occupational outcomes and offer varied forms of incorporation into the academic community. In some countries, temporary postdocs still represent a stepping-stone towards a stable academic career and full academic citizenship. In other contexts, they have become occupational outcomes in their own right, having displaced or replaced the permanent academic positions of the past, leading to what some authors have called 'permadoc' status (O'Keefe and Courtois 2019), whereby individuals remain in the HER sector for many years after their PhD, without ever being offered a permanent or stable academic position.

In this chapter, we adopt the multi-level definition of academic citizenship outlined previously (Chapter 1 in this volume), in order to explore

the experiences of a particular group of postdocs working in a Swiss university, taken as an illustrative case study. Although the increasingly precarious employment status of postdocs has started to attract some research attention (Dubach 2015; Murgia and Poggio 2018), little is known about the 'feelings, experiences, and narratives of being included and excluded, recognized and misrecognized, heard or ignored' (Roseneil et al. 2012: 5) that members of this transient intellectual labour force develop towards the academic institutions through which they pass in the course of their 'precarious postdoc' (Jones and Oakley 2018) trajectories.

Using biographical interview and focus group data collected in the course of the *GARCIA* project, we adopt the notion of 'probationary citizenship', initially developed by migration scholars (Chauvin and Garcés-Mascarenas 2012), to provide new insights into the contradictory expectations placed on this particular group of early-career academics, and analyse their implications for the gendering of academic citizenship more generally. The chapter is organised in four parts.

First, against the backdrop of the numerical expansion of the 'postdoc' category within academic labour markets, we present the theoretical framework of our analysis, which builds on the notion of 'probationary citizenship', initially developed to study the legalisation process of undocumented migrants in different national settings. This conceptual framework enables us to explore the conditions under which postdocs are currently employed and to study the processes through which they are expected to demonstrate their 'deservingness' of full academic citizenship. Just like undocumented migrants, postdocs are faced with potentially contradictory expectations or 'divergent prescriptions' (Chauvin and Garcés-Mascarenas 2012). We suggest that they experience the postdoc period as a time when they are exposed to the alternative paths of definitive exclusion from the academic career path (non-citizenship), on the one hand, or of potential access to full academic citizenship status, on the other. However, depending on their gender, nationality, disciplinary background and family circumstances, the promise of full academic citizenship always comes with the risk of becoming trapped on the margins of the scientific community, in a durable 'limited' or 'second-class citizenship' status.

Secondly, we provide some statistical evidence of the extent of 'postdoc bubble' in the Swiss context and pinpoint some of the specificities of the academic labour market in Switzerland, as compared to other national

contexts (Le Feuvre et al. 2018). We also present the data and research methods used in this study.

In third place, we present several aspects of the 'probationary citizenship' experiences of postdocs that emerged from our fieldwork (Bataille 2016; Fassa et al. 2016; Le Feuvre 2016). More precisely, we explore the divergent prescriptions postdocs face in relation to their employment and working conditions, their social protection, their scientific recognition, and their intimate and personal lives, and assess the consequences for these contradictory expectations on their professional aspirations and career outcomes.

In a fourth and final section, we summarise the implications of our findings for the study of *gendered* academic citizenship. We argue that, although the 'probationary citizenship' experiences of women are not radically different to those of their male counterparts, the outcomes of the postdoc period do tend to be distinctly gendered, particularly in the Swiss context.

'Probationary Citizenship' as a Framework for Analysing the Postdoctoral Experience

One of the main aims of our paper is to analyse subjective citizenship experiences of the so-called 'postdoc bubble' in a particular institutional context. With this objective in mind, we suggest that academic citizenship always needs to be approached from a biographical or life-course perspective. The exclusion or inclusion processes at work within the academic community cannot be fully understood without sufficient consideration of the mechanisms through which aspirations and expectations are elaborated and consolidated over time, and in relation to other life domains. It is the dynamic and evolutive character of academic citizenship that inspired us to explore the analytical potential of concepts developed in the field of migration studies. Irrespective of the transnational mobility increasingly required of prospective academics (particularly those from non-English speaking countries), we believe that the 'precarious postdoc' (Jones and Oakley 2018) experiences of our respondents are not entirely unlike those of certain 'illegal' migrants, who already reside in the country to which they aspire to be formally admitted.

With the growth of undocumented immigration, the term 'informal citizenship' (Sassen 2002: 282) has been used to describe the reality of some migrants who, despite their illegal status, are able to access

a series of 'citizenship rights' (e.g. economic resources, legal protection, housing, social services, education and public activism) in their country of settlement. The analytical insights drawn from this term have inspired other authors to reflect on the ambiguity of access to these rights for the legalisation of illegal migrants. For example, in a number of countries, undocumented migrants are required to prove their successful 'integration' into the host country in order to enhance their chances of legalisation. At the same time, as illegal migrants, they are not formally entitled to the 'rights' that they are required to have acquired (through illegal or informal means), including a paid job, health insurance, a home, an education for their children, etc. Sébastian Chauvin and Blanca Garcés-Mascarenas (2012) use the notion of 'probationary citizenship' to explore the 'divergent prescriptions' that illegal migrants face on their journey to full citizenship. In so doing, they identify the risk of 'subordinate incorporation' (Chauvin and Garcés-Mascarenas 2012: 8) of undocumented migrants into specific nation-states; their physical presence is real, but their life-chances are limited by their precarious legal status. More precisely, these authors stress that undocumented migrants are increasingly required to demonstrate 'deservingness' of full citizenship, by conforming to the norms and by performing at least some of the tasks that are part and parcel of what it means to be a citizen, whilst living on the margins of the host community (ibid.).

The notions of 'divergent prescriptions', 'deservingness' and 'subordinate incorporation', struck a chord with our own reflections on the precarious postdoc predicament in the Swiss context. Historically, postdocs were clearly considered as 'subordinate' members of the academic community. They were expected to 'learn their trade' and to 'prove their worth' by working under the authority and patronage of a more senior academic (and often to his/her personal advantage), before progressing onto full membership of the academic community in their own right within a relatively short time-frame (3–5 years after the PhD defence). Of course, during this process, some postdocs were denied community membership, usually on the basis of their failure to reach various measures of 'academic excellence' (for a critical discussion of this notion, see Chapter 2 in this volume) within a predefined time-scale. This 'up or out' career structure has traditionally been detrimental to women, and to mothers of young children in particular, in that it defined a limited time-frame in which individuals had to prove their worthiness of full membership of the academic community (Beaufaÿs and Krais 2005), or

run the risk of definitive exclusion and relegation to 'non-citizenship'. The postdoc period has thus always been a time of 'probation', when aspiring academics were expected to demonstrate their 'deservingness' of full membership of the academic community through a variety of means.

However, the probationary citizenship experiences of the current generation of postdocs differ from those of their predecessors in three essential ways. First, the likelihood of a successful transition from probationary postdoc to full academic citizenship has significantly decreased over time (Enders and Musselin 2008; Shinonazi 2017). Secondly, the duration of the probationary postdoc period has increased considerably, placing individuals in a prolonged period of uncertainty about the future direction of their professional and personal lives. And, finally, the conditions required to successfully transition to a permanent academic career have become more obscure, and potentially contradictory.

We argue that it is useful to see the postdoc period as a time of 'weird limbo' (as one of our interviewees put it), characterised by structural *uncertainty* and *embodied anxiety* (Sigl 2012). The completion of a PhD requires successful candidates to perform most of the tasks that will eventually serve as selection criteria for full membership of the academic community. Most postdocs have confirmed their desire for recognition as independent scientists, by applying for positions that are presumed to be 'stepping stones' towards an academic career. This progression is predicated on the accumulation of relevant experience in the core tasks of the profession and on the external evaluation and validation of the 'performance' levels of those who aspire to remain within the academic community, on a permanent basis. And yet, satisfactory completion of these core professional tasks does not provide guaranteed access to full academic citizenship.

In the Swiss context, the transient status of a large number of internationally selected postdocs offers a variety of potential outcomes, including *full academic citizenship* (via access to a tenure-track or tenured academic professorship), *limited* or *second-class citizenship*, in the form of relatively stable positions that involve a combination of teaching, research and administrative tasks, but that is not designed to enable subsequent progression to a tenured professorship, and *thwarted or non-citizenship*, in the form of voluntary or involuntary exit from the academic career structure, although not necessarily total exclusion from the academic labour market, since these postdocs may continue to carry out fixed-term,

part-time teaching, research or administrative duties within HER institutions for a number of years. This latter option corresponds to a form of 'subordinate inclusion' in the academic labour market, which makes it difficult for individuals to envisage an alternative (non-academic) career, but which provides few of the rewards or recognition associated with academic citizenship.

We would argue that the moral contract that historically linked academic institutions, senior academic mentors and postdocs around a limited 'probationary' phase is currently under considerable strain. The historical status of postdocs was predicated on their progressive integration into the academic community within a predictable time-frame. But, much like undocumented migrants in the Global North, today's generation of postdocs are under increasing pressure to demonstrate their deservedness of the whole range of rights associated with full academic citizenship, at a time when expectations about what they actually need to achieve are increasingly unclear and/or unrealistic (Warren 2019). Thus, as competition for the relatively few stable academic jobs increases, the rising number of 'permadocs' (Courtois and O'Keefe 2015) poses a potential threat to the cohesion of the academic community as a whole. The stunted rights, rewards and recognition offered to individuals during the 'probationary' postdoc phase can no longer be bolstered by the promise of future membership of the academic community, and, as we will show later, this shift may lead to new forms of gender segregation within HE and research institutions.

The Swiss 'Postdoc Bubble' in Comparative Perspective

The Swiss academic market is characterised by relatively low levels of employment security and by high levels of international recruitment (Afonso 2016). In addition, Swiss postdocs are usually placed under the administrative and moral authority of a senior academic, but are expected to demonstrate their intellectual autonomy and 'leadership potential' in order to progress onto a permanent professorial appointment.

Postdoc Insecurity: An Unpredictable Succession of Fixed-Term Contracts

In Switzerland, universities are funded and regulated at the cantonal level. They are free to define their own academic career paths, as well as the duration, denomination and conditions of recruitment to different temporary or permanent positions (see Afonso 2016). Over 15 different denominations are used to designate academic jobs in Switzerland, as compared to the standard international trilogy of 'PhD, postdoc, tenure-track assistant professorship'. There is thus considerable variation in the type of positions available or used in the different Faculties of each HE institution. A small minority of HE & research institutions offer permanent positions that are equivalent to Senior Lecturers or Readers in other national contexts, whilst others only offer stable jobs at Associate and Full Professor levels. However, the Swiss academic career model remains similar across institutions as far as the duration of the 'probationary' postdoc period is concerned. In a country where the majority of PhDs are awarded to people in their mid-30s (Dubach et al. 2017: 53), access to a tenured professorship before the age of 40 is rare, especially in the Humanities and Social sciences, which account for a large share of female PhDs (Fassa and Kradolfer 2013). The 'postdoc' period is therefore likely to last for a minimum of 7–10 years, sometimes more.

Given the prolonged length of the pre-tenure period in the Swiss context, it is common for PhD holders to benefit from more than one source of postdoc funding, either simultaneously (combining several part-time positions, potentially in different institutions) or in succession (running the risk of periods without income between assignments).

The first type of postdoc positions are funded directly by the university and form an integral part of their internal labour markets. These positions (e.g. *Premier Assistant·e* or *Maître Assistant·e*) usually involve a combination of research and teaching (or assisting teaching) duties.

The second set of postdoc positions, mostly research-based, are funded by the Swiss national research council (SNSF), or other external funding bodies. These funds are usually secured on a competitive basis by tenured academics. Professors are not allowed to 'buy themselves out' of their statutory teaching and administrative duties (as is the case in other national contexts). As 'principal investigators' (PI) they recruit PhD candidates and postdocs to carry out the proposed research programme.

These postdoc positions may be full- or part-time. The former category is renewable on an annual basis, for a maximum duration of five or six years, whilst the later usually last for 1–3 years.

The third category of positions is available for postdocs who access research funding directly. At the SNSF, for example, 'career funding' opportunities require them to undertake extended periods of international mobility (12–36 months), to work under the supervision of a senior (tenured) academic in a (preferably prestigious) foreign university. In this case, the funding presumes full-time employment and may include a six month 'return phase' to a Swiss university and a top-up grant to cover the expenses of an accompanying spouse and children.

In addition to these three types of formal postdoc positions, there are also some 'hidden' or 'clandestine' postdocs in Swiss HE and research institutions. These are people who are recruited to what are nominally administrative or technical positions, but which actually include a variety of research (support) or teaching (supervisory) duties. The development of these clandestine postdoc positions is difficult to track with precision, but they would appear to be an unintended consequence of measures taken by the Swiss authorities to reduce the 'precarity' of early academic careers. Thus, for example, the SNSF considers that the postdoc status should be limited in duration and provides a sliding scale for postdoc salaries, including recognition of previous work experience, that reaches a ceiling at PhD+ five years. Once this duration has been exceeded, the expectation is that the postdocs who have not (yet) secured a professorship will 'exit' the academic labour market. Some Swiss universities also limit the number of years that can be spent in any combination of postdoc contracts in the same institution, whilst others allow PhDs to occupy a succession of postdoc jobs with no limit to their total duration. In many disciplinary fields, the five-year cut off point is well below the academic age at which most professors are actually recruited. Whilst not recognised as being part of the academic career track, administrative or technical positions may be used to shelter some junior colleagues from the requirement to leave an institution after the authorised duration of the formal postdoc phase, in order to further bolster their track record (publications and grants) with a view to eventually applying for a permanent academic position. Alternatively, these 'pseudo-' postdoc positions may be offered as an alternative to an academic career, and thus signify the definitive shift from a 'probationary' to a more permanent type of 'limited' or 'second class' academic citizenship.

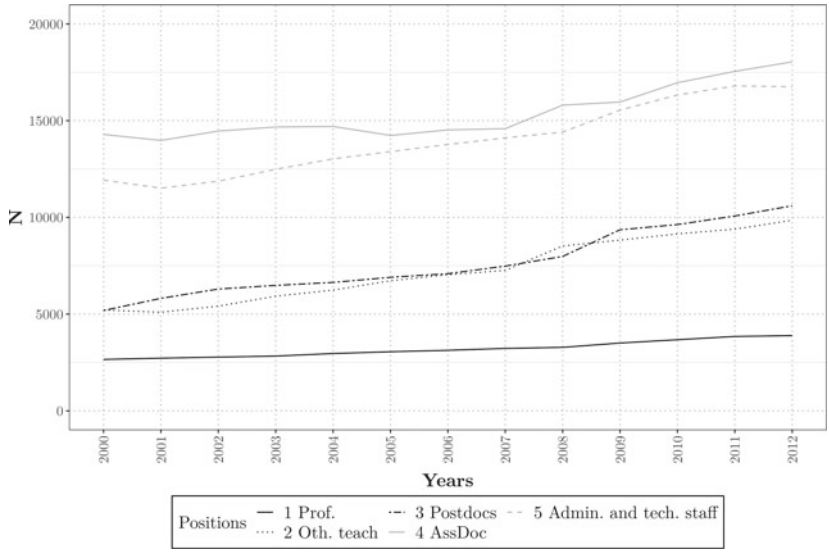

Fig. 3.1 Composition of academic staff in Swiss HE & Research Institutions (2000–2012) (*Source* OFS 2017)

Due to the variety of denominations of postdoc positions in Switzerland, it is extremely difficult to track their development over time. Between 2000 and 2012, an official study of the staffing levels of Swiss HERIs distinguished between five occupational categories, according to academic rank, qualification (pre- or post-PhD) and employment conditions (tenured or fixed-term)[1] (Fig. 3.1).

Largely due to rising student numbers, employment increased in all five categories over the period 2000–2012, although rates of growth varied significantly by occupational status. Despite an increase in absolute

[1] The resulting categories are defined as follows: Professors (**Profs**), including Full, Associate and Assistant professorial positions with tenure or on tenure-track; Other academic staff (**Oth. teach**), including non-professorial academic positions, such as Lecturer or Senior Lecturer, some of which are stable, and which require a PhD; Teaching and/or research positions (**Postdocs**), fixed-term, reserved for people with a PhD; Teaching and/or research positions (**AssDoc**), fixed-term, reserved for people without a PhD (e.g. Graduate Students) Administrative and technical support staff (**Admin. and Tech. Staff**), stable or fixed-term, sometimes requiring a PhD.

numbers (+45%), the relative share of tenured or tenure-track professorial positions remains extremely low, confirming EU estimates that show that professors represent only 12% of male academic staff and 4.7% of female academic staff in Swiss universities (European Commission 2016: 132). In contrast, the increase in the Postdoc category (fixed-term teaching and/or research positions for PhD holders) has been expanding considerably faster (+104%), in line with that of the more heterogeneous category of 'Other teaching staff' (+90%), which, along with the "Admin & Technical staff" category, may include a number of 'clandestine postdocs'. The increased gap between the number of postdocs on the one hand, and the number of stable professorial positions (Prof.) on the other hand suggests that the Swiss 'survivor' career model identified by Jürgen Enders and Christine Musselin (2008) is becoming even more selective over time.

Postdoc Mobility: Inbound and Outbound Circulations on an International Scale

The Swiss academic market is not only characterised by extended periods of employment insecurity, but also by extremely high levels of international mobility. As one of the most internationalised academic labour markets in the world, Swiss universities register high rates of both inbound and outbound mobility (see Table 3.1).

Less than 40% of PhD candidates affiliated to a Swiss higher education institution are Swiss citizens or Swiss-educated foreigners, whilst the remaining two-thirds come from abroad. Women represent a slightly larger share of foreign than Swiss PhD candidates, but the sex and mobility ratios also vary by disciplinary field. Thus, foreigners account for about 70% of PhD candidates in economics and the natural sciences, but only 47% of those in the social sciences and 28% in Law.

Foreigners also make up a large share of the Swiss academic workforce. In 2017, only 34% of 'scientific collaborators' (PhDs and Postdocs) were Swiss citizens, and this was also the case for 39% of the tenured or tenure-track professors, as compared to 44% in 2008 (Dubach et al 2017; OFS 2017), although some of these foreigners may have received their PhD from a Swiss university (Nokkala et al. 2020).

All early-career scientists who received their PhD in Switzerland are encouraged to spend at least 12 months in a foreign research institution (Sautier 2017), irrespective of their nationality. Being internationally mobile has long been a requirement for access to most stable academic

Table 3.1 Foreigners as share of PhD candidates at Swiss universities (2015)

Disciplinary field	*PhD Total PhD candidates*	*Swiss or Swiss-educated PhD candidates*[a] *(%)*	*Women Women PhD candidates (%)*	*Women among Swiss or Swiss-educated PhD candidates (%)*	*Women among foreign-educated PhD candidates (%)*
Social sciences	976	53.0	56.5	57.6	55.3
Economics	310	30.0	36.5	31.2	38.8
Law	328	71.6	47.9	45.5	54.0
Natural sciences	1635	28.9	42.2	31.5	46.5
Technical studies	776	24.6	28.7	22.5	30.7
Total	4053	37.6	43.3	41.7	44.3

Source Dubach et al. (2017: 51), own calculations

[a]The category «Swiss or Swiss-educated» includes PhD candidates with Swiss nationality and foreigners who received their *Maturité* (school leaving certificate) from a Swiss secondary school

positions, but it is also expected for many of the fixed-term positions mentioned previously.

Early-career researchers are thus faced with the challenge of moving abroad and of re-locating frequently (with all this entails for their personal and family lives) whilst 'surviving' a succession of fixed-term, often part-time, teaching and/or research positions, characterised by extreme uncertainty.

Postdoc Subordination: Issues of Intellectual Autonomy and Leadership Potential

Whatever their precise status, postdocs exemplify the ambiguities of the Swiss academic career model, where membership and belonging to the academic community are partly detached from formal employment conditions and monetary rewards, and where the research output and reputation of tenured professors is largely dependent on their ability to attract (and retain) productive and committed postdoc 'research collaborators' to whom they can offer only fixed-term employment opportunities in return.

Quite logically, almost all of the postdoc positions described above imply a degree of formal subordination to an individual tenured professor (or PI), who is often referred to as the 'boss' and who effectively selects postdocs—often single-handed—from the (usually large) pool of applicants, and determines to a large extent their employment and working conditions, within the HR guidelines laid down by the cantonal authorities. In the Swiss context, postdocs are thus heavily dependent on the mentorship and patronage of their successive supervisors and PIs for access to a whole range of resources that will ultimately enable them to 'survive' for the lengthy time required to qualify for a (semi-) permanent academic position (generally associated with the right for them to supervise PhDs and to recruit 'their' own postdocs in turn).

In practice, several factors hinder the smooth transition from 'probationary' to full academic citizenship for the majority of the postdocs working in Switzerland.

Firstly, as mentioned previously, the formal postdoc period is not actually long enough to take the PhDs up to the 'academic age' and/or career stage where they can objectively hope to be recruited to a professorship (as we have seen, usually at PhD+ seven years, sometimes much more). The idea that the tenure process *should* take place earlier appears to be wishful thinking on the part of the authorities, since there is widespread evidence that the explicit or tacit requirements for access to a professorship cannot objectively be met within the designated time-frame, at least not whilst maintaining an acceptable level of mental and physical health and a semblance of social or family life outside of work (Fassa and Kradolfer 2013; Moreau and Robertson 2019). This is particularly true in disciplines where there are almost no tenure-track (assistant) professorships, and where the only solution for postdocs who have already been working in a particular institution for up to five years—and who want to stay there—is the creation of a professorship in their own department, in an area sufficiently close to their own expertise, and to which they could apply. This 'open' application process brings them into competition with (often more established) members of the international academic community, attracted by the relatively comfortable employment conditions offered by Swiss universities (Afonso 2016), and who are more easily taken seriously as 'independent scholars' than the 'local' postdocs.

Secondly, there is the thorny question of the alternative career opportunities that might be available to the highly qualified men and women who have been trained and specialised in nothing but 'research (and some

teaching) excellence' for the past 10 years. Previous studies have shown that opportunities for non-academic careers in Switzerland are highest in those disciplinary fields where the share of female PhDs is lowest (Studer 2012). In other words, the decision to undertake doctoral studies is not unrelated to the gender segregation of the Swiss education system and labour market. Through a longitudinal study of Swiss graduate career paths, Studer (2012) found that female MA graduates in the Humanities and Social sciences are more likely to continue their studies (as funded PhDs) than their male counterparts, precisely because they perceive the university environment to be less discriminatory than most alternative employment sectors. Our interviews confirm that non-academic employment opportunities are also scarce for postdocs in the most feminised disciplinary fields (SSH, but also the life-sciences), leading to a willingness of some (female) postdocs to accept unpredictable, flexible working conditions in academic institutions, even without any prospect of tenure.

Finally, there are the interests of the institutions and the senior academics themselves, who are generally eager to continue collaborating with the postdocs they have selected according to precise criteria, and who have already become at least surrogate members of the academic community. Should these worthy candidates prove unsuccessful in their attempts to achieve full academic citizenship, the temptation to continue employing them, even with a definitively 'subordinate' status, results from a combination of at least two factors, first, the self-interest of the PIs (who trust them to produce sound research, to get their joint work published in the right journals and to help with future grant applications). Second, a sense of moral obligation to at least some of their research collaborators, since it would be unethical not to re-employ someone who has been loyal and productive.

Due to the 'up or out' logic that underpins the Swiss academic career structure, there are actually few permanently subordinate postdoc positions in the country. In the institution where our field-work was carried out, recruitment to the few teaching-only, part-time, fixed-term positions is formally limited to those candidates who could prove that they had a 'principal employer' elsewhere (for income tax purposes). Thus, in Switzerland, postdoc precarity is less likely to take the form of part-time 'crumb jobs' (although these do exist) and more likely to result from the non-renewable character of employment contracts that require postdocs to fulfil almost all the criteria of professorial recruitments, whilst

rarely enabling them to secure the rights and rewards associated with full academic citizenship.

The 'probationary' postdoc period thus requires individuals to demonstrate their 'total commitment' to the scientific endeavour, to meet ever more demanding 'performance' objectives (publications, grants, awards, etc.) and to accept their *subordination* to a tenured individual on whom they depend both for immediate survival (a job), for their well-being (work-life balance) and for their academic future (the patronage required to access the next step along the highly competitive academic career track, in Switzerland or abroad) (see van den Brink and Benschop 2014). At the same time, the transition out of this probationary phase requires postdocs to demonstrate 'leadership potential' and intellectual *autonomy*.

With such contradictory expectations hanging over them, it is hardly surprising that the citizenship experiences of Swiss postdocs are fraught with material and emotional tensions, many of which have gendered aspects and implications.

Research Data and Methods

The empirical data analysed here were collected during the *GARCIA* research project. Involving partners from Austria, Belgium, Italy, Iceland, The Netherlands, Slovenia and Switzerland and using a mixed-methods design, aimed at studying the early stages of the academic career path (between PhD defence and a permanent academic or non-academic position, i.e. the moment when women tend to 'leak' from the academic career pipeline) (Dubois-Shaik et al. 2018). In each country, we interviewed the same number of men (20) and women (20) who had been hired as postdocs in the STEM or SHS fields at a particular university, between 2010 and 2013. Our aim was to cover as many potential employment outcomes as possible, including subsequent postdoc or fixed-term contracts, tenure-track or tenured academic positions, non-academic employment (including unemployment and non-employment).

In addition, an online survey was fielded to all the former STEM and SHS postdocs of the partner institutions ($n = 339$), in order to collect data about their postdoctoral experience in the different countries, their career path since leaving the institution, and their aspirations for the future. We also collected administrative and internal survey data from each partner institution and carried out focus groups with senior academics involved in recruiting postdocs and permanent academic staff.

Although we ensured a gender balance of interviewees from each of the disciplinary fields, we did not control for nationality, and our study population reflects the large number of foreign postdocs working in Switzerland (22 interviewees out of 40 were foreign citizens), particularly in the STEM fields (17 out of 20).

The 'Probationary Citizenship' Experiences of Postdocs in the Swiss Context

In this section, we use interview and focus group data from the GARCIA research to explore different aspects of the 'probationary citizenship' experiences of our postdoc interviewees in the Swiss context. We pay special attention to the 'divergent expectations' faced by these surrogate members of the academic community, who are expected to demonstrate all the qualities of the academic citizen, whilst working on fixed-term contracts, under the authority of a senior academic, struggling to build up their personal reputation and research profile. This somewhat contradictory expectation creates extreme uncertainty for the postdocs as to their ability to maintain sufficient proof of their 'deservingness' of full membership of the academic community whilst juggling with a succession of geographically dispersed, non-renewable, precarious employment contracts and ensuring the continued patronage of senior academic gatekeepers.

As we have seen, Swiss postdocs are required to demonstrate their full commitment to the academic work ethic, with the hope of only indirect recognition in return. It was usually made clear to our interviewees from the outset that there would be no long-term future for them in the institution to which they were about to commit several years of their lives, frequently having moved long distances, at personal expense, to take up their jobs. Adhesion to the academic *ethos* is expressed through unlimited availability for work, a competitive 'pace' of productivity (Vostal 2015; Müller 2014), a contribution to the more mundane aspects of 'academic housework' (Heijstra et al. 2017) and submission to the research priorities of the PI, on the understanding that this investment can't be rewarded in the form of a permanent position *in that institution*. The justification for this intensive, sometimes gruelling schedule, is based on the idea that by demonstrating their willingness to adopt the 'all invasive' commitment of the contemporary academic, the postdocs will ultimately be recognised

as deserving full membership of the academic community *in general*, and thus increase their chances of being recruited *elsewhere*.

This disjuncture between the institutional setting where the postdocs are required to demonstrate deservingness and the unspecified location where they could (potentially) reap reward for this lengthy commitment to a 'greedy institution' (Coser 1974; del Río Carral and Fusulier 2013), is a source of much dissatisfaction and 'embodied anxiety' (Sigl 2012) on the part of the postdocs we interviewed. Their accounts reveal at least three types of risk related to their 'probationary' status. One relates to material working conditions and to the difficulty postdocs face in accessing employment rights, including basic social protection (Murgia and Poggio 2018). Another relates to the recognition of their scientific autonomy, leadership potential and overall 'excellence' (Fassa et al. 2019; O'Connor and O'Hagen 2016; van den Brink and Benschop 2012). A third relates to the subordination of their private lives to the unpredictable calendar and geographical dispersion of the precarious postdoc path. For analytical clarity, we will provide empirical evidence of each of these risks in separate subsections, whilst recognising that they usually co-exist in the accounts of the postdocs we interviewed.

The Risk of Precarious Employment and Limited Social Protection: 'You're Basically Just a Temp'…

Our interviews abound with accounts of postdocs facing limited employment and social protection rights and being made to feel like dispensable, temporary workers, despite years of educational investment and qualifications. The highly competitive, international market for access to Swiss universities, along with the transient nature of the postdoc contracts, and the importance of patronage from senior academics combine to limit the ability and willingness of postdocs to defend their basic employment rights with any vigour. The most frequently cited abuses of their 'probationary' status concern the expectation for them to work extremely long hours, irrespective of their formally part-time contracts, and the requirement to accept an arbitrary allocation of workload and job content.

For example, Helena,[2] a Colombian postdoc who completed her PhD in Spain, before applying for a two-year postdoc in Switzerland, is

[2] Names and certain biographical details have been modified to protect the identity of the interviewees.

currently employed on a non-tenure-track assistant professorship, with a fixed-term contract at the same university. She is employed (and paid) part-time (75%), whilst actually working 'a lot more'. Likewise, Julio—who is Spanish—completed his PhD in the UK, before taking up a postdoc position in Switzerland. Julio was highly motivated by the prospect of doing a PhD in order to start an academic career. After 18 months working on an interesting research project, he was about to take up a job in a large Swiss industrial firm, having abandoned any hope of an academic career:

> I didn't get the most motivating of situations to start with. For example, my contract […] was part-time, 80%, I thought: 'Oh great, I'll have Fridays off', until I actually arrived in the lab and they told me: 'No, you're expected to work at least full-time' […] And, there's a high turnover rate. During the last year, three or four PhD students dropped out, right in the middle of their PhD. [Really?] Yes, because they couldn't stand the situation anymore, the pressure. I even heard the PI come out with a very nice sentence, he said: 'having lunch is for losers and for weak people!' [laughs]. That's the general atmosphere in the department.

Beside the objective lack of academic career prospects in the life sciences, one of the reasons Julio finally decided to quit the academic career track was related to the employment conditions associated with the SNSF postdoc mobility scheme. Julio realised that the competitive funding would come in the form of a grant, rather than a salary, offering him no pension cover, no sick pay or, more importantly in his eyes, no right to unemployment benefit at the end of his three-year, non-renewable, grant-period, to be spent abroad.

Another recurrent example of postdocs feeling as if they are being treated like 'temps' refers to the vague and unspecified nature of their job content, particularly as far as teaching duties are concerned. Not only are candidates poorly informed about the precise content of their jobs when they accept a postdoc position in our case-study university, they also have the impression that duties are allocated on an arbitrary basis, often at short notice, leading to unpredictable schedules and unstable workloads. Thus, postdocs who formally have the same job titles, employment contacts and salary scale end up assuming very unequal shares of 'academic housework' (Heijstra et al. 2017), in the form of tasks that bring little visibility or recognition, but that are necessary to the smooth

running of all the rest. This leads to feelings of injustice and discrimination that can rarely be expressed openly, notably because work allocation is the role of the PI, on whom all the postdocs depend for future patronage.

Although male and female postdocs recount similar experiences of precarious employment and limited social protection, some issues do appear to be particularly discriminatory to women. Our interviews abound with tales of maternity leave being seen as a watershed on the academic career path of female postdocs, notably because a sign of anything less than total commitment to the research project automatically reduces their perceived 'deservingness' of full academic citizenship. However, at least in the Swiss context, maternity leave is seen as problematic not only because it risks reducing the scientific productivity of the postdoc, thus compromising her ability to compete on an equal footing with 'unhampered' candidates for tenured positions (Ward and Wolf-Wendel 2004; Wolfinger et al. 2008). There are actually a number of formal measures adopted (although still unevenly implemented) in Swiss universities, that enable female candidates to deduct any period of maternity leave, or any subsequent period of part-time employment, from their 'academic age', in order for their 'productivity' to be assessed only on the basis of their actual employment history. Rather, maternity leave is framed as problematic for the majority of our respondents essentially because it compromises the timely completion of the research project for which they were initially recruited. Since most Swiss universities have no policies for replacing women during their maternity leave (which lasts a statutory four months, with a possible one-month extension for breastfeeding),[3] the risk of hiring a pregnant woman, or one who might decide to have a child during her (potentially lengthy) postdoc period, is seen to fall essentially on the PI, who will suffer most from the inability of the new mother to carry out the research according to plan. Some senior academics put considerable pressure on female postdocs to avoid pregnancy altogether, or to continue working (informally) during their maternity leave, as proof of their 'deservingness' support on the route to full academic citizenship.

This moral pressure, and the negative consequences of failing to succumb to it, transpire from the account of Floriane, a French woman who was recruited to work on a three-year SNSF-funded project in the Faculty of Biology and Medicine. Floriane had the first child during the

[3]There is no legal paternity leave in Switzerland (Lanfranconi and Valarino 2014).

last year of her PhD (in France), and moved with her husband and daughter to live near the Swiss boarder to take up her postdoc position. Although she initially thought that this 'sounded like the ideal job', relationships with her supervisor soured after she announced that she was pregnant again. She described her boss as 'a really nice guy', despite the fact that he made her feel that this was 'really, really not a good time to be pregnant […] it really pissed him off'. Health problems during pregnancy, followed by the maternity leave itself, slowed down the data collection, and therefore reduced the research outputs.

> He imagined that I would work during my maternity leave. The worst thing is that I wasn't against the idea. I twice tried to do that, but it didn't work, it was impossible. I was just too tired.

Having compromised her 'deservingness' of continued support from her supervisor, and facing exhaustion from her attempts to compensate for her absence during the second year of the project, Floriane finally decided to abandon any idea of pursuing an academic career. At the time of the interview, she was preparing to become a secondary school teacher.

The Risk of Never Becoming an Independent Scholar in Your Own Right

A second 'divergent expectation' mentioned by the interviewees relates to the issue of scientific autonomy and 'leadership potential', two clearly recognised criteria for recruitment to the professorial positions in the Swiss academy. As we have seen, the primary role of a postdoc is to carry out a research programme that has been designed by their PI. This may involve data collection according to a predefined research protocol and/or the analysis (and publication) of data that has been collected prior to their joining the team. Tenured professors are actively encouraged to compete for external research grants, notably from the SNSF, and the number of (successful and unsuccessful) grant applications is used as a performance indicator in the professorial evaluation procedures. This funding generally comes in the form of salaries to recruit PhD students and postdocs, who are chosen (often with few internal constraints on selection criteria or procedures, see Fassa et al. 2016) by the PI, to whom they are expected to show appropriate signs of deference and subordination. The duty of a Swiss postdoc is first and foremost to ensure that the

PI's research project is run effectively and timely, according to the agenda defined before they were recruited. This includes ensuring that research results are published in the appropriate form for the PI to bolster his/her research portfolio, and to thus continue receiving competitive research funding.

As with the pressure for unlimited availability, the scientific subordination required of Swiss postdocs is a double-edged sword. With the increase in multi-authored publications (Fire and Guestrin 2019), postdocs are likely to benefit indirectly from any scientific output from the projects they work on; since they can expect to figure amongst the co-authors of just about every piece of research that gets into print. Having a 'productive' PI is thus a definite bonus, because it increases the chances of constructing a solid research portfolio, one of the main criteria for recruitment to permanent academic positions. At the same time, becoming part of an internationally renowned research team can also lead to a lack of recognition of the postdoc as an independent and autonomous researcher in his or her own right.

One example of this lack of scientific autonomy is provided by Stephany, a 30-year-old US citizen who had arrived in Lausanne with her French husband three years previously. Having done their PhDs in the US, the couple chose Switzerland because the husband wanted to live in a French-speaking environment (a challenge for Stephany), and because there were plenty of postdoc job opportunities that matched their respective research profiles. They both ended up on postdoc contracts in different departments in our case study university. Stephany spontaneously mentioned the importance of relationships with senior academics as a key to her future academic career. She described her former PhD supervisor as unsupportive, favouring one of the male postdocs in the team. Although she has witnessed some professors acting as 'strong allies to their people', her own experience has been largely negative to date. As a postdoc, she is working under the joint supervision of two professors and generally feels that 'they really don't care' about her future as an academic. This lack of concern is clear to her in the absence of feedback about her work, the absence of collaboration and a general feeling of indifference towards her as a person. She also describes the difficulties she faces in being taken seriously as an academic in her own right:

> I found a conference that I really wanted to go to, I wrote to my bosses, and I asked if I could go to this conference. One of them never wrote

> back (pause), the other one wrote back saying: 'Oh well, you know, I'm going to be going to that conference and so will your other boss. I will present your work, so you don't need to go' […]. It's basically saying: 'I think your work is interesting, but, I'm not going let you get the… sort of… credit for it. […] It was a sort of turning point for me in my feelings towards my bosses and then in my feelings towards a future career in research: 'If they're not even supporting me, then who will?' No-one's going to do so.

Showing a clear understanding of the power relations involved in decisions about who is in a position to 'take the credit' for her work (Welsh 2019), Stephany provides the following explanation of this unpleasant but not isolated experience:

> [My boss] is a relatively young professor, he's just got tenure, and… so he's in a position where he's trying to lift himself further up, even further than we are also trying to lift ourselves up. And so, I think he's, yeah, he's taking advantage of his power in that situation, in my opinion. He has done this with other people as well.

At the time of the interview, Stephany was seriously considering an alternative to an increasingly elusive academic career. However, frustrating on a personal level this experience of academic subordination may be, it reflects the ambivalent 'probationary' status of postdocs in the Swiss context, which also creates a potential threat to their mental and physical integrity. As Stephany explains in the following excerpt, the lack of scientific autonomy of postdocs is institutionalised through their subordination to a senior academic and also through the notion that the postdoc is actually a period of continuing education and professional training:

> One [strange] thing is that we are often hired on 80 or 90 percent contracts and this is never explained [laugh]. I've heard a variety of explanations, one of them was that we are still […] being trained. But, no one is training us and there is no… I mean no one is invested in our future careers […]. [This is] just an excuse they use to pay us less and to give us temporary contracts. And they don't do anything to give back.

However, as revealed in our focus groups with senior academics who had recently recruited postdocs or more senior colleagues (Herschberg et al. 2016), one of the first criteria for postdoc recruitment is to find

someone 'more or less anywhere in the world' who is already competent in the field covered by the position, who needs only minimal supervision and who is able to undertake all of the tasks related to the successful completion of the project without any further training. The 'ideal postdoc' candidate is thus supposed to share all the characteristics of the ideal professorial candidate, with one major exception: the postdoc should contribute to the research objectives defined by the PI (whilst potentially reaping indirect, personal benefits from his or (more rarely) her aura), whereas the potentially successful professorial candidate is expected to have demonstrated the ability to define and complete an independent research programme, and to manage a research 'team'.

This tension between scientific subordination and academic autonomy is exacerbated by the pressure increasingly placed on postdocs to contribute to the reputation of their host PI/research centre university, by making their personal research output visible (and, therefore, 'accountable' in the various metrics of institutional performance), even in the explicit absence of any formal and durable employment contract covering the 'production cost' of this output (see Welsh 2019).

The Swiss academic authorities are fully aware of the 'postdoc paradox' presented here. The SNSF has recently adopted a series of measures aimed at reducing the size of the 'postdoc bubble' and at giving early-career stage researchers the opportunity to develop their personal research agenda and leadership skills. These measures include placing a limit on the number of research grants[4] that any senior (tenured) academic can receive at one time. Simultaneously, the SNSF has also made it possible for some limited categories of untenured academics[5] to receive research grants in their own right. The idea of limiting the number of research projects tenured professors could manage at any point in time came in for stiff criticism, and has manifestly not been implemented in most SNSF funding bodies.

In addition, the 'career support' programme of the SNSF provides funding for a limited number of professorial fellowships, which do pay the salary of the postdocs themselves (and their 'team' of PhDs and/or postdocs), who become associate members of a chosen Faculty, for the

[4] This measure was implemented in 2018.

[5] This only applies to staff on the payroll of a university, and not to those working on externally funded projects.

duration of the Fellowship (potentially four–six years), with no additional cost to the host institution. The influence of these career support measure on the size of the Swiss 'postdoc bubble' is debatable, since they basically involve a reallocation of resources. Tenured professors have fewer opportunities to recruit research collaborators on a fixed-term basis, whilst untenured junior academics are now able to employ temporary postdocs in their own right.

The Risk of Missing Out on Intimate Relationships and Emotional Stability

The third contradictory requirement during the 'probationary' stage of the academic career is the subordination of emotional ties and intimate lives to the spatial—usually transnational—mobility that is a condition for access to successive postdoc positions. Predicated on the existence of an 'unencumbered global citizen', access to these jobs thus varies according to the nationality and marital status of the PhDs. The geographical mobility required of early-career scientists tends to reinforce existing inequalities in economic resources and settlement rights (Sautier 2017; Bataille and Sautier 2019). For example, the Swiss migration regime imposes annual quotas on the number of non-European citizens that can be admitted into the country at any one time and also requires them to leave the country immediately after the end of their employment contract,[6] a constraint that is not imposed on postdocs from the EU (Seminario and Le Feuvre 2017). Likewise, 'family reunification' measures are much harder for homosexual couples to access and are reserved for Swiss nationals, or for those foreigners with a permanent Swiss resident permit.

The 'intimate citizenship' experiences (Roseneil et al. 2012) of postdocs are influenced by the contradictory expectations about intimate living arrangements that coexist under the Swiss 'probationary citizenship' regime. On the one hand, postdocs are expected to be 'unencumbered' by any care duties of their own, but they are also presumed to be able to call upon, if required, the emotional and practical support of their loved ones on a daily basis. It is the combination of these two—usually

[6] A six-month 'job search' extension permit can be requested by non-EU citizens who complete a funded PhD contract in Switzerland, but no equivalent arrangement exists for most foreign postdocs.

implicit—expectations that enable PIs to impose 'elastic' working hours and unpredictable schedules on their male and female postdocs alike.

Postdocs are frequently caught up in moral dilemmas about the degree to which they should involve their loved ones in this uncertain period of their lives, particularly if this implies 'sacrifices' on their part. Given that the transitory nature and relatively lengthy duration of Swiss postdoc positions, our interviewees recount the complexity of deciding whether or not it is 'worthwhile' or 'feasible' moving with partners (and sometimes children) to a country that is rarely considered as their final destination on the road to full academic citizenship. There is also the prohibitive cost of securing accommodation and moving personal belongings to one of the most expensive countries in Europe, which often leads postdocs to adopt 'retarded student' living arrangements well into their late-30s or early 40s.

The decision to move alone or with loved ones is further complicated by three aspects of the Swiss academic context that have direct implications for the gendering of academic citizenship: a high level of homogamy, especially for female postdocs, who are more frequently involved in partnerships with other aspiring (male or female) academics than their male counterparts (Le Feuvre 2009); increasing 'dual career' expectations on the part of highly qualified couples in the European context; and a very conservative Swiss gender regime (Giraud and Lucas 2009), that provides limited career prospects to mothers, within the academy and elsewhere. This specific societal context implies contrasting expectations and experiences for the male and female postdocs we interviewed.

Firstly, Switzerland is perceived as a potentially attractive destination for dual-postdoc couples, simply because of the sheer numbers of postdoc positions available in the country, combined with the excellent Swiss transport infrastructure and reputation as a safe and prosperous destination (Ravasi et al. 2015). It is thus relatively easy for couples to envisage a 'joint' move to Switzerland, on the condition that the partners' employability is 'portable' or that the partner is willing to suspend his/her own career prospects. In the past, this requirement usually gave male postdocs an advantage, because they were statistically more likely to be accompanied by a so-called 'trailing wife' (Bruegel 1996), who could and would put her career aspirations on hold, at least for the duration of the 'probationary' postdoc phase. This is no longer the case. Male and female postdocs are now likely to be involved in complex 'dual career' configurations, potentially involving extended periods of living-apart-together

(LAT) arrangements, and ultimately resulting in (fragile) long-distance relationships, stalled parenthood and emotional instability (Sautier 2020). For example, Helena, a Spanish citizen, initially accepted a postdoc position in Switzerland on the understanding that her male partner, whom she had met whilst they were both PhDs, would come with her and look for a (non-academic) job. In reality, the Swiss labour market was not as open as expected and he also had problems with the immigration authorities. Although the partner did eventually receive a job offer in Switzerland, he had already decided to go back to Spain. Their relationship ended at that point, because Helena refused the 'long-distance' LAT model that was prevalent amongst her postdoc colleagues.

So, even when couples are able to make a joint move to Switzerland, adopting a 'dual career' lifestyle often turns out to be complicated. Also, they frequently end up adopting more traditional gender arrangements than initially intended (Elcheroth et al. 2011). The Swiss gender regime has been described as 'neo-maternalistic' (Giraud and Lucas 2009), since it rests on a 'modified male-breadwinner' configuration, with most women leaving the labour market entirely, or significantly reducing their working time after the birth of a child (OFS 2018). The female postdocs who have children in Switzerland are thus faced with a number of additional challenges. On the one hand, they must find practical and affordable solutions to the family childcare needs, on a limited budget, and with an unpredictable work schedule. On the other hand, they must convince their PI of their 'deservingness', despite the supposed 'incompatibility' of the aspiration for an academic career with their roles as mother and carer. This conception of motherhood as something that is fundamentally incompatible with the 'unencumbered commitment' to academic excellence was frequently expressed, both by male and female PIs, in the course of our fieldwork (Herschberg et al. 2016; Fassa et al. 2019). Sometimes our interviewees also saw motherhood as a concrete hindrance to women's careers. More often, they expressed the idea that this was how motherhood was perceived in the Swiss context, making it difficult to overcome what were deeply engrained beliefs. These were evident in the fact that most of the male PIs were in 'modified male-breadwinner' households, where their female partners had significantly reduced their working hours (and career ambitions) once their children were born. The (few) female PIs were more likely to be single and/or

childless, particularly in the older generations, where the 'queen bee' attitude to younger (particularly female) colleagues who supposedly 'want to have it all' is particularly prevalent (Faniko et al. 2016).

Of course, there are exceptions to this rule, but they require a particular configuration of the intimate arrangements of the early-career stage academics and of their working environment. Some of our interviewees demonstrate the importance of joint commitment to a dual career lifestyle by couples throughout the 'probationary citizenship' period (see Mancini-Vonlanthen et al. 2019). Thus, when we interviewed Julia, a 35-year-old Italian-born plant biologist, married with two young children (both under five), she had recently been recruited to a tenure-track junior group leader position at a German university. As with most of our STEM postdocs, Julia had had a very internationally mobile career, having done her Master in Italy, her PhD in Austria and four years of postdoc in Switzerland. As often amongst female researchers (Bataille 2016), Julia's (male) partner was also an aspiring academic. Confirming previous research findings (Schaer et al. 2017), Julia emphasises how this dual career couple configuration is often detrimental to the female partner, especially if the transition to parenthood takes place before she achieves tenure: 'if someone gives up, it's most likely the woman'. However, Julia and her partner agreed during the PhD to favour the career of the 'first to get offered a decent position'. When Julia was offered a postdoc in Switzerland, her husband joined her there a year later, having secured a Marie Curie Fellowship in the meantime. When she was then recruited to a tenure-track position after they had their first child, he followed her to Germany and finally abandoned his own academic career ambitions, to work in the industry.

The Gendering of 'Probationary Academic Citizenship'

As we have shown in the previous section, we found evidence of subtle gender differences in the transition into and out of this 'probationary citizenship' phase. To begin with, there are signs that women are considered to be potentially more reliable 'team players' by future PIs, and that this may actually give them a competitive edge over their male counterparts at the highly competitive point of recruitment to a postdoc position in the Swiss context. This stereotypical image of women as being more suited to a subordinate position of 'research collaborator' to a senior (usually

male) PI, could explain the particular pattern of the 'leaky pipeline' in the Swiss context, where women make up over 60% of PhDs, but only 23% of professors, and where their relative numbers start to decline precisely during the postdoc phase of the 'survivor' career path (Dubach et al. 2017: 89).

When they arrive in Switzerland to take up a postdoc position, these highly qualified men and women are equally committed to an academic career, and they share similar perceptions of what this entails. They know that they are expected to demonstrate 'unlimited commitment' to the scientific endeavour, putting in long hours and adapting to unpredictable schedules, to be 'highly productive' in this limited time-span, and to accept 'unfettered' mobility requirements, implying the need to 'suspend' the consolidation of their intimate relationships and delay any aspirations for parenthood, especially if childcare can't be allocated to a 'trailing spouse' of either sex. The postdocs tend to accept the legitimacy of these expectations, on which the continued patronage of their PIs depends, whilst also recognising that such demonstrations of 'deservingness' ultimately offer no guarantee of progression to a tenured position, particularly not in the same institution, or even the same country.

The feminine advantage at the point of recruitment is not maintained during the transition out of the 'probationary citizenship' phase and it is clearly around the divergent prescriptions the postdocs face as 'reliable subordinate collaborators' or as potential 'intellectual entrepreneurs' and 'team leaders' that gender segregation mechanisms come into play.

First, women are more likely than their male counterparts to undertake daily housekeeping and childcare duties alongside their heavy academic workload and they are less likely than their male colleagues to receive support from their spouse of the other family members in this regard (Bataille et al. 2017; see also Chapter 5 in the present volume). Unsurprisingly, as we have seen, female postdocs receive more negative evaluations of their 'deservingness' of continued patronage around the transition to parenthood. Nevertheless, this is not only associated with an objectively negative effect of motherhood on their personal academic record (notably scientific publications). It is also a result of the 'risk' a pregnant woman or mother of a young child is perceived to represent, in the Swiss context, for the timely completion of the research undertakings of the PI who recruited her and to whom she is ultimately answerable. The pregnant postdoc, along with any father who requests time out to dedicate to his family, is suspected of less than total commitment to the

academic career, but, more importantly, of failing to adequately repay the symbolic 'debt' owed to the PI for having 'invested' in that particular person, amongst a myriad of other, equally 'deserving', hopeful candidates. Because the Swiss academic market is so attractive, because the socioeconomic environment is so unsupportive to working parents, but also because women continue to bear the 'mental burden' of synchronising schedules within the household, they are likely to be judged more harshly (i.e. as 'less deserving') than their male counterparts, particularly in a country with shared beliefs and institutional arrangements predicated on the fundamental 'incompatibility' of motherhood and a demanding career.

Secondly, women appear to be particularly suited to the intellectual and organisational subordination that is required of postdocs in the Swiss context. Throughout our fieldwork, we observed that men experienced a more straightforward and rapid transition out of the 'probationary citizenship' phase than women, either because they are more easily recognised as 'deserving' of full academic citizenship (Fassa and Kradolfer 2013), or because they have more opportunities for opting out of the academic 'citizenship game' altogether, without compromising their future career prospects. Women, on the other hand, appear to be particularly vulnerable to extended periods of 'probationary citizenship' and, after several successive highly 'successful' postdoc positions, they are more likely to be offered various forms of 'subordinate inclusion' in the academy, via pseudo-academic jobs that offer only 'limited' or 'second class' citizenship status.

The less favourable outcomes of the 'probationary postdoc' phase for women result from a combination of factors. For reasons that are partly related to the negative perception of their family and domestic commitments, partly related to the moral reprobation associated with women appearing to be 'too ambitious' (Faniko et al. 2016), and partly related to the less favourable employment opportunities available to them outside of the academy, female postdocs and their mentors seem to envisage a 'durably subordinate' membership of the academic community as an acceptable career outcome for a woman, particularly if she appears to be 'encumbered' by family engagements or geographically 'fettered' in any way. Since women are acutely aware that motherhood tends to position them as 'less deserving' of continued patronage, irrespective of their practical childcare arrangements and objective work commitments, they

are more likely to see the decision to have children as a barrier to full academic citizenship, and to scale down their ambitions accordingly.

It would thus seem that male postdocs tend to adhere to the 'up or out' principle of the survivor career model, particularly if they have family responsibilities and aspire to a traditional 'male (main) breadwinner' role (Bataille 2016). Female postdocs, in contrast, not only receive less support from their PIs and partners to 'move up' the academic career ladder, they also face labour market discrimination and have fewer alternative career opportunities (Studer 2012). They are therefore less likely to 'exit' the academic citizenship path strategically, in the search for more promising career opportunities elsewhere (cf. Glass et al. 2013), and more likely to 'hold on' to any form of academic employment, until all prospects of tenure have finally evaporated and until there are no more administrative avenues to a 'permadoc' status available.

We would thus argue that persistent gender inequalities in the Swiss academic labour market result not only from the 'exclusion' of women through discriminatory selection mechanisms, but also from their prolonged 'subordinate inclusion' (Chauvin and Garcés-Mascarenas 2012) in the academic community, via a secondary (Piore and Sabel 1984) internal academic labour market.

Concluding Discussion

Developing the notion of 'probationary citizenship' has been particularly useful in identifying one of the core aspects of the postdoc experience that has been relatively undocumented to date, namely the 'divergent prescriptions' male and female postdocs face at different stages of a typical (Swiss) 'survivor' academic career path. We have thus shown that the successful completion of the postdoc 'probationary citizenship' phase requires demonstrating various forms of subordination to the scientific leadership of a (usually male) senior academic, on whose patronage continuing academic employability depends. However, at the end of the postdoc period, the transition to full academic citizenship requires the very same postdocs to demonstrate the intellectual 'leadership' qualities that are a prerequisite for recruitment to a tenured professorship; qualities that are by no means fostered or valued during the 'probationary' career stage, particularly in women (Faniko et al. 2016).

More generally, our research suggests that the Swiss postdoc phase tends to encourage and reward fairly conservative gender arrangements.

The men who succeed the transition to full academic citizenship usually benefit from the informal support of a 'flexible' spouse, whose own career prospects are tailored to the needs of the internationally mobile male career path. Although we did uncover some cases of 'gender subversion' in dual career couples (Le Feuvre 2009), women usually face the additional challenge of being taken seriously, not only as 'excellent' researchers and teachers, but also as academic authority figures, with outstanding management potential.

Our fieldwork suggests that couples who aspire to more egalitarian lifestyle arrangements are unlikely to 'survive' the lengthy 'probationary' postdoc phase. Men who want to invest in their home life and to support the career advancements of their partner are most likely to abandon their aspirations for an academic career and to prefer alternative employment options (Bataille 2016). Women who can count on the active support of a spouse, not only for the daily management of the household, but also for the bolstering of their self-confidence and claims to become independent academics in their own right, are likely to favour a destination country and academic environment that is more conducive than Switzerland to dual career practices across the life-course.

It is important to stress here that the unfavourable outcome of the 'probationary postdoc' phase for female postdocs is not directly related to the 'hampering' of their academic potential after the transition to motherhood. Overall, 'scientific productivity' is relatively independent of gender, partnership or parental status (Yang and Webber 2015). It is thus something of a sociological fallacy to believe that motherhood per se reduces the ability of women to compete on an equal footing with men on a range of objective indicators of 'academic excellence', however this is defined and measured (O'Connor and O'Hagan 2016). On the contrary, what counts is the significance collectively attached to motherhood, and to other care commitments, as an indicator of women's less than total 'deservingness' of full academic citizenship, and thus their access to recognition, patronage and, ultimately, a tenured professorial position.

As we have seen, the negative influence of such beliefs can be reduced under at least two—largely ideological—conditions. Firstly, it is necessary that care commitments, including motherhood, cease to be associated with a lack of 'deservingness' of further patronage by individual PIs and with a lack of recognition and reward by members of the academic community as a whole. Secondly, a firm commitment within postdoc

households (and extended families) to the *equal value* of male and female career aspirations and the adoption of practical, daily arrangements that are conducive to 'dual career' households (Mancini-Vonlanthen et al. 2019).

The main problem for female postdocs in the Swiss context is not 'exclusion' from the academic community, but rather something akin to 'membership without citizenship' (Brubaker 1989: 145). Unfortunately, the sheer size of the Swiss 'postdoc bubble' presents a serious challenge to the development of a sustainable 'gender equality culture', despite the rhetorical, financial and organisational commitment to this policy agenda over the past 20 years.

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CHAPTER 4

Gender and Academic Citizenship Practices: The Norwegian Case

Gry Brandser and Sevil Sümer

Introduction

A recurring argument regarding the scarcity of women at top academic positions is that the gendered patterns will disappear in time, as women are now well represented among students at all levels, including PhD fellows. However, the passing time has shown that change is slow and not always straightforward, and consequently, women's representation in top academic positions, as well as their academic citizenship experiences remain limited. The pertinent vertical segregation in academia is on the agenda throughout Europe as a challenge that needs further attention, even in countries that rank at the top on various gender equality indicators. In this chapter we discuss the complex set of issues behind this conundrum, focusing on the case of Norway.

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Norway has been a forerunner in institutionalizing gender equality policies and is often at the top of international rankings with respect to achieved gender equality. It is true that Norwegian women have high participation rates in the labour force and score well with respect to political citizenship. Yet, gendered segregations in the labour market remain a pressing problem with a resilient male domination in top-level positions, across different sectors (Halrynjo and Teigen 2016). The paradoxical pattern is also apparent in the higher education and research sector, where women hold on average only one-third of professorial positions in 2020. How are we to understand the persistence of significant gender asymmetries at the top academic level in an otherwise egalitarian society? Which gendered mechanisms are in action leading to power imbalances and hierarchies? What are the factors impeding Norwegian women's full academic citizenship?

Norwegian women have become highly visible as students, first at bachelor and master's levels, and recently among PhD candidates, especially since the early 2000s. Despite two decades of progress, which were expected to lead to a corresponding increase at top academic positions, that is not the case: women remain under-represented among professors (29% in 2018) and academic leaders (DBH). There are variations with respect to academic fields, with considerably lower rates in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) fields (still below 20%) and slightly higher in the Humanities and the Social Sciences, but the overall pattern of decreasing gender balance the higher one moves up the academic hierarchy is the same (DBH). Exploring the reasons of this pattern was the vantage point of our investigation into the academic citizenship experiences of women in Norwegian academia.

The chapter is structured in the following way: First, we present brief information on the research design and methods employed. We then provide an account of the key changes in the Higher Education and Research Institutions (HERIs) and the academic career system in Norway before proceeding to a discussion of our research findings on factors impeding Norwegian women's academic citizenship. As outlined in Chapter 1, we understand academic citizenship as involving three key components: membership (generating *rights* and *duties*); recognition (involving *power*, *voice* and *respect*) and belonging (generating a sense of *identity, entitlement and 'fitting in'*). In this chapter, we discuss

how subtle processes of inclusion and exclusion, recognition and denigration operate in Norwegian academia, hindering full academic citizenship.

Research Design

The chapter is based on research conducted in a project funded by the *Gender Balance* (BALANSE) initiative of the Research Council of Norway.[1] The key aim of the project was to obtain new knowledge on the institutional and cultural factors causing the gender gap in the academic institutions and to formulate innovative policy suggestions based on these findings (Full project report in Norwegian is available online: Brandser and Sümer 2016). The research involved faculty and staff from three higher education and research institutions in Western Norway.

To obtain context-sensitive and in-depth data on the processes and experiences behind the gender imbalances, we employed qualitative methods and carried out both personal and focus group interviews with female academics at different phases of their academic careers, as well as individual interviews with women in leadership positions. Twelve Focus group interviews with a total number of 40 participants, who were employed at the Faculties of Social Sciences, Humanities, Mathematics and Natural Sciences, were carried out. We also interviewed three professors in leadership positions and three HR managers individually. Inclusion of academics working at three different Faculties enables us to discuss disciplinary differences. Prior research on disciplinary differences often point at variations concerning specific research cultures and differences between historically male dominated (mainly STEM fields) and more gender-balanced or gradually female-dominated (mainly Social Sciences) disciplines (Silander et al. 2013; Van den Brink and Benschop 2012). Our research design also enables us to discuss factors related to life-course and age, as we have interviewed both younger academics in postdoctoral positions (postdocs), and more established academics in Professor positions.

[1] The BALANSE-initiative on *Gender Balance in Senior positions and Research Management* (2012–2022) seeks to promote gender balance at the senior level in Norwegian higher education and research. See project website for details on the policy components: http://www.uib.no/balanse.

Focus group interviews have the advantage of providing researchers with direct access to the language and concepts participants use to structure their experiences about a designated topic (Bloor et al. 2001). A particular strength of the method is the opportunity participants have to elicit relevant issues and share ideas collectively, bringing forward their own experiences and opinions. Interviewees were recruited from the faculty in the three institutions and participation was voluntary and based on informed consent. Another important advantage of the focus group interviewing was the ways groups were formed based on similarities of academic rank and field and thus participants were placed on an even footing with each other (Berg and Lune 2012: 172). The female academics were interviewed mostly in small groups with three or four participants. A semi-structured focus group guide was used as basis for the discussion. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed, then interpreted and analysed thematically (first individually and then collectively), by the two principal investigators (who are the authors of this chapter). The analysis involved identification of recurring themes, shared experiences, as well as surprising and divergent statements. Our different disciplinary backgrounds (political science and sociology) proved to be advantageous and enabled us to carry out an interdisciplinary and explorative investigation, focusing on systemic (macro), organizational (meso) and individual (micro) levels. In the following analysis we use direct quotes from the interviews (translated by us) in order to illustrate shared experiences and reflections. Before presenting an analysis of the academic citizenship practices of our participants, we provide an overview of recent changes in the Norwegian academic career system in order to contextualize these experiences.

Background: Changes in the Norwegian Academic Career System

The Norwegian higher education system is a binary system consisting of universities and university colleges. Due to extensive mergers over the last decades and the possibility for institutions to apply for university status, the institutional landscape has shifted dramatically (Frølich et al. 2018). Since 1995, universities and colleges have had a predominantly shared academic career structure with two different career tracks: a research-oriented and a teaching-oriented track, and a range of permanent and temporary positions.

The ongoing reforming of Norwegian higher education and research has implications for the career opportunities for women. The Norwegian academic sector has changed significantly in the last decade, following large-scale mergers between universities and university colleges, resulting in fewer and larger institutions and more employees in the sector (Research Council of Norway 2019). The Bologna Process, which in Norway was implemented through the comprehensive 'Quality Reform' in 2003, has had a transformative effect on the entire national higher education system (i.e. the degree-system, three-cycle-structure, credit transfers, certification, etc.). Internationalization—creating a European Area of Higher education—along with improving the quality of studies, were the driving forces behind the reform. Internationalization, which prior to the reforms signified knowledge exchange within the cosmopolitan academic community, has become a strategic responsibility of the university management and an instrument to participate in the increasingly global interaction and competition (Huang et al. 2013).

A key triggering factor behind this fundamental change was the introduction of 'New Public Management' ideas to higher education. In Norway, and in other countries with public higher education systems, higher education institutions were included in general civil service reforms, which for the last decades have been carried out under the impulse of New Public Management (NPM). NPM involves concepts and techniques informed by the neoliberal ideology. Neoliberalism entails a 'society being regulated by the market, rather than vice versa', deciphering social relations and individual behaviours using economic criteria (Morley 2018: 19).

The idea that public institutions should be (re)organized to operate as strategic actors in a market was a fruit of the NPM loom. In 2003, Norwegian higher education institutions were granted greater autonomy to handle their own affairs in a number of areas (e.g. recruitment, budget), which also had implications for government steering, with a shift from a regulation of individual institutions to a stronger emphasis on regulating the economic framework conditions under which institutions operate (Bleiklie et al. 2006).

The competition between institutions to attract students and funding has over the years sharpened, along with an increased performance orientation, a stronger emphasis on excellence and a strengthening of institutional leadership (Stensaker 2014). To match the new demands for a more effective and efficient public sector, a number of changes have

been facilitated at the institutional level, such as adoption of managerial strategies to improve research performance and to allocate resources to selected research areas. 'Centres of excellence' which are selected and financed by the Norwegian Research Council, is part of the European trend to ensure better concentration of resources, build a national reputation and enable global recruitment (Aksnes 2012).

Part of the 'Quality Reform' was the introduction of a performance-based funding system in 2004. The bibliometric system was developed for the purpose of institutional funding on the national level, yet the indicators or metrics to measure academic performance have become widely used also for internal purposes at the local level, in faculties and departments. The evaluation of the system conducted in 2014 points to some highly problematic practices at the local level, such as instances where the indicators replace responsible leadership and human judgement or are seen as an alternative to scientific assessment of research quality (Aagaard et al. 2014; Sivertsen 2009).

At the institutional level, a higher number of students result in higher budget allocations (Curaj et al. 2012). Yet, at the level of individual academics, excessive teaching responsibilities mean less time for research and publications, thus create disadvantages with respect to academic evaluations based on metrics. Since research usually secures a greater return than teaching (with respect to further funding and publications), the academic duties have increasingly become decoupled and the research function further strengthened. The high reliance on project funding, which is commonly justified as means to optimize returns on public investments, have reinforced the trend towards selection and concentration of resources at the local level, with consequences for the research population as a whole, for gender equality and for the selection of prioritized topics.

New and time-demanding reforms in teaching and learning forms have been implemented, together with increased focus on service and new forms of evaluations. Concentrated time for research has become a scarce good and an object of negotiations (Egeland and Bergene 2012). In line with other international research (e.g. Misra et al. 2012; Weisshaar 2017; Angervall and Beach 2018), Norwegian studies document that women use more time on teaching and supervising students (Gunnes 2018) and form the majority in academic positions that are based on teaching-only ('*lektor*' (lecturer) positions).

Another important trend has been a notable increase in the number of PhD students and postdoctors, which means that the pool of eligible applicants and equally qualified candidates for few available positions is larger (Reymert et al. 2017). In Norway, the number of new doctorates has increased significantly (tripled) over the past 25 years, from about 500 in the mid-1990s to over 1.500 in 2018 (RCN 2019). While there has been an increase in the number of permanent academic staff in public universities and colleges of about 20%, the number of postdocs has increased by approximately 75% in the past decade (Frølich et al. 2018).

Due to the increasing demands on externally funded research, positions which are fixed-term and project-based (such as postdocs), are growing rapidly in Norway. The piling up of many equally qualified candidates, combined with few available permanent positions, has led to queue and a sharper competition. The ultimate goal of early career positions, especially postdoctoral positions, is to pursue additional research, training and teaching in order to have better skills to pursue a career in academia. However, many are destined for long periods with temporary work-contracts, causing considerable dissatisfaction and stress. Many postdocs are stuck in a transitory academic citizenship with bleak chances of achieving permanent positions in the near future (See Chapter 3 in this volume for further details on the experiences of postdoctoral researchers). Thus, precarious positions in academia are on the rise.

All these trends point at the transformation of the Norwegian system into 'academic capitalism'. In this context, we use this term to denote the 'market-like behaviours' at HERIs, referring to processes of commercialization, financialization, and increased competition for external funding, with managerialism; internationalization and New Public Management (NPM) as the guiding ideologies (Slaughter and Leslie 2001; Collyer 2015; See also Chapter 1 in this volume). Managerialism in the academic context indicates a greater separation of academic work and management activity, combined with an 'increased control and regulation of academic work by managers' (Shepherd 2018: 1668). The gendered implications of these neoliberal transformations of HERIs in Norway formed the focus of our research project. The key aim of our research was to obtain in-depth insight into academic women's experiences and their academic citizenship practices, in order to shed light on the factors perpetuating gendered hierarchies in Norwegian academia.

Factors Leading to Limited Academic Citizenship for Women

We conceive gender inequalities in academia as the product of a complex interaction of factors operating at national, organizational and individual/interactional levels. Based on a broad assessment of earlier research on gender in academia at the start of our research project, we identified the following key factors influencing women's career opportunities and gender relations in the academic world: the career system; formal and informal networks; the researcher role; work–family reconciliation and the role of leadership (Brandser and Sümer 2016). The focus group interview questions were extracted from these factors. In this chapter, we focus on three factors which have direct relevance for gendered dimensions of academic citizenship:

i. The effects of increasing focus on 'excellence' measures and metrics,
ii. The role of networks in academic recruitment and promotions,
iii. The impact of gendered stereotypes about the researcher role, such as, definitions of the 'ideal academic' or the 'typical professor'.

We will now discuss how these factors interact and influence academic citizenship practices of Norwegian women using selected quotes from our interviews to illustrate typical patterns, shared opinions and lived experiences.

Gendered Repercussions of Increasing Focus on 'Excellence' Measures and Metrics

Higher education and research institutions are under the strong influence of marketing strategies leading to increased competition over scarce resources, particularly external research funding. Researchers from different European countries report on new obstacles for women seeking academic careers as a result of this increased managerialism and dominance of market principles (e.g. Le Feuvre et al. 2019; O'Hagan et al. 2019; Morley 2011, 2018; Lynch and Ivancheva 2015). The 'academic enterprise model' has consequences for the type of knowledge produced, leading to declining interest in basic research and more focus on applied research with more practical concerns, especially in STEM fields (Bozzon et al. 2019: 18).

'Academic excellence' is the concept that dominates evaluations of quality at all levels. It is typically presented as an objective, universal and thus 'genderless' standard against which individuals and project applications can be assessed, despite the fact that there exists no agreement on what it actually means (e.g. Ferretti et al. 2018, see also Chapter 2 in this volume). Burgeoning research findings document how 'excellence' is a 'rationalizing myth', which often obscures the gendered processes operating in academia (e.g. Nielsen 2016a; O'Connor et al. 2017; O'Connor and O'Hagan 2016; Rees 2011; Wray 2007). The standard of excellence serves as benchmark in academic evaluations and the 'myth of meritocratic impartiality' implies that gender is irrelevant in these assessments (Van den Brink and Benschop 2011: 509). However, there is an increasing concern that the hegemonic status given to academic excellence actually contributes to reproduce gendered inequalities in the academic system (Montes López & O'Connor 2019).

In line with the dominant use of 'excellence' in evaluation of research projects at the level of the European Commission, the Research Council of Norway (RCN) changed the application forms and adopted these evaluation standards. These changes support the competitive funding trend, where more resources are allocated to selected fields, units or research groups. In the Norwegian setting, a higher reliance on project funding is regarded as essential to optimize returns on public investments. The propensity to concentrate resources and increase external funding are pushed by HERIs to satisfy funding agencies and become more competitive, which means excellence is translated into uniform quality criteria, such as metrics (like h-indexes) or journal impact factors. Yet, it is widely documented that the journal ranking systems favour positivist research traditions and contribute to reproduce 'hegemonic structures of inequality in the academic labour process' (Özbilgin 2009: 113).

The increasingly harsher competition for research funding was a common theme in our focus group discussions. Participants from different research fields experienced the constant pressure to apply for funding of new projects as stressful, while a few among the younger researchers regarded the search for financial means as a 'natural' part of their work contract. There was an agreement that certain research fields and topics get more credit and are rewarded with more funding while others remain disadvantaged, reducing—in the long run—the whole system's ability to respond flexibly to changes. A Professor pointed at the biases in the funding structures:

> And then there is something with the funding structures which is not designed for all types of research to bloom. There are only certain types of blooming and that is very often dominated by themes that are extremely policy-oriented and often without room for critical perspectives and especially gender perspectives, which are often seen as irrelevant in that context. (Professor, Social Sciences)

The research fields and methods that are prioritized are often defined by funding bodies governed by 'neoliberal policy doxas' (Blackmore 2014) with significant gendered patterns. Recent research document ways the neoliberal managerialist practices threaten academic freedom and particularly disadvantage feminist academics who challenge established structures (Taylor and Lahad 2018).

Another important factor with key gendered consequences is the assumed linearity of the 'excellent' academic career path which results in devaluing of more fragmented paths (Bozzon et al. 2019). It is often forgotten that 'non-linear trajectories might also showcase excellence' and outstanding ideas often spring from non-traditional attitudes (Gonzales Ramos et al. 2015: 264).

An Associate Professor from the Faculty of Natural Sciences (STEM Field) explained how she was forced into a 'spiral of death' (meaning that she gradually lost career prospects and possibilities of promotion) due to the increasing competition and new demands to showcase publications from the past five years in order to score as 'excellent'. After two consecutive periods of parental leave, which needed to be lengthened due to sickness, she found it impossible to make a 'come back' and continue her career under such competitive conditions:

> I would say it is less fun to be me now, I mean my position is much less fun, now that I am entering that 'spiral of death' (…) it is difficult for me to get research funding again, cause I cannot show that I published anything in the past five years. (…) and there is nobody who wants to be in a research group with me, since I do not have so many publication points (…) So you end up in a situation, that you publish so little…then you are imposed to take on more teaching, cause you have to do something for your salary (…) so you have no way out, that is the spiral of death: you get more teaching, then you have less possibility to get into research again, then you get even more teaching, and then you end up as a lecturer. (Associate Professor, STEM)

In committees' assessments of candidates for recruitment, 'excellence' is often measured in terms of the number of recently published articles in high-impact journals (in most cases the past 5 years). In this context, which is suitably characterized as 'Publish *and* Perish' (Weisshaar 2017), academics are increasingly pressured to focus attention inwardly and think strategically on their own publishing. This was characterized as 'salami-publishing' by one of our participants:

> There is a pressure from the publication hierarchy, like which journals are good to publish in. And there I feel a lot of press. EU has its indexes, the Department has its own, all quantitative, and reaching these journals becomes even more important. There is a 'positivistication' of the field because of the bibliometric system which is not good (…) it becomes like "salami-publishing": you cut up the research findings to see how many articles you manage to publish. (Associate Prof., Social Sciences)

The production of journal articles—journal output—is increasingly the major determinant in academic performance evaluations, leaving much power to a mitigating peer-review system that is perceived as unreliable and subject to a number of biases (e.g. Lamont 2009). This trend supports the increasingly influential industry that turns a profit on the business of monitoring, enhancing and representing academic performance (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). As a result of bibliometrics, the sheer number of journal articles receives more attention in hiring and promotion compared to scholarly monographs or anthologies, which seem to have lost their glory and 'exchange value' on the academic market. The logic and values of bibliometrics correspond—in large—to those of the commercial market and industry, where competitiveness and the circulation of products, such as in this case, journal articles, are key representations. Consequently, journal output has become the currency that researchers need in the competitive exchange for tenure, positions and recognition, which in turn guide the individual researcher's publication strategies, often in the direction of high-impact journals. This metric system has a number of negative, if not devastating, consequences for the humanities where monographs (often in the native languages) still play a central role, and where the tension between indicators and intradisciplinary criteria of research are more deeply felt (Hammarfelt and Haddow 2018). Though the need to seek justification according to different values has become more pronounced in the humanities, such justifications are

not unique to the humanities, and apply as well to many other fields and subdisciplines within social sciences (Boltanski and Thevenot 2006).

Our participants also reflected on gender differences with respect to co-authoring and succeeding in the competitive bibliometric system, which rewards certain types of publications (journal articles) in specific channels (top-tier journals with high-impact):

> But what I have observed is that, when you have these very tight, closed networks, publication networks and the like, there are many men who get their names on a publication 'for free', without contributing too much…then they advance faster in this way. And we have no chance of getting into these networks when you are not good friends with them, in a way. It is clear that such things play a role. They advance faster and rapidly, of course. (Professor, STEM)

To prosper and survive in this harsh competition for positions, funding and publications, access to networks and international collaboration partners are crucial.

The Role of Networks in Academic Recruitment and Promotions

Academic recruitment is a challenging and potentially risky field of research due to the high degree of sensitivity of the topic and difficulty in gaining access to relevant data (Nielsen 2016b). Empirical analyses of gendered issues and biases in academic recruitment have nevertheless gained increased attention (and legitimacy) in the past decade, exemplified by several international projects funded by the European Commission. The role of networks for job opportunities and status attainments has been a growing field of research, with an increasing attention to inequalities with respect to key variables such as gender, ethnicity, social class and age (Van den Brink and Benschop 2014).

Gender in recruitment processes and academic evaluations had an ambiguous status as a legitimate research field and has been a source of controversy in Norwegian research. A pioneering study of academic recruitment processes in Norway (Fürst 1988) had shown that women and men academics were evaluated using different phrases and that women's contributions were often undervalued. Following its publication, this study led to a tempered controversy, criticism and disparagement, especially from senior male Professors from STEM fields (Fürst

2012). The argument that gender plays a role in academic evaluations was met with a lot of resistance since it was interpreted as an attack towards the normative foundation of academia, namely the myth of scientific neutrality (Hovdhaugen et al. 2004: 36). Following a period of relatively little public concern and empirical research on the issue of gender in HERIs throughout 1990s, studies in late 2000s started documenting specific barriers for women academics and identifying gaps in the knowledge base (e.g. Vabø et al. 2012).

Experiences of and reflections on academic recruitment processes were taken up in our focus group interviews. Despite a common trust in the legal framework and formal procedures designed to yield the best qualified candidate, there prevailed a concern among the interviewees that positions could be 'tailored', applicants could be 'invited' and committees could be 'rigged'. Moreover, since the early career phase tends to coincide with the time in the life cycle when most young people start settling down, taking out a mortgage or starting a family, the competitive situation renders female researchers more vulnerable:

> I think the withdrawal [of women] is caused by one thing only and that is permanent positions. Because when you are in your productive age, you will establish a family and you will start a researcher career –they do not go hand in hand. If there are two researchers [in a family] then it is incredibly difficult. (Associate Professor, STEM)

Assessments that either ignored or did not take the maternity leave properly into consideration, even though there are formal requirements to do so, were also mentioned as important barriers:

> Those committees that count publications, right, did they remember to look up the CV? "God, she has two kids and that takes a few years!" and then you need to adjust the rate they calculate regarding how many publications one has in recent years. That would also raise the consciousness of the committees who carry out such evaluations. (Senior Researcher, STEM)

There was a definite awareness among our respondents that academia is not an impartial meritocracy, and that success depends on relational support and opportunities for 'converting' professional merits to academic positions and prestige (Poulsen 2005). Access to such opportunities depends on alliances with influential 'patrons' and admittance

to powerful networks. Gendered aspects of such networks were often discussed in our focus groups:

> There are some 'top-dogs' who choose their cooperation partners, there is a hierarchy, such that those at the top have influence, power and money, yes, or research means. So they recruit partners in accordance with academic interests, of course, but also according to who they get along with, who they think it is nice to be with, who is pleasant to travel with, who functions well at the pub, so it is a little like that. And then it is, in a way, easier to choose other men they know, those they will put forward and give a career to. (Associate Professor, Social Sciences)

The importance of being 'visible' and positioning oneself in relation to established 'kings' (seldom 'queens') was frequently mentioned as highly important for employment in the new competitive environment. Interviewees—across disciplines—mentioned informal male networks, the so-called, 'old boys' networks' ['the boys' club' (*Gutteklubben*) in Norwegian] as a disadvantage for women. In view of the new trend that funding systems are moving towards high concentration, the benefits of networks have become increasingly more important.

Our participants employed the term 'boys' club' when referring to closed networks of male academics who share information on the inner workings of the system and thereby become familiar with the distribution of means. Some underlined the unconscious processes leading to these close networks and thought there was a potential for change through more research, which could enlighten leaders and expose the gendered implications of the problem:

> I think many things are unconscious…that those at the decision-making level lack the awareness that some are actually excluded from the "club" they have. When it comes to my own leader, I think he has a tendency to give prominence to the "boys' club" he himself belongs to. Without thinking that it is a boys' club and that some doors are closed. My experience is that it helps to put such things forward through research projects, such as yours…when I speak about it, it is seen as only personal. But when several experience the same thing, it becomes a general pattern (…) And this should be communicated to leaders, but also to male colleagues, since I think there is little consciousness about it. (Associate Professor, STEM)

Since Rosabeth Moss Kanter's (1977) seminal study on the role played by male homosociality in perpetuating patterns of male dominance in the workplace, researchers have tried to identify the ways in which networks help men advance in their career (e.g. Hammarén and Johansson 2014; Van den Brink and Benschop 2014). The taken-for-granted nature of institutions shaped by hegemonic masculinities makes its inner working difficult to expose. Informal networks, which we often celebrate as expression of academic freedom, are often confused with (hidden) rituals of male bonding through sponsorship, patronage and favours (Coate and Howson 2016). Because advancement in the academic hierarchy relies so much on informal ties and close relations with peers, and not simply on merit and qualification, access to networks are crucial for the individual's career. However, understanding how networks operate, and how they are gendered, can be challenging, especially for early career researchers. Based on their comprehensive analysis of professorial appointments in Dutch academia, Van den Brink and Benschop (2014) identified networking practices that gatekeepers routinely use in recruitment, which confirm the complex, and sometimes mysterious ways, male networks can disadvantage women.

In our study as well, many pointed to the male dominance at the top and in informal networks as a key obstacle for women's advancement:

> My experience is that the male leaders encourage and support the men, while they tend to forget the women, who have completed their doctoral degree. They [the males] are tutored, get scholarships, become co-supervisors, and are invited to contribute when articles are planned and written, while women have to work very hard to be included and even be taken into consideration. It is like they, in a way, prepare the ground for men's careers more than they do for women. (Associate Professor, Social Sciences)

Networking, which often requires participation in informal gatherings outside the 'normal' working hours was another topic in the focus group discussions involving academics who were mothers of young children. Some women feared the consequences of often being left out of such interactions due to stereotypic gendered expectations:

> Yesterday we had a project meeting that lasted until 5 pm and then we would have dinner afterwards…There were seven people. At 5 o'clock I was asked "are you coming, or will you go home?" Then I thought: 'OK.

> There are six men here, maybe they could also go home!'…it is not an atypical situation, that the woman is considered as the only one who should hurry home! (Researcher, STEM)

Though the importance of participating in informal gatherings, often occurring in the aftermath of seminars and workshops, was acknowledged, many mentioned gendered patterns in such networking activities:

> There is a grey zone between the informal and the formal, right? You meet people because of the formal arrangements at work. But then you get better acquainted during a dinner or lunch. It is often there you start chatting. And it is in the small talks, which are not academic, you get a feeling of how much you can trust this person…it is those things that build a long-term academic relation. You need some of that informal (interaction), that is just how it is. And it is more difficult when you are woman. (Postdoc, Social Sciences)

The significance of invitations to informal interactions was frequently mentioned by early career women, who after their maternal 'break' were eager to sustain a career. They feared their academic commitment would be questioned on account of their domestic responsibilities.

> You need to be invited when research applications are written, they need to remember you, like 'she can be the one to do that part'. Otherwise, they just invite the guy who has written with them for many years. You have to get into those networks. (Postdoc, STEM)

As the quotes above demonstrate, 'networking' carried several meanings in the focus group discussions. In some cases, networking is perceived as deliberate exclusion by 'strong voices' who have the 'power to define' the research agenda and who protect their own territory by recruiting their own kind. Though it may be beneficial to select and recruit people of one's own kind in order to strengthen a well-established research agenda, it contradicts the argument often applied to defend funding concentration, namely that resources will trickle down to the less fortunate in terms of recruitment and collaboration. The interviewees were more concerned with the self-perpetuation of already established research networks and how men tend to align themselves with more powerful male groups. In other cases, exclusion was about marginalization of approaches and

research fields that tend to engage women compared to those that mostly preoccupy men.

> It is about what is defined as "big questions". The power of defining what is narrow and what is broad; and what is universal and what is particular. That has a lot to say in that women get squeezed out. I mean, if you are a Holocaust-researcher, you are as universal as it gets, and if you are a gender- and sexuality researcher, that is as particular as it can be. (Professor, Humanities)

To rule out some arenas as less important, marginal or insignificant may be an effective way to reduce competition. However, this can also substantiate the gender hierarchy, lead to stagnation and reduce the adaptability of the whole research system. A negative effect of the concentration of funding is that it rewards the already successful researchers with more funding and provide more support to research topics that are already well supported.

The recollection of 'boys' club' was also mentioned with reference to awkward situations occurring in international conferences of male-dominated academic fields, displaying hegemonic masculinities (e.g. Bell and King 2010).

> In my field, there were practically no women, it was very male dominated. So, when we went to conferences, I was always the only woman. And if you want to be part of the boys-club, then you have to be a little bit like, yes, laid-back and agreeable, and not like…how shall I put it…in any case, not anything like a feminist. And it is a challenge, because you are what you are. …there is a lot of networking and social relation when it comes to publishing, because most of those who publish are good friends. How to become included and to have a relaxed relationship with a man when you are a woman, without any misunderstanding arising, that I believe is a great challenge for women in general. (Associate Professor, STEM)

This reflection leads us to the third factor that we had identified as central for gendered academic citizenship: namely prevailing gendered stereotypes and images of an 'ideal academic' or the 'typical professor'.

The Ideal Academic and Gendered Stereotypes

Universities are important sites where knowledge is defined and reproduced, yet also a repository of organizational forms and relationships that reflect past rationalities. Many of the cultural norms, habits and practices have their root in the chair-faculty structure that dominated Western Europe to the 1960s. Professorial power and independence derived from privileges, resources and facilities conferred by the state in exchange for the protection of excellence and achievement (Neave and Rhoades 1987). Policy intervention and changes in the organization do not necessarily alter the inner environment. Cultural norms bear the marks of those who produce them, yet norms are often institutionalized in practices and roles that are considered neutral and taken for granted by those who are supported by them. Studies have already shown that organizational cultures in universities are 'solidly masculinized' (Leatherwood and Read 2009; Thornton 2013) and that the universalism, which is a celebrated academic ideal, is conditioned on a sameness from which women are deemed to be 'the other'. The 'ideal academic' continues to be constituted 'In the image of Benchmark Man' (Thornton 2013: 128); as a white, middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied (or, preferably, disembodied) man.

We asked our respondents about their experiences with the prevailing gendered stereotypes in the academic workplaces. There was a general agreement among our interviewees that the structures of the academic world were formed at a time when women were not participants:

> I think in general that the whole structure is built up from a masculine standpoint, cause it was like, it (academia) started well only with men. The system was built according to that, and then women were outside. And I think we still have a long way to go to build structures that are also suitable for those who will have children. Because now, women must all the time adjust to a masculine system. (Senior Researcher, STEM)

Although there were some variations between the different academic disciplines with respect to what the participants regarded as 'the good researcher' or 'the ideal professor', there was a clear tendency that the role was culturally coded masculine. A substantial number of women working in STEM fields reported to have met various gendered expectations regarding how they should physically appear and behave in professional settings:

> I have been told not to speak with a high-pitched voice when I present at the conferences…and that I must practice not to smile too much … because you look like a little girl if you do so. (Associate Professor, STEM)

> I have a colleague who is petite and has a doll's voice. It is difficult for her to be taken seriously. (Professor, Natural Sciences)

> I am a person who never liked blazers or jackets but have started using them all the same in the last two years. And you notice a difference. Suddenly they start taking you seriously. Totally unnecessary but that is how it is. (Senior Researcher, Natural Sciences)

These selected quotes indicate that women must carefully manage their bodily presence in professional settings, especially in the academic fields that are still male dominated. Note that the quotes above belong to women working in STEM fields in which women are still in minority. In order to maintain professional authority, women must 'hide' their femininity and adapt to the legitimate scripts pervading the academic culture (e.g. tone of voice, comportment, gestures, 'dress code'), which support and reinforce the existing power relations (Brandser 1997). On this point, however, we found some notable differences between the younger and the more established female researchers. While the younger women were annoyed, yet willing to conform to the scripted norm, this was not the case with the slightly older female professors. Responses from the well-established female researchers indicate that women, who act against the prescribed gender stereotypes, and are determined to exercise authority and pursue their own goals, are subjected to another and subtler kind of gender discrimination:

> I am not saying that women cannot reach their goals, but I would claim that a message coming from a man weighs differently than when you listen to what that little lady has to say. So, I have become terribly disillusioned through the years…it is terrible to say that, but women have many advantages, for example, they can be young and sweet and charming. And that helps them to a certain level…that is, as long as they are of any help to a man, so that they can move upwards. But when you reach a point where you are actually more competent than the men around you – then you are not so sweet anymore. (Professor, Natural sciences)

The discrimination they report to have experienced came in various shapes and disguises. Some were immediate, direct and upfront discrimination, such as mistreatment, or intimidating verbal remarks, others were more subtle attempts to delegitimize, dismiss or marginalize their research or undermine their scientific accomplishments by not citing or referring to their work. The most frequently mentioned techniques were being overlooked or ignored in meetings; silencing and exclusion from professional networks; not sharing information or unfair allocation of resources. All of these have direct consequences for recognition and belonging dimensions of academic citizenship, leading to experiences of having limited power, voice and respect in their academic environments.

Concluding Discussion: Three M-Effects Influencing Gendered Academic Citizenship

Our analyses show that the scarcity of women in leading positions and their more limited academic citizenship is a result of a complex interaction of systemic, organizational and interactional factors, and that gendered stereotypes and institutionalized norms play an important role in sustaining the skewed pattern. In the contemporary context of growing competition for funding, lengthy queues and demands for faster and more strategic publishing, we could identify three key factors behind the gender imbalance at top positions: *Matthew-*, *Matilda-* and *Medus*a-effects. The first two effects are already discussed in earlier literature (Merton 1968; Rossiter 1993), yet have regained scholarly attention due to the funding trends and the stronger excellence orientation (e.g. Rees 2011). The third one, which we have chosen to label the *Medusa-effect*, evolved from our analyses of the mechanisms of exclusion and marginalization of women at top academic positions (Brandser and Sümer 2017).

The Matthew effect was originally identified by Robert Merton (1968), denoting the processes in which already established scientists are given more credit than the comparatively unknown collaborator, even if their work is similar. The existence of institutionalized biases in the awarding of research grants is documented, showing that accumulative advantage in the research system may allow elite groups to secure a disproportionate share of resources (Viner et al. 2004).

The trends towards funding concentration in the Norwegian context, which is aimed at giving researchers flexibility and allowing risk-taking

research, can be counterproductive and reinforce the Matthew effect. Rewarding the already successful, may lead to a narrow research focus, drain the knowledge pool and hamper the potentially path-breaking research of those 'unknown'. In relation to Matthew effect which leads to over-recognition of already prominent (male) scientists, Margaret Rossiter (1993) had proposed the Matilda effect to describe the systematic ways in which women scientists' work and accomplishments have been ignored or denied credit. The subtle ways gender influences research questions, design, analysis and evaluations have been firmly documented by other classical studies in the field (e.g. Schiebinger 1999). Empirical studies from different national contexts support the prevalence of Matilda effect, as the systematic under-recognition of women scientists (e.g. Knobloch-Westerwick et al. 2013), with consequences that women receive a smaller share of scholarly awards and prizes (Lincoln et al. 2012). Blocked opportunities may also harm the whole research community and have long-term negative effect on the research system because novel lines of research may be abandoned prematurely, or simply remain unexplored.

The Medusa effect, as we use it, stands for the sanctioning and stereotyping that take place when women researchers enter positions of authority and disrupt the established gender order. The experience of overt discrimination caused some of our respondents to feel disempowered and disheartened:

> I have mostly female PhD students; they are terrified when they see how I am treated. It scares them off an academic career. For example, in a meeting when I am often treated as if I am not there. I propose new initiatives, which I expect to be discussed and considered, there is perhaps some discussion, until a man says exactly the same, then it is taken seriously. This is something my PhD students witness and consider wrong. They are threatened by the fact that I am not invited when initiatives are made. For them, these are negative experiences, so they say: I do not want to be like you, I cannot handle that kind of pressure. (Professor, STEM)

It is documented that women suffer from health defects due to marginalization and unfair treatment at the workplace, such as depression and anxieties (Harder et al. 2014). The feeling some respondents frankly expressed of being isolated and marginalized is possibly an effect of the subtle discrimination and lack of collegial recognition. There are various reasons why some senior woman academics are faced with this

kind of marginalization. When asked to deliberate on possible causes, some respondents pointed to rivalry and competition for scarce resources, others spoke more openly about gender discrimination and identified the root cause in a deep-seated fear of self-sufficient, independent women. We have chosen to name this particular worry the 'Medusa-effect', alluding to the emblematic status the mythological Medusa has in symbolizing men's fear of powerful women. The question is whether the individualist premises that excellence policies rest on, will eventually depoliticize the question of gender equality in Norway and render women in powerful positions even more vulnerable to the subtle, yet harmful forms of gender discrimination, locking them in a status of limited academic citizenship with less recognition and impaired feelings of belonging.

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CHAPTER 5

Family, Career Progression and Gendered Academic Citizenship

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Introduction

As understood in the conceptual framework of the book, academic citizenship consists of three basic dimensions: membership (yielding certain rights and duties); recognition (yielding power, voice, and respect),

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and belonging (yielding a sense of identity and entitlement). Our emphasis in this chapter will be on the work–family issues relating to these complex processes of membership, recognition, and belonging in academia. We conceptualize family and care responsibilities as directly related to academic citizenship in that they clearly influence women's participation patterns, since the stereotypical gendered construction of the "full academic citizen" still depicts this figure as someone free of care obligations, with unlimited time resources and unconstrained mobility.

The following analysis is based on the fieldwork conducted for *Female Empowerment in Science and Technology Academia* (FESTA) project[1] work package 3.1: *Raising individual awareness*. Because gender also operates at individual, as well as organizational levels, this work package was undertaken to raise awareness of the ways gender operates at individual levels, specifically in relation to the way gender affects different career trajectories of women and men in STEM fields (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics). One of the focus areas of the subproject involved a better understanding of the academics' experiences with regard to the subject of "interaction between family and career progression" in different contexts. Data was collected from the interviews in four different higher education institutions in Bulgaria, Denmark, Ireland, and Turkey. After reviewing selected research into family responsibilities and gender differences in academic career progression, this chapter first outlines the research methods and country contexts of the participating universities, before presenting an analysis of the relationship between family responsibilities and gendered academic citizenship.

It was expounded in Chapter 1 that discourses on excellence have engendered constructions of a disembodied and abstract "ideal academic," that has reinforced the figure of the professor, who is stereotypically male, socially "unencumbered"—without any family or care obligations (Lund 2012). It was also stressed that power, competition, and participation are deeply embedded in expectations that the participants, who are able to devote themselves more than full time to scholarly or scientific work, are likely to be male (Benschop and Brouns 2003). Reproduction and care activities which constitute a part of individual's life course are left outside of career definitions of academic citizens. Referring to the US context, The Committee on Maximizing the Potential of Women in Academic Science and Engineering, critically evaluates

[1] FESTA was an implementation project financed by FP7 (2012–2017) aiming to make a change in the working environments of academics. http://www.festa-europa.eu.

the scientific career which is still conceived as a rigid and out of date sequence of educational and occupational stages that are expected to be achieved at certain ages. Deviations or delays are taken to indicate a lack of commitment to the scientific career and are thus penalized (National Academy of Sciences [NAS], National Academy of Engineering & Institute of Medicine, referred to as NAS 2007 below). Other studies (e.g., Caprile et al. 2012; Wolfinger et al. 2008; Mason et al. 2013) report that the inflexible nature of the STEM fields, which does not support work and family life reconciliation lies in the way in which science is configured around an "ideal" male life course and career model established in the nineteenth century and the extent to which this reproduces constraints women experience in the wider society (Kabeer and Magnus 2004).

Research has demonstrated that family responsibilities and childbearing have differential career effects for women and men in science: marriage and the presence of young children spur the career advancement of men but slow the advancement of women (Acker and Armenti 2004; Baker 2012; Mason et al. 2013; NAS 2007; O'Brien and Hapgood 2012; Xie and Shauman 2003). Many of the policy reports stress the fact that women scientists are being negatively affected by "uneven domestic division of labour" and trying "to balance work and family life" (i.e., European Commission [EC] 2002, 2004, 2008; European Union [EU] 2011, 2013).

According to Bartosz et al. (2006) "major influences on women's career decisions appear to come from what is referred to as 'care responsibilities', such as childbirth and child care, being a single mother, sharing roles and responsibilities with a partner in a "dual-earner" family, or caring for aging parents" (ibid.: 5). Such factors work against successful pursuit of tenure/inclusion and promotion/recognition of women in science disciplines (Clark and Hill 2010; Xie and Shauman 2003). A considerable proportion of women respond to such career setbacks by withdrawing from the workforce and devoting themselves to family responsibilities. For those who choose to stay familial roles embody unfavorable implications about available time, energy, income, and difficulties for work and family balance (EU 2011; NAS 2007). Women who aspire to have children, are faced with the difficult decision to bear children and potentially compromise tenure or to delay childbearing until tenure is achieved and face age-related risk factors associated with maternal and fetal outcomes (Clark and Hill 2010). Furthermore, more academic women than men

change jobs for their partner's career moves and accept responsibility for housework (Baker 2012).

Research Methods

This study was concerned with the career trajectories of academics in four universities in Bulgaria, Denmark, Ireland, and Turkey. For our purposes case study research was seen as an appropriate method, as it facilitated investigating phenomena within real-life contexts, when the boundaries between phenomena (careers) and context (STEM) are not clearly evident. Because the under-representation of women at senior levels in STEM is a global phenomenon, the four case studies offer an opportunity to explore this contextually. The disadvantage is that generalizations cannot be made beyond these contexts.

The research methods are qualitative and the research sample included those in broadly similar positions in each case study. Thus, positions in the four case studies were grouped into early, mid, and senior levels, from which the sample was selected. Overall it included 106 individuals: fifty-seven men and forty-nine women, including eighteen men and eleven women in the Irish organization; sixteen men and fourteen women in the Bulgarian organization; twelve men and twelve women in the Danish organization, and eleven men and twelve women in the Turkish organization (O'Hagan et al. 2016). Because of the small number of women particularly in senior positions in STEM, certain identifying characteristics are obscured, in the interests of confidentiality.

A critical realist approach (Scambler 2001) was adopted in the study. Critical realism marries the positivist's search for evidence of a reality external to human consciousness with the insistence that all meaning to be made of that reality is socially constructed (Oliver 2011). Critical realist scholars assume the existence of an objective ("intransitive") world that has powers and properties that can be more accurately known as a consequence of scientific endeavor but recognize that knowledge is a subjective, discursively bound (i.e., transitive) and constantly changing social construction (Vincent and O'Mahoney 2016). They deny that we can have any objective or certain knowledge of the world and accept the possibility of alternative valid accounts of phenomena (Maxwell 2012). Hence the focus is on respondents' perceptions. The methodology was both processual and reflexive, in the grounded theory tradition. Qualitative research aims to produce rounded and contextual understandings

on the basis of rich, nuanced, and detailed data. Following Letherby and Bywaters (2007) semi-structured interview guides were designed to capture the depth and complexity of people's accounts. The interview guides contained a combination of open and closed questions, in addition to reflections on critical incidents (Chell 2004).

Content analysis was used in the analysis of the interview data because it is a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding (Krippendorff 1980; Weber 1990). Partners in each university agreed codes and code descriptors and transcribed interviews and coded transcripts according to the descriptive statements in the codes. This process prompted substantive reflection on the ways in which careers develop. Questions specifically designed to provide data on the way family influences women's careers were:

- What factors or people were most supportive in helping you achieve this post?
- Have factors or people been supportive in your overall career progression? Specify.
- Have personal or domestic issues influenced your career decisions?

These questions provided the opportunity for respondents to discuss the ways their families of origin and their current domestic arrangements influenced their career decisions and outcomes, and the types of their academic citizenship within their organizations.

Specific quotes from the interviews were selected by each of the four institutions for the gender analysis of the sub-themes related to the family. The quotes have been considered as illustrating both the *positive* and *negative* impacts of family on academics' careers. The selected sub-themes can be listed as follows: Academics' priority attached to family in terms of time and mobility; family in the light of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of capital; strategies that academics choose to maintain work and family balance; "satisficing" in order to settle a good enough balance between career success and home life.

Country Contexts

As emphasized in Chapter 1, a multilevel conceptualization of academic citizenship necessitates an attention to systemic (macro), organizational (meso), and interactional (micro) levels. At the micro-level everyday activities, interactions, and perceptions "which reflect the operation of informal power and which are seen to impact on academic recruitment/progression" (O'Connor et al. 2017: 4) are encompassed.

On the macro-level Bulgaria, Denmark, and Ireland are member states of EU whereas Turkey is a candidate country. These four countries vary widely in economic well-being and overall gender equality. Ireland and Denmark are highly ranked (3rd and 11th, respectively) in the Human Development Index (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP] 2019) while Bulgaria and Turkey score relatively low (52nd and 59th). In the World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Index Ireland ranked 7th and Denmark 14th with Bulgaria 49th and Turkey 130th (WEF 2019: 9, Table 1). They exemplify different gender- and welfare-regimes, with diverse Higher Education and Research systems.

According to Sainsbury (1999), a gender regime entails "rules and norms about gender relations, allocating tasks and rights to the two sexes" (5). A welfare state on the other hand is defined as one that modifies the impact of the market, by providing some sort of minimum guarantee (mitigating poverty); covering a range of social risks (security), and providing certain services (health care, child and elder care, etc.)—at the best standards available (Briggs 1961). Briggs' definition is related to the tradition of thinking social policy in terms of citizenship (as T. H. Marshall, Richard Titmuss, Walter Korpi and Gøsta Esping-Andersen). Esping-Andersen provides an analysis of different welfare regimes according to their degree of "de-familialization" defined as "the degree to which households' welfare and caring responsibilities are relaxed—either via welfare state provision, or via market provision" (1999: 55). A familialistic system assumes that households must carry the principal responsibility for their members' welfare.

Ostner and Lewis (1995) derived a threefold model based on the balance between market, state, and family with a particular focus on the boundary between the public world of paid work and the private domain of family. This produced a comparative gendered typology of "strong," "modified," or "weak" male breadwinner states (Lewis 1992), based on the extent to which countries had departed from the male breadwinner

model in which the male worker carries the responsibility to earn enough income to meet the material needs of the entire family (İlkkaracan 2013). As stressed by Sümer (2004) though useful as analytic categories, these "regimes" or "ideal types" often contain ambiguities and are historically variable.

Denmark is characterized by a strong welfare system and a dual breadwinner family model (Drew et al. 1998) where both parents are employed. In a comparison of a group of Nordic and Western European welfare states Denmark offers the highest degree of de-familization to parents of young children (Kröger 2011).

Ireland can be broadly classified into the Liberal/Modified male breadwinner model with private institutions (traditionally run by religious orders) for childcare/eldercare (O'Connor 1998). In a sample of 21 European countries, it scored rather low on the dimensions of both "familizing and defamilizing policies" (Lohmann and Zagel 2016).

As a former socialist country, **Bulgaria** has long had a national policy based on gender equality ideology with also a cultural heritage strongly focused on the importance of motherhood and family. The gender regime in Bulgaria can be classified as an example of "dual earner model" in which both parents work long hours using diverse combinations for childcare (Fagnani et al. 2003 as cited in Sümer 2016: 90).

Turkey is currently characterized by a dominance of conservative liberalism with the key welfare provider being the family. The familialistic assumption and traditional gender division of labor that childcare and eldercare can and should be met within the family (i.e., by women) leads to low public provisions (Hacettepe University Institute for Population Studies [HÜNEE] 2014), and indirectly supports the male breadwinner/female housewife family model (Healy et al. 2005; Sümer 2004).

The participating universities varied in size, age, and technical focus. At the time of the study the Irish university (established 1972) had over 13,000 students and 1300 staff. The Danish university (est. 1998) more than 27,000 students and 4000 staff, Bulgarian university (est. 1975) 14,000 students and 1000 staff. Turkish university, being one of the oldest (est. 1773), largest, and leading state technical universities in Turkey had 30,000 students and 2300 staff. There is also variation in career trajectories in the four contexts. Although there are many similarities, career paths vary in terms of number of "steps" on the career ladder and the names of these positions (O'Hagan et al. 2016).

In spite of the differences regarding their welfare, gender, and academic regimes, these four countries display similarities in terms of the academic citizenship status of women. Although following the Rome Treaty remarkable efforts have been made at the EU level regarding gender equality measures, the improvements have been slow in the three EU member countries, as well as Turkey. As expounded in Chapter 1, women are still under-represented at top-level academic positions (i.e., Grade A) in all four of them. In none of the four countries included in this study does the percentage of women at such positions reach the 33% critical threshold. With no data available for Bulgaria, in all three of the other countries the highest proportion of academic women are clustered in the Grade C positions.

The positioning of the four countries on economic well-being and gender dimensions is in a somewhat paradoxical relationship with various indicators of gender equality in the labor market and the universities (O'Hagan et al. 2016). Occupational patterns of horizontal sex segregation are more pronounced in Denmark than in most European countries (EC 2013). At the most senior levels (whether academic or managerial) Irish universities are still male dominated, with 79% of those at (full) professor level being men (Higher Education Authority [HEA] 2016). The Glass Ceiling Index, a measure of gender equality in higher education (not available for Ireland) was found to be thinnest or most penetrable by women in Turkey and Bulgaria and thickest in Denmark (O'Hagan et al. 2016: 2, Table 1).

Turkey's favorable score in this respect has been attributed to the distinctive character of its top-down modernization in the 1920s and 1930s which encouraged women to participate in higher education and professional life in order to bring Turkey to the level of "contemporary civilization" (Acar 1991; Kandiyoti 1987; Köker 1988). As up until the 1980s the higher education sector consisted entirely of public institutions, the government was able to oversee promotions and basic salaries, thus reducing the chances that women would be discriminated against (Healy et al. 2005; Sağlamer et al. 2018). Nevertheless, tradition and modernity tended to overlap especially in the recent years with respect to attitudes toward secularization and women's roles and the universities have not been exempt from the process (see Chapter 7 in this volume).

Family as a Restraint on Academic Citizenship

In this section, we consider the gendered assumptions concerning child-care and housework as well as the ensuing time and mobility restrictions bestowed on women academics because of family responsibilities. We also try to discuss how these assumptions relate to various practices of academic citizenship.

Gendered Assumptions Regarding Care Work

In academia, caregiving is often seen as competing for the time and attention needed to succeed in the highly competitive fields and, therefore, as indicating a lack of commitment to the scientific career. Prejudices against caregiving exist and disadvantage women even when caregiving does not imply less effort in the scientific career (NAS 2007) or the culture defines motherhood as the most prioritized and sacred duty of women.[2]

Beauregard (2007: 120) argued that "as long as stereotyped views of mothers as primary caregivers for children and women as keepers of the household continue, women will struggle with progressing their careers alongside marriage and parenthood." Underlying the disproportionate disadvantage for the careers of women scientists and engineers of parenthood or other significant care responsibilities is a strong cultural devaluation of femininity and a consequent bias against caregivers that is deeply embedded in a number of practices and attitudes in academe (Drago et al. 2005; NAS 2007). The following quote from a male Professor from Bulgaria illustrates both the prejudice against caregiving as conflicting with devotion to science and the essentialist stereotype of women being less attached to research:

> For most women there is a certain feature (…) generally they are much busier with household duties, and are especially attached to their families which makes them less devoted to their career pursuits and advancement. This is a sort of a natural inclination, in my opinion, for women to be less attached to research work than family. But it does not regard all women.

[2] The privileged position of family is enshrined for example in the constitutions of many Arab states (Afiouni 2014). In the Constitution of the Turkish Republic (Article 41) the family is also declared as the foundation of Turkish society.

The complex of constraints and biases that women encounter in attempting to pursue scientific or engineering careers while also carrying major child-care responsibilities are defined by the "maternal wall" (Williams 2004) concept which is typically triggered when a woman becomes pregnant or requests maternity leave. Research has shown that the maternal wall penalizes mothers, women in general as potential mothers and fathers who seek an active role in family care (Etaugh and Moss 2001; Williams and Cooper 2004).

An Irish professor pointed out that his postdoctoral student was creating problems for his project:

> She had to fight with the agency to get the maternity leave allowed, so they gave us a small extension on the project but the industry wasn't happy… the project never recovered… if I have another project, do I go for a woman who is not child bearing? Forty-five and upwards? Or a guy or a girl who's in the early twenties, single, do you know what I mean?

Such reasoning helps to understand how maternity is used "to divide women in the public and private spheres" (O'Hagan 2015 cited in Connerly 2015: 327) perpetuating the problem of gender inequity in society. A Turkish professor underlined that having a child is never the same for his wife who is also a professor, adding that it is "normal" for the wife but not the husband to be more negatively affected in such a case:

> For female faculty members having a baby is very critical. They take more responsibility for child care, inevitably as a result their academic progression slows down.

The essentialist interpretation in the narration above is also supported by a Bulgarian male academic:

> Especially the women I personally know, most of them are more engaged with caring for their children – they are sure to be a little bit behind. It is quite normal since they are mothers and have maternity duties, as well.

The quotes above not only show that the traditional perception of women as natural caregivers stands as the reason for the women's subordination but also incorporate arguments normalizing and reproducing the

gender roles of women. Women are well aware of the consequences of the "maternity wall" as illustrated in the words of a Turkish academic:

> You know why I did not want to have a child? I know that this will influence my career progression. If I have a baby and go for maternity leave, the administration will take the course I am teaching and then assign me to the courses which I do not want to teach when I come back.

Even in the countries where gender expectations have been transformed and care regime de-familized to a greater extent, women academics may still face similar pressures. A researcher from Denmark, for example, worried about the period after the first difficult years of parenting:

> …at least in my field in scientific research, it is very competitive. And it is like you have to maintain a good track of publications. And you cannot have that if you have a parenting in your career. So, it is very complicated to have both things. Because now if I stop research - when I would like to come back to research, how can I do that? Who would hire me?

Recognizing the pressures to continue to be research active, another respondent from the same university, chose to continue supervising her students during that time, although it is against the law to work during maternity leave. When she is applying for research projects at the present, she is still being criticized for having taken out maternity leave:

> Now when I am preparing applications for the foundations, they will say: 'you publish only two papers and you write there were some maternity leave' and this was in my case not excused because my students actually were coming to me to be supervised at home during my maternity leave. Of course, I cannot stop, don't stop. Stopping in science is a killer. You need to be on the top of the wave.

As for the men, the situation seems to be not quite the same. A male academic in the same Danish university says:

> If they [family responsibilities] would have influenced, I would not be here probably. So, I would say no. They do support me.

Talking about her male colleagues, an Irish respondent claimed that "it's very smooth for them to do anything because they don't have any ties from the family or whatever."

The excerpts above summarize how men and women envision women's experiences relating to parenthood and academic citizenship. It is clearly a "more difficult" and "complicated" process because of the gendered assumptions regarding care work that "tie" women to family. It is not because men do not have families but because families do not tie them down so as to prevent their "smooth" functioning. These ties are often seen as women's "natural inclinations" and "duties" which "conflict with devotion to science." The prospects for inclusion, recognition, and belonging and thus gaining of full academic citizenship is still more problematic for women than men, as former research had also documented widely.

Gendered Patterns of Time

As families have transformed from single- to dual-earner families, the amount of time available to households for care of their members, in particular of children, the elderly, disabled and the ill, has emerged as a binding constraint (İlkkaracan 2013). Santos (2011: 256) argues that "the nature of the work-family relationship is intimately connected with the notion of time" and the concept of time can have gendered meanings and results since work flexibility is employed differently between women and men.

In her book *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives* (2003) Ruth Lister writes on time as a "resource for citizenship" which is "a highly gendered commodity that impacts on and is mediated by the public-private divide" (132). Women's higher load in domestic work leads to a "time poverty" constraining their citizenship. Although flexible working hours helped academic parents to organize their working day and fulfill the ever-changing needs of family members, the women, rather than men, seemed to be stuck with the responsibility of domestic and caring issues because of this very same flexibility (Afiouni 2014; Afiouni and Karam 2013; Dever and Morrison 2009; Karam et al. 2013; Rafnsdóttir and Heijstra 2011). The flexibility and the gendered time use seemed thus to reproduce traditional power relations between women and men and the gender-segregated division in the homes. As Davies (1989) puts it, women's time

at home becomes others' time. Based on their study in Iceland, Rafnsdóttir and Heijstra (2011: 2) maintain: "Our data, collected more than 20 years later among highly educated women and men in a country that scores the highest on the gender gap index show that men are still more able than women to be off work when home, either to recharge their batteries or to work, if they like." A Turkish female academic confirms this pattern:

> A male researcher has the privilege of having rest at home after work. But a female one is responsible for cooking. When the meal is not cooked, then the question comes: Why didn't she cook?

Many mothers (but no fathers) mentioned the sheer amount of household work as a reason for lower research productivity or for reducing their employment hours (Baker 2012). Indeed, some of the men's remarks disclosed that having a family actually rewards their career, as exemplified by this researcher from Bulgaria:

> My career accelerated after the birth of my daughter. Perhaps I got more motivated … it was the only essential motive … and then I completed my PhD dissertation in around a year.

Time constraints have a different impact on women's careers at different stages of the life course: they appear to be particularly acute in the early years of the scientific career, between the first university degree and first tenured position, which are the years in which parenthood and professional dedication conflict most (NAS 2007). The prevalent promotion policies put pressure on faculty to publish in order to achieve tenure within the first seven years of their career (Bailyn 2003) and the biological clock for childbearing overlaps with the promotion clock, which renders both roles in the private and the public sphere highly demanding (Afiouni 2014). Because of those effects, parenthood, especially when it begins early in an academic career, affects women's prospects for advancement far more adversely than men's, as the following quotes from three Turkish participants illustrate:

> When I observe my female colleagues, I feel it is not smart to have a baby until becoming an associate professor.

> I never thought to have a child until I became an assistant professor. It is very important to find an academic position first and plan having a child afterwards. And I never thought of a second child… Explicitly, one's career, one's position has an influence on having a child.
>
> I do not know if there is an ideal time of having a baby… such an experience inevitably interrupts your career. Well, maybe when you get the title of professor, that's the true time for having a baby.

Although institutional support for childcare and gendered patterns in divisions of care work differs across the participating countries, women academics clearly experience time constraints due to gendered divisions of care work. Another key gendered factor is the increasing demand for international mobility to pursue academic careers.

Gender Intersects Mobility

Geographic mobility is considered as not the only career path to career advancement, but it is closely related to academic success and a common prerequisite for gaining access to tenured positions in some scientific fields, academic institutions, or national contexts (Caprile et al. 2012). A long-recognized factor in the persistence of the gender gap in representation, tenure, and salary among college faculty is geographic constraints on the career mobility of academic women (Marwell et al. 1979). While women tend to suffer from lack of mobility due to family commitments men can be much more mobile than female researchers (Clark and Hill 2010). In the Country Report of *The Teachers' Union of Ireland and The Irish Federation of University Teachers* (Clarke et al. 2015) it is observed that on average, academic women are more likely than academic men to place geographic limits on their careers, suggesting an indirect nature of the negative effect of geographic constraints on women's versus men's career mobility.

Geographic constraints on women's mobility are rooted in social factors, such as gender roles and mate selection patterns as well as the social structures in which people are situated and by the networks of interactions in which they participate (NAS 2007). Family responsibility or husbands' careers can constrain the geographic mobility of married academic women (Bielby and Bielby 1992; Kulis and Sicotte 2002), and unmarried women may be geographically constrained relative to men as

well, preferring to stay in a particular location because of family or social ties (Rosenfeld and Jones 1987).

Women's mobility appears much more constrained than men's by preschool and elementary-age children (Shauman and Xie 1996). Early parenthood often corresponds with the early years of the mother's scientific career, so lower mobility limits many women's ability to respond to career opportunities that may make a crucial difference in their ultimate career outcomes.

It has been observed that men's geographic mobility does not appear constrained until their children reach their teens (NAS 2007; Shauman and Xie 1996). By that time, an academic career is generally well established and diminished mobility may have a smaller effect on ultimate outcomes. It is therefore important to compare the experiences of women and men with regard to mobility and how the gendered experiences concerning family responsibilities affect the experiences of academics in different cultural settings of the institutions.

Although no reference to mobility could be found in the interviews from the Bulgarian university,[3] quotes from the other three put a special emphasis on the issue. Several interviewees stress that studies abroad make an important difference in one's career progression. An Irish participant describes the significance of this experience as follows: "Certainly a foreign PhD and eh, foreign experience on post docs is very important I think, for getting positions particularly leadership ones. The travel impingement is a serious issue really… in terms of keeping outputs going and quality and so on."

Mobility, however, is narrated as a criterion that is not easily achievable for the ones who have family priorities:

> I'm still considered early-stage researcher. I'm still young. I'm still expected to be moving and travelling around. You can't do it when you've a kid,

[3] Bulgarian team explained the reasons as follows: Mobility was not in their institutional/university culture because they had not been allowed to travel before the changes in 1989. For the majority of the middle age generation of researchers it is difficult because of the lack of foreign language abilities or financial constraints. Lack of institutional/university support schemes for those who wish to participate in mobility projects/exchanges, etc. was also among the reasons. Therefore, it was difficult for both women and men. The academics who traveled for longer periods are just a few, and they were probably not included in the sample of interviews.

> family, house, mortgage. You can't just go away for a couple of years and come back.

In a similar manner, a Danish researcher considers herself privileged compared to other academics with families because: "I am single, I don't have a family, so I don't have to think about children or anything." In the words of a supervisor from the same university:

> It [research career] is much more difficult for women especially moving abroad for a scholarship. There are so many opportunities now. But, for example, my assistant, who has two children and cares for them alone… this is a very serious obstacle for her in pursuing a proper research career. Only when the kids are old enough and can care for themselves, she could concentrate entirely on her work.

Married women were defined as "tied migrants" who follow their husbands' careers (Kulis and Sicotte 2002). The husband's career is more likely to "come first," and he is less likely than his wife to face restrictions that stem from the wife's career concerns (Kulis and Sicotte 2002). Woman's career interests generally play a subsidiary role in a couple's geographical moves, and these moves increase her chances of being unemployed or suffering career setbacks (Shihadeh 1991). The pressures on academic women toward husband-centered migration may also be intensified by sanctions from family and friends when women ask men to follow them to another city (Hendershott 1995). Reflecting upon the cultural expectations, a female Turkish academic claims:

> Being married and having a child are **necessities** in a woman's life and these necessities are all slowing down your career progression…A male researcher can sweep away his wife with him everywhere. If a man says let's go to a foreign county, then his wife goes with him.

Some of the academic men in our study also talked about "not being able to travel" because of family concerns, as illustrated in the quotes below:

> I prefer to stay where my family are and you know, the relations are, and what not so, so that's a big influence I suppose (Ireland).

> Yes, because if I had not had a family, I would probably have put my education together in a different way. Perhaps more stays abroad. It was difficult to get a stay abroad when I had a family, and I could not really make it work. My wife was not really interested in going, so I had to be away from my family. Therefore, it was such a 3-week miniature stay abroad. One can just be glad it's an opportunity to do it in 3 weeks (Denmark).

Another Danish participant considered himself "privileged" because:

> I am not married, and I don't have children so from that point of view it was perhaps easier for me to – I moved to various continents two times. You would have to think very carefully, moving with wife and children between countries, which is often required…In this country you simply must move abroad, you simply must… These days in mathematics a young person straight after the PhD and looking for a postdoc position simply has to consider foreign countries. There is no way and in this case family considerations is a very important issue and sometimes very difficult to solve.

The interviews illustrated that family concerns are important in mobility decisions of the academic citizens. As women are expected to show more care and concern for their families, children, and elderly than their male counterparts (Özbilgin and Healy 2004) it is not surprising that they are also generally less mobile academic citizens.

Family as Support

Although family appears to be more of a restriction for especially the women academics, FESTA research helped us to see the other side of the coin too. In the narrations of some of the respondents, family was acknowledged as a source of support and encouragement. This support and encouragement can be interpreted as "social capital" in a Bourdieusian (1977, 1984, 1986; Wacquant 2006) sense. Bourdieu argues that people from different social positions differ from one another with regard to their possession of economic, social, and cultural capital. Each of these forms of capital family provides can be considered as a resource that might be useful for acquiring or maintaining academic citizenship. Economic capital refers to all kinds of material assets for example, financial resources, land or property ownership, regular income. Dispositions of the mind and

body, competencies, skills, educational qualifications can be considered within the resources of cultural capital. Networks, relationships, contacts are procured by social capital (Bourdieu 1986).

In the Bulgarian university, a professor claimed, "every person starts from his/her own family" and that the same counts for him. He added, "I come from a family engaged in science – my father was a scientist. So, it starts there, in the family." An Irish academic stressed the role of his family in a similar way:

> Yeah, my parents, wife and my parents. Especially my parents… like even when I was … [a student] would always have encouraged me to keep progressing. You know, keep em, try and keep learning and […] and try to keep ahead of the game. My mother would have been the same. So they would have been, like, very important. And then my extended family as well. But my parents would have been massive influences on me.

Portraying the centrality of the family, many interviewees from the Turkish university link their current state of lives to their past family relations, as the initial source of inspiration and encouragement: "It was a very last minute decision to pursue an academic career after graduation… my family encouraged me to pursue an academic career, since I had no idea to do graduate study in computer engineering."

Centrality of family and gender codes is also observed in a male professor's narrative from the same university who thought that his family played a crucial role in his academic career since "they left me free, did not obstruct my personal interests which was the most important factor." He was able to pursue an academic career with a low pay because his elder brother carried out the dominant male role providing for the family. According to him, "even after I gained a position at the university family was still a very important factor proving the assets to share experiences and to be relaxed with."

Several of the women from the Turkish university made references to the "help" in care work they received from their mothers and emphasized that it is not an individual case but rather a cultural pattern. One of the Turkish participants considered herself "lucky for living in Turkish society" where other women in the family share the responsibility for childcare. When she had her first child, both her mother and mother-in-law volunteered to look after the baby saying: "we cannot leave 'our

child' to a stranger –baby minder- while you are working." These experiences lay bare the strong familialistic practices in Turkish society where childcare is predominantly conceptualized as a "private matter" (Sümer 2016).

There were no similar remarks from the Danish and Irish universities where care regimes are more de-familialized. But there were also accounts on that de-familialization does not terminate the need or possibility of family support for caregiving. A Bulgarian participant recalled: "When my children were small, my mother used to come and help, because the first 2-3 years were very difficult."

A researcher from the Irish university stressed the critical role of the spouse: "But finally when I decided that it would be good to go for a post doc, the first person who supported throughout is my husband." A Bulgarian academic thought that if her husband "hadn't been so tolerant," her career would not have been so successful.

It was interesting to note that none but one Bulgarian respondent mentioned the importance of equal sharing of care activities between partners:

> There are different challenges for men and women who pursue research career. There are some specific issues of personal character for women, which impede to a certain extent their professional development. And every woman should be clear about this if she is to advance in her scientific career. She should have a man with her, who should be ready and do share household and family duties, in order to allow her succeed in her work.

The interviews clearly illustrated the influence of the structural and cultural factors on the support and encouragement that families provide to the academic citizens. In the Danish university no reference was made to the family in this sense. This can be connected to the role of the social democratic welfare state which historically had a function of equalizing people's chances to higher education, meaning less influence of the class/family background. De-familialization of the childcare services in the country also seems to have drastically changed the expectations and the practices related to such necessities. At the reverse side family appears to be a decisive factor in supporting or obstructing the career choices of academic women in Turkey. Özbilgin and Healy (2004) observed that in the Turkish context the social institution of marriage is structured to suit men's working lives, promoting the uneven share of life roles for married

couples. Therefore, career success for academic workers was often associated with the support they received from their families, in overcoming both the unfavourable social expectations of married life and the difficulties posed by these expectations in their work roles. Despite an apparent increase in women in academic employment, they concluded, social norms were slow to adapt to this change in men's and women's roles in the domestic and work domains (Özbilgin and Healy 2004).

Balancing Career and Family: Strategies for Coping

Academic careers (especially in STEM fields) are defined by a long-hours culture, characterized by early meetings and working late, which renders the conciliation between work and family, and parenting, in particular, a very difficult endeavor (Doherty and Manfredi 2006; Gatta and Roos 2004; Jacobs and Winslow 2004). Satisficing is an important motive conveyed by the expressions of the interviewees who settle for a certain balance between their careers and personal life, even at the cost of sacrificing their career aims or family concerns to a certain degree. Introduced by Herbert A. Simon satisficing as a portmanteau of satisfy and suffice is a decision-making strategy or cognitive heuristic that entails searching through the available alternatives until an acceptability threshold is met (Colman 2006; Manktelow 2000; Simon 1956). The pattern of satisficing in respondents' narrations helps not only to uncover the complexities arising from academics' involvement in care but also the cost of surviving in the university and progressing in spite of all these difficulties.

What Does It Mean for Women?

In some cases, the cost seems so high that satisficing may be considered unworthy of the try. The words of an Irish academic illustrate how she would have sacrificed her career if she ever married:

> Always for my [whole] life I'd always imagined I would if I ever got married and had children I'd give up my job and that's always… that was always, that was my aspiration.

Faced with the difficulties to reconcile work and life, researchers develop various strategies to overcome such difficulties and balance their

work and life at an acceptable level of satisfaction. In doing this the balancers wish to pursue multiple roles seeking a reasonable division between the two spheres (Etzkowitz et al. 1994). An acceptable level of satisfaction can be tricky as an academic may choose "to preserve a satisfying work-life balance even to the detriment of his/her career" (Godfroy-Genin 2009: 94). According to a female Irish academic, work–family balance entails:

> Not working hard enough, not doing enough research, not publishing hard enough, not networking hard enough, not going to conferences enough, those are all the obstacles. And spending too much time with my family and preferring to be a mother and not, not putting enough time into my job.

This repentance for not being able to work enough is also an expression of the guilt feelings many women academics in the same situation share (Tan et al. 2011). Women are well aware of the family constraints and they blame themselves for making compromises at work to cope with them:

> Now I recall past and think that I should have done better. I cannot be productive enough… I had the potential to write 2-3 books so far. I couldn't do this because of my household responsibilities… I cannot concentrate on my work and it is because of being a woman (Turkish participant).

A Danish academic drew attention to the social pressures and ensuing inner conflicts in this respect:

> I had a child during my Ph.D. and a child immediately after, and then struggling a bit with yourself and your ambitions on how to be a mother. It's such an internal struggle, how to divide your time, and I think that, society or yourself, has this ambition that as a mother you must not fail. And it is worse to be a bad mother than a bad father. So with respect to that we as women are more disadvantaged. And then there are also people who have said to me that they did not think I should have career: It is very important that you are there for the kids while they are young and they tried to play it on my bad conscience…. I have felt sometimes that people directly poked on my bad conscience in relation to the children.

Motherhood almost becomes a task to "succeed" and in order to succeed "*it is very* important that you are there for the kids while they are young." Satisficing can be either reached by obliging this expectation at the cost of being considered a second-class academic citizen or forgoing it at the cost of being considered a "bad mother."

A Turkish participant who declined a job offer in New York reasoned:

> I would have to leave my son to my mother –in Turkey- if I stayed in the US. Now I'm thinking that I made the right decision to decline the offer and return because it would have been very difficult to concentrate on research with my son in the US.

We do not know if it is a rationalization or a simple confession of family centrality in her life when she says: "I was sorry for returning then but now I consider myself to have taken the right decision because family matters." Her satisficing seems to have been achieved at the price of lowering her ambitions as she admits, "I don't have the passion to be at higher positions, I don't care much about it." Her words clearly expressed how this kind of satisficing and glass ceiling or tenure problems were intertwined.

As a satisficing strategy, an Irish participant chose to work part-time:

> Having a kid, you know going part-time; the decision to go part-time was my own. I could have put him in a crèche and continued full-time but that wasn't for me. Certainly, in terms of career progression my decision was to be part-time and to spend time with my son.

National trends also indicated that schools (and society) expect that there is a full-time mother in the home which reinforces high expectations of parental involvement. These pressures resulted in many of the women reducing the hours they spent engaged in paid work (Connerly 2015).

How Do Men Experience It?

Some of the men in our research also expressed satisficing in their attempt to maintain a balance between work and family. An Irish participant wanted to "see" his family:

> I look around at what people have to do around here to get promoted and I don't want to do it cos I won't see my family as much as I want to. That's black and white for me.

A Bulgarian researcher's testimony is an example of how some of them rationalized satisficing on the grounds of man's role as breadwinner, an essentialist interpretation which seemed to help release their stress:

> There are differences … some of them [colleagues] are ahead and others behind. The reason is that I was having a family of my own, we had children and so on. This inevitably had withdrawal effects on my career advancement, since for example in my case, I have never earned enough at the university and needed to work at two or three other places. This is different comparing to someone who builds his/her career by concentrating entirely on it.

For a Turkish Professor, family was a mixed blessing. Sparing time for the family necessitated limiting time for other activities, especially in the university. He is content, however, as he says, "I learned to use time more efficiently after I had a child. Having in mind the responsibilities such as 'I have to look after my child, I have to spend time with my wife, I have to work with my students' positively affects your time management skills."

An Irish participant contrasted his ways of prioritizing his family with other academics who sacrifice their families:

> I have four kids and I like to spend time with them. I'm home every evening. We eat together, I do the baths, I read them books, I read them stories at night … My wife is a solicitor and she has a very busy practice, so it would be fairly regular that she would phone me and ask me if I would collect the kids so it might mean I'd have to leave around half four. Usually I try to work until between 5 and 6…I live around a lot of academics. I see how they live their lives, and I see the sacrifice that they make, especially in terms of time, to complete the kind of research that they're doing. And I think it's wonderful and I think it's great, they're so committed to their work, but it's a sacrifice that I'm not willing to make.

As the commonplace use of the "full academic citizen" is associated with people free of care obligations and unlimited time resources to attain such a status, total commitment to "research" is expected. It

entails working hard, publishing hard, networking hard, going to conferences, etc. Such family obligations as spending time with the children or attending to their needs are considered as interferences or obstacles in the path to this status.

Concluding Discussion

Arnlaug Leira (1998: 162) once argued that "in a citizenship perspective it is not sufficient to examine the arrangement between state, market and family only; it is important also to consider the impact of the unequal division of unpaid work." FESTA research in four different universities in four countries showed that in an academic citizenship perspective it is not sufficient to examine the arrangement between state, academy, and family only; it is vital to consider the impact of the gendered division of unpaid work. Individual testimonies in these four different gender and welfare regimes reflected similarities regarding unequal division of unpaid work and care activities in the family and its impact on academic citizenship.

Reproduction and the care activities which constitute a part of individual's life course are left outside of career definitions of academic citizens. Our study supports the findings from research done at the turn of the century that having and raising children while shouldering the domestic workload still matters to women's careers. Even in the countries where care was de-familialized and publicly financed facilities are available, women are expected to be "*there for the kids while they are young*" and women academics are not exempt from this expectation. The pace of change has been slow and those men who choose to share the care work also experience the cost.

The requirements of academic citizenship based on the separation of career and family life are so deeply ingrained that when the researchers fail to meet them, they blame themselves rather than question structural and cultural factors surrounding them. No disapproving comments were expressed concerning either the standards of full academic citizenship or the way they were set as if the academics were exempt from the reproduction and the care work. It was also interesting to note that no modifications concerning family sensitive mobility practices or more effective work–family balance measures were mentioned in any of the interviews. No critical viewpoints on intra-family dynamics regarding care activities or adequacy of institutional policies on the matter were recorded

either. The gendered assumptions regarding family and care were mostly shared and repeated by academic women and men in differing contexts.

The interviews illustrated the consequences of the various strategies of satisficing in order to reconcile the requirements of the academic citizenship and the caring needs of the family. Women faced severe difficulties in their struggle to establish a career–family balance and often paid for this by risking the consequences related to academic citizenship: Being stuck in the category of limited academic citizenship or giving up on the prospects of an academic career. Several of those who stayed on the academic career track expressed missed opportunities and guilt feelings regarding work or bad conscience regarding children. Reducing the hours they spent engaged in work, turning down job offers, skipping conferences or international research collaborations were among the strategies they used. Previous research stressed the other consequences of reconciliation women faced. Acker and Armenti (2004) in their studies of Canadian academics emphasized high stress levels, exhaustion, fatigue, and sleeplessness in association with building a career and bringing up young children simultaneously. Working harder and sleeping less were the main responses when participants were asked how they coped at the universities in Turkey (Sağlamer et al. 2013). The discrepancy between academic citizenship and the care activities was also observed in the testimonies of several academic men who chose to be "*with the family*." However, as reported in previous research (Acker and Armenti 2004; Rafnsdóttir and Heijstra 2011), this did not seem to have the same impact on their academic citizenship status as similar behavior on the part of women did.

In the academics' reconstructions of the past experiences we see how social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital (either transmitted by parents or accumulated by themselves as a result of a series of relations with their parents) could play a role in acquiring or retaining full academic citizenship. The cultural context in which the universities and the respondents were located seemed to be important in this respect. Whereas in the Danish university no reference was made to support from the wider family, in the Irish, Bulgarian, and Turkish institutions it came into focus as a source of encouragement, inspiration, or help. In the Turkish university family appeared to be a critical force in many of the respondents' careers. Middle-class Turkish women were historically and socially endorsed to choose academic professions and academic careers were constructed and sex-typed as "safe" and "proper" choices for them (Kandiyoti 1997; Zeytinoğlu 1999; Sağlamer et al. 2013). Given the

lack of institutional support and gendered sharing of care in the Turkish context, female kin developed strategies for the career–family balance. However, as emphasized by Gonzáles (2006), that family model, which is characteristic of Southern Europe, as an alternative in the absence of other resources, also situates working mothers in a very fragile position, as they never really know for how long they will be benefiting from informal support. Thus, the informal sector of the family by itself is never able to promote either gender equality or social equality: "In the familialized care regimes where women's gendered responsibilities for childcare are transmitted to such female kin as grandmothers, etc. gender roles once again are normalized and gender inequalities inevitably reproduced. It is also limited resource, as it is neither always available nor always optimal to provide children's educational and caring needs" (Gonzáles 2006: 211). A recent study (Sağlamer et al. 2018) on Turkish universities has affirmed that although this particular takeover provides the academic women with relatively free time and space, the latter is still not free in the full sense of the term since care work is still considered as women's task in gendered social dynamics. As long as unequal division of care work and the gendered assumptions are retained, full citizenship for the majority of women in the academy seems to be difficult to obtain.

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CHAPTER 6

Changing Institutional Policies and Gender Equality Challenges: The Hungarian Case

Judit Lannert and Beáta Nagy

Introduction

In Hungary, women tread a thornier path in academic careers than men. While women's representation in secondary schools and higher education institutions exceeds that of men, their numbers are dwindling as they advance on the scientific career ladder and their rate at the highest echelon, among academicians, is only 6% (MTA 2019a). Typically, women

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enter careers that promise lower incomes, and the burden of parenthood unequivocally leaves women at an even greater disadvantage in the labour market (Hargittai 2015; Paksi 2014). In addition to the implicit and indirect negative processes on a systemic scale worldwide, Hungary is characterised by some specific policy-driven phenomena (e.g. shutting down gender studies) that question the earnestness of achievements and induce a strong process of reversal.

Hungary belongs to the Central and Eastern European countries that witnessed a forty-year-long women's emancipation project in socialism. One of the main targets of the socialist political regime was to promote women's full-time employment and their participation even in the highest levels of hierarchy (Fodor 2004). This political will also included women's enrolment into jobs where they were previously under-represented but also the establishment of childcare institutions. Although real equality had never been achieved in socialist countries (e.g. unequal pay and undervaluation of female jobs were untouched), the issue of gender inequality remained unproblematised.

Traditional gender role expectations became stronger in the early 1990s than previously, and 'the motherhood penalty' has been at the heart of most problems in women's employment (Fodor and Kispéter 2014). Meanwhile company-owned nurseries and kindergartens disappeared with the collapse of socialist companies, and the places in public nursery schools for children below the age of 3 remained limited. Women's (and also men's) employment rates dropped significantly and were at the bottom of the European employment rankings for a very long time. Moreover, as witnessed in most post-socialist countries, 'familialism' became the most prevalent basis of the Hungarian gender regime, influencing the attitudes and expectations towards professional women's performance (Nagy et al. 2016).

During the 2000s significant changes occurred in the Hungarian higher education system. The change can be characterised by the emergence of two contradictory and conflicting expectations, namely, striving for excellence and good position in (national and international) academic rankings, and achieving financial efficiency and profitability. The latter expectation implies the aptitude of attracting and enrolling many students in universities. The country introduced the Bologna system in 2006, when the per capita state support was reduced for BA level education, thus increasing the proportion of tuition fee-paying students was a must for universities. Looking at an individual level, teaching and research

staff constantly face a strong performance pressure to prepare successful research applications. In the midst of these institutional changes, teaching in higher education and academic research have lost their attractiveness in the eye of young researchers.

The first part of this chapter presents the gender-related segmentation and segregation of academic researchers, i.e. those working in higher education institutions and research facilities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA by its Hungarian acronym), relying on publicly available data. Exploring the processes in the background, we use PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) data to highlight the fact that the disadvantages experienced in academic life are rooted in childhood and public education since girls are undermotivated in STEM fields from the very beginning due to the gender-blinded and often unreflected pedagogy. In addition, we use official data of higher education (FELVI) to illustrate the disproportionate presence of female students in doctoral schools. We also highlight that despite the wage gap fresh graduate women are facing, girls would be far worse off if they did not go on to tertiary education, as secondary education hardly offers them competitive and well-paid careers. This is linked to the social and political environment accepting as unquestionable the gendered division of labour and the dichotomous inequality of the labour market whereby the man is the breadwinner and the woman is the caregiver in the family. In the last section of the chapter we address in detail the government's policy steps driving women towards traditional gender roles, as well as the initiatives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences attempting to enhance the presence and visibility of women in science.

Women in Higher Education and at the Academy: Gender Segregation in Higher Education and in the World of Science

Similar to the trends observed in other developed countries, in Hungary there was an upsurge in the number of female students at the time of the expansion of education (Fényes 2010). This meant that while before the political changeover the average educational attainment of women in the overall 15+ population was below that of men, after 1990 signs of reverse movements in the new generations have become increasingly conspicuous, and the proportion of degree holder women exceeded that of men first in the younger generations, then in the entire population

(Varga 2019). In higher education, despite a slight shrinkage since the peak in 2004, women's representation has been steadily slightly over 50% (Varga 2019).

This does not mean that higher education enrolment rates are particularly high, but there was a very significant growth compared to the previous period[1]: the first stage of expansion took place between the 1990/1991 and 1996/1997 academic years and the number of students in higher education doubled, then quadrupled by 2004/2005 (Szemerszki and Imre 2011). Part-time students contributed significantly to the change, but later their numbers dwindled to become negligible (Varga 2019).

Despite the growing female representation of higher education, segregation patterns have prevailed within the higher education system. Earlier, disproportions in gender representation were notable in the dichotomy of colleges versus universities, for instance in economics and business training programmes (Hrubos 1994). After the introduction of the Bologna system, horizontal segregation has become considerably more visible. The distribution of women and men in bachelor's and master's programmes significantly varies by fields of science. Women find economics, humanities and education most attractive, while men favour engineering, economics and information and communication technologies (ICT). According to 2016 statistics, 51.7% of full-time and part-time students were women, with the highest representation (77.3%) in teacher training and education science programmes and the lowest (25.4%) in engineering and ICT programmes. The disproportions are clearly indicated by the fact that five times more men than women opt for ICTs, and three times as many choose engineering. Conversely, three times more women than men choose educational sciences.[2]

[1] At the time of socialism the rate of those participating in higher education was artificially kept low, not exceeding 10% of the given population (Halász and Lannert 2000: 143).

[2] Distribution patterns by gender and field of education in Hungarian higher education are similar to those in European countries. It is to be noted, however, that the rates are more extreme. While at European level one-fifth of male students pursue studies in engineering, manufacturing and construction programmes, the same rate in Hungary is 30%. In education studies the European average of women is 10%, while in Hungary it is almost one-fifth (17%). It is also conspicuous that the participation of students, both male and female, in natural science programmes is extremely low (3–4% compared to the European average of 7–9%) (Eurostat 2016).

In 2012 the state subsidy of higher education was revamped, which sent a message to stakeholders. It comprised two elements: one was the reduction of the numbers of state-funded places, and the other was the appearance of differentiation between fields of science in terms of funding. The latter meant that the educational administration significantly raised the admission threshold score for state-funded places in business administration, law and social sciences, while at the same time it opened the gate even wider before applicants to science, engineering and ICT programmes. In this way, taking the practice of horizontal segregation into consideration, programmes with a strong basis of women students were practically made pay based, while even more state-financed places were provided in programmes with a student basis dominated by men.

Not surprisingly, the 2012 budget cuts resulted in a drop in the numbers of both female and male students of economics and law, the drop being more drastic in the case of female students (see Fig. 6.1).

Analysing the ISCED 6 category (bachelor or equivalent) in greater detail, in the context of the EFFORTI research project, Füleki et al.

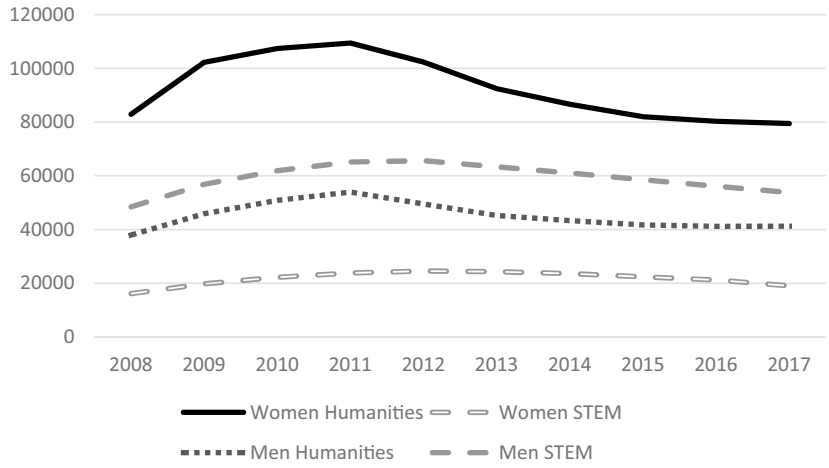


Fig. 6.1 Participation of women and men in BA/BSc and MA/MSc programmes by fields of science (number), 2008–2017 (*Note* STEM: sciences, technology, engineering, mathematics and ICT. Humanities: humanities, arts and social sciences. *Source* Felvi statistics, authors' calculation)

(2018) also highlighted the decreasing representation of women in engineering and ICT (see Table 6.1). A key contributor to the decline is women's dwindling presence in engineering and ICT careers. The number of women studying mathematics first increased, and then dropped. While overall European Union averages unequivocally indicate more balanced gender participation trends, Hungarian data appear considerably more hectic. (In the following parts we will also give prominence to these areas in our investigations.)

Attrition in the Advancement of Research Careers by Fields of Science

Based on official statistics (available at: felvi.hu), women continuously dominated over men at bachelor's and master's levels between 2008 and 2017 (53% in 2017). On the other hand, women's participation is lower in doctoral studies (47% in 2017) and has shown a downward trend in recent years.

The proportions of women going on to doctoral studies and acquiring Ph.D. degrees in the particular narrow fields of science also deserve attention. When examining gender representation, three types of change can be distinguished, none of them offering women highly esteemed and rewarding career opportunities in academic life. One is where women's participation is greater from the outset and remains greater throughout all levels or decreases only slightly at doctoral level. These fields include education and health sciences (although in the latter, women's advantage disappears when it comes to Ph.D. acquisition). The second type is where women's initial over-representation disappears by the time they reach doctoral studies and Ph.D. graduation. These fields include economics and business, and law. The third type of trajectory is where women are under-represented at all levels of training with no change as they progress. These fields include engineering and ICT (see Fig. 6.2).

These patterns mean that despite the often mentioned feminisation of higher education as a source of women's future advantage, women cannot keep their supposed advantage by the time reaching Ph.D. degree. They remain in majority only in the field of education, which has only limited financial reward and recognition.

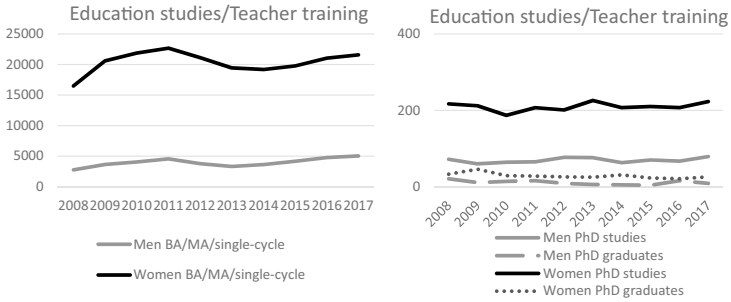
Natural sciences constitute a special field where men and women participate in undergraduate and master programmes in equal proportions, but men are only in a very slight majority at doctoral level. There is

Table 6.1 Development of the proportion of women ISCED 6 graduates by narrow fields of study in the natural sciences and engineering, 2004, 2010 and 2012 (%)

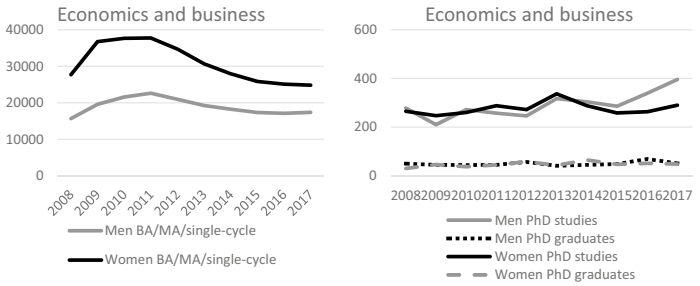
		Life science	*Physics*	*Mathematics and Statistics*	*Computing*	*Engineering and Engineering Trades*	*Manufacturing and processing*	*Architecture and Building*
EU27	2004	53	34	31	18	19	30	36
	2010	57	34	32	19	23	42	34
	2012	58	37	36	25	25	35	38
Hungary	2004	34	33	40	11	..	40	33
	2010	56	40	26	14	29	36	53
	2012	49	37	33	6	15	38	18

Source Füleki et al. (2018: 52)

Student and graduate numbers by gender in education studies/ teacher training, BA, MA and PhD, 2008-2017 (Type 1)



Student and graduate numbers by gender in economics and business, BA, MA and PhD, 2008-2017 (Type 2)



Student and graduate numbers by gender in engineering, BA, MA and PhD, 2008-2017 (Type 3)

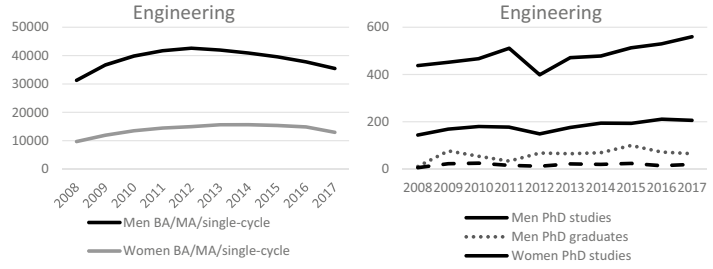


Fig. 6.2 Patterns of gender representation in selected fields of higher education (*Source* Felvi statistics, authors' calculations)

barely any difference between women and men in terms of the number of Ph.D. graduates. Natural sciences seem to work differently compared to ICTs and engineering: in the STEM fields, there is no gender imbalance in the less competitive and more theoretical disciplines of natural science and mathematics, and the participation of both men and women in these fields is strikingly low internationally (see Footnote 3).

Gender Gap in Academic Research

Considering academic career as a whole, despite the fact that women are in the majority on master level, the higher we progress up the university and academic career ladder, the more gendered the hierarchy becomes. The number of women exceeds that of men among graduates, but later their proportion among Ph.D. holders is only 36.8%, while at the top of the academic career, among the members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences the proportion of women is negligible (6.2%). The gendered pattern of advancement in academia demonstrates that after the acquisition of a Ph.D. degree, the proportion of men scientists and scholars is gradually rising, which may result in a 'chilly climate' (Hall and Sandler 1982; Britton 2017) that has a negative impact on women. Examining the acquisition of academic degrees (from master level to being elected academician), it is conspicuous that women's initial advantage is dissipated.

Before the last election of academicians, in April 2019, the rate of women among the full members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was 6.2% on an average and did not exceed 15% in any of the disciplines. According to the most recent data, women's representation is highest in MTA's Section of Philosophy and Historical Sciences and Section of Medical Sciences, and lowest, below 3%, in the Section of Mathematics, and the Section of Engineering Sciences.

A hierarchy, similar to the international trends, can be detected within the higher education in Hungary. It is not a novelty that women are at the lower echelons of university hierarchy, where the teaching workload, the connected 'caring activity' are higher, the accessible, reachable remuneration is lower, the employment contract is often temporary and offers less guarantee. Data show that women were in slight majority in the group of assistant lecturers, they were almost equally present among assistant professors, but their proportion dropped to one-third among associate professors, and one-fifth in case of full professors (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.2 Gendered Distribution of Academic Positions in Higher Education Teachers in higher education by position 2016

Position	*Women (%)*	*Men (%)*	*Total (number)*
Full professor	21.9	78.1	2158
Associate professor	34.5	65.5	4931
Assistant professor	46.2	53.8	3823
Assistant lecturer	51.6	48.4	2599

Source CSO (2017: 56)

Based on a case study of women professors at the University of Debrecen (Hungary), where only 17.8% of active full professors were women, Séllei underlines that 'for women being promoted to university full professor is almost equal with breaking the glass ceiling' (Séllei 2015: 271). This situation resonates with the international research findings and experiences regarding women's subordinated academic positions and limited career opportunities (e.g. Hargittai 2015; Paksi 2014) and is a clear example of women's status as second-class academic citizens.

These data show that women receive promotion less frequently and they are stuck at the lower rank of academic career. Professionals remaining on a lower level of hierarchy, will have limited access to powerful positions and faceless opportunities making their voice heard. Consequently, women perform a considerable amount of supportive work for their colleagues and students alike, still earning less recognition.

Although public universities should have an equal opportunity plan according to the *Act on Equal Opportunity and Equal Treatment*, it usually remains a formality without setting targets to be reached, if it is fulfilled at all (Séllei 2015). Thus, we can fully agree with the statement that understanding and interpreting the situation of women in academy and higher education one must look downward and 'It is significant that more women than men had become "stuck" in forms of work that made them in fact less likely to be considered for better positions' (O'Keefe and Courtois 2019: 469).

In international comparison, Hungary does not spend a high amount of money on R&D (1.35% of the GDP in 2017). Moreover, three-quarters of research expenditures are deployed in the corporate sector, where women researchers are typically under-represented. As we have

already seen, in Hungary women are significantly under-represented in the more competitive university programmes, i.e. in engineering and ICT. The fact that in Hungary R&D funds are deployed mainly in these two areas and primarily in the corporate sector, widens the gap between women and men in scientific life (Striebing et al. 2020). The notion that women do not work in 'hard' sciences and/or in private sector research institutes might further push them into the category of second-class citizens from the aspect of higher education policy. Connectedly, they earn not only less salary but also less recognition.

The representation of women and men in the designated fields is rather disproportionate. Thirty-seven percent of all research positions are filled by women; however, women are particularly underrepresented in corporate research jobs (25%), while their rate is almost 50% in higher education and public facilities. It is also conspicuous in all types of facilities that while there are significantly fewer women researchers than men, women are greatly over-represented among research assistants and blue-collar workers. In public research organisations the number of women researchers is three-quarters of the number of men; the same is two-thirds in higher education but only one-fifth in the corporate sector. Conversely, public research organisations are characterised by one-and-a-half times or twice as many women working in blue-collar or assistant jobs than men (CSO 2018).

What are the causes in the background of women's poor representation in STEM, and why is Hungarian higher education and science treading a special path in this respect? The questions are all the more relevant as R&D goals and gender equality are prime fields for motivating women to pursue careers in engineering and ICT. In what follows we attempt to find the answers from the perspective of aspirations on the one hand, and higher education reforms on the other hand.

First, based on the findings of PISA, we demonstrate that women's reticence to opt for STEM programmes in higher education is rooted in public education. Then we examine how the 2012 downturn in women's participation in STEM fields may be related to the 2012 shift of focus in higher education financing regarding subsidy, the disadvantage of women suffer in research and development, and the related gender-blind attitude in public policies. Finally, we point out the lack, or retardation, of institutionalised gender equality machinery, and the emergence of a targeted hostile political climate: i.e. the reinforcement of anti-gender framing, and

the closure of the gender studies master's program, which potentially kept the legitimacy of the issue on the agenda.[3]

In Hungary women are discouraged to choose and stay at an academic career and get a full academic citizenship both directly and indirectly. As to membership, they are mainly second-class academic citizens, since women are greatly over-represented among research assistants and blue-collar workers in the research sector. As to recognition, women academics are not respected enough, and the elimination of gender studies, which will be discussed later in detail, is a strong signal of this. Since women are from the very beginning continuously discouraged in the STEM fields, as teachers do not reflect on gender issues and keep an individually competitive atmosphere in the classroom, the motivation to be a scientist and the feeling of belonging to this profession remains on a low level among girls. Even if they enter the area of academic research in STEM fields, they face the dilemma to opt for the less paid public sector or higher education in the hope of gaining work–life balance. However, they might be often stuck in research assistant positions, as the data on segregation show.

Women-Unfriendly Academic Climate

Those who manage to break through the glass ceiling and reach the pinnacle of academic career generally find themselves in a typical 'men's world' where they do not feel at home, and where communications dominated by men often triggers anxiety or negative feelings (Séllei 2015). The unfriendly atmosphere works against women's intention to have a stronger connectedness to the academic environment. This is the case not only in male-dominated jobs. Examples of chilly climate could be observed at universities even in the field of feminised humanities. They are discouraging talented and aspiring women, who then avoid entering academic fields and cannot offer role models for the next generations (Séllei 2015), thus reinforcing their disadvantaged position, and weaker level of belonging to academic life.

[3]According to the statement of the Minister of Innovation, gender studies are not necessary in Hungary. His claim is based on the denial of the concept of gender and the sole acceptance of biological sex, which resonates the official governmental standpoint. He states that there are no genders in Hungary, similar to submarines, thus the country does not need any education on that ('We have neither genders, nor submarines' (sic!)). https://azonnali.hu/cikk/20190627_palkovics-ugy-akar-elbanni-az-mta-val-mint-egykoron-a-nemetek-tettek-az-ndk-val.

In a recent life course research of Ph.D. graduates at the Corvinus University of Budapest, 16 life course interviews, 9 males and 7 females, were carried out (Herke et al. 2019). The interviews were conducted with graduates of the Sociology Doctoral School at Corvinus University of Budapest or with researchers who started their scientific career here but did not eventually graduate here. Typically, the sample included sociologists who have been involved partially or fully in research careers.

These data prove that women-unfriendly or non-supporting academic environment can be present also in scientific fields where women form the majority of graduate or Ph.D. students. Regarding the relatively narrow academic field of sociology there were at least three main obstacles, which have been detected and thematised in the last three years: childbirth and work–life balance; limited international research career, and the lack of visibility (Herke et al. 2019). The latter means that women might receive limited access to and attention from their academic community and senior colleagues.

The responding female interviewees working in Hungarian academic sphere, spoke about the difficulties to combine the various fields even under flexible working conditions (Herke et al. 2019). Most respondents were dissatisfied with the simultaneous expectations of performing well in research, teaching or administrative university management. Women also underlined the priority of family life. In their cases the responsibility of raising children and childcare contributed to time pressure and permanent stress situation (see Chapter 5 in this volume).

The study documented that it was more typical aim for men than women to make enduring contribution to science, and also to gain international recognition. All of the male researchers in the study were married with three children and had supporting wives who were following their husbands' international career. Also, these male researchers tried to fit their international fellowships to their families' life stages, like childbirth in the home country (Herke et al. 2019).

The third obstacle mentioned was the in/visibility of female researchers, which is clearly demonstrated by the 'all male panels' at scientific discussions. In a public debate on the future of sociology in 2016, ten men and only one woman were invited to contribute. It turned out that the old-boys network in the capital city dominates these types of sociological workshops. As a reaction to this case a group of younger scholars organised a roundtable discussion on women on science, at the annual

meeting of the Hungarian Sociological Association, where the issues of gender and geographical diversity were discussed in detail.

The questions of reconciliation of professional life and academic career, both childbirth and work–life balance and of recognition are critical topics among younger researchers as well, and it obviously has a gendered character and influence their academic citizenship experiences. It is even so, although the issue is sometimes neglected, and (young) researchers do not treat it as the most difficult obstacle in their career, either.

A recent study among young researchers (under 45) shows that 13.7% of respondents indicated that they were discriminated against in their scientific careers because of their gender, gender identity, minority identity or disability (Alpár et al. 2019).[4] While 27.9% of women (21.7% in the academic sector), only 4.1% of men answered yes to this question (ibid.: 1075). Importantly, young female respondents compared to male researchers reported more often the lack of recognition and being overloaded as demotivating factors in their research career. Moreover, between the ages 31 and 40, men are already more often represented among leaders, and between 31 and 35 among associate professors, too. It is crucial to note that considering scientific positions, the gender gap in academic advancement opens before the age of 45 (ibid.). Despite their young age and early career stage it is very easy to recognise the signs of limited academic citizenship: women very frequently experience discrimination particularly in comparison to men, and they receive less power and recognition. Being a respected member of academic community and the sense of belonging becomes gendered already at the early stage of academic career.

International research experience is important at every stage of academic career, so it is surprising that 59.7% of all respondents have not travelled abroad for longer than three months since their graduation, and this is considerably higher for women (67.5%) than for men (54.4%) (Alpár et al. 2019: 1073). It might be also connected to difficulties faced with respect to work–family reconciliation (Paksi et al. 2016). Female researchers very often postpone family formation. Respondents raising small children, most notably 45% of women, experienced unfair

[4]The online questionnaire was completed in the spring of 2018 by 1779 young researchers, i.e. under the age of 45. The sample is not representative, but due to the large sample size the results might be valid for the researcher population under 45. The statistical analysis contained a total of 1535 responses.

treatment due to their family status. It is even more frequent in the disciplines of engineering, medical sciences and chemical sciences, where there are serious problems with having enough young candidates for working in these fields (see Chapter 3 on young researchers' career start in this volume).

Background Causes: Women's Socialisation and Motivation Problems in Public Education

Girls' progress to a 'non-girlish' scientific career is fraught with problems, which first crop up in early childhood. As the researcher puts it, 'The first problem arises at the basic stage of education and training, when girls are not encouraged to excel in subjects 'suited for boys' such as maths or physics. The 'hidden curriculum' rewards boys' achievement but not that of girls. This is where the glass walls effect first appears channelling women towards certain disciplines that consequently become feminised and where both wages and professional prestige decline' (Pető 2018: 553; our translation). This is another reason why it is important that research should address hindrances appearing in public education.

Academic citizenship in this book involves membership (yielding certain rights and duties); recognition (yielding power, voice and respect) and belonging (yielding a sense of entitlement) (see Chapter 1 in this volume). Gaining full academic citizenship needs not only the appropriate conditions, but motivation and self-confidence as well. But girls are discouraged from the scientific career at an early stage in Hungary, so their potential interest and belonging are already weakened in school. The PISA data reveal that four times as many boys are contemplating a career in engineering or ICT as girls. Parental attitudes also have a strong influence on girls' career choice. The rate of parents expecting boys to choose STEM careers is highest in Chile, Portugal and Hungary (50%), and only one-fifth expects the same of girls (OECD 2015).

The Hungarian PISA scores indicate an average gender difference. Boys do somewhat better in mathematics, and girls' advantage in reading is below the European average. The difference in science is not significant. A Hungarian study explored the reasons for the deterioration in Hungarian students' mathematics performance compared the results of students in five Central European countries (Germany, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary) through the PISA 2012 database using multivariate regression analysis (Csüllög et al. 2014). It was found that

family background and gender were responsible for one-fifth of the difference in performance. Another one-fifth was explained by students' self-efficacy in mathematics—in other words, the extent to which they are confident in this field and feel capable of tackling math problems. An interesting finding of the analysis was that when motivation was also included (i.e. controlled), the correlation between gender and mathematics performance changed from negative to positive. This means that girls' performance lag is due to a large extent by their lack of confidence. Putting it differently, when the level of motivation is identical, girls show better performance than boys in mathematics. This correlation was found in all the countries analysed, signalling that a learning environment discouraging girls from mathematics is an intrinsic part of school systems nurtured in Prussian traditions (Csüllög et al. 2014: 205).

Far from the so-called Prussian model in the spectrum of education systems, the Finnish model of education is one where girls supersede boys in both mathematics and reading comprehension (ibid.). This can probably be imputed to the less competitive pedagogical methods, which put more weight on collaboration and take account of individual differences. Education literature distinguishes different motivation mindsets in the learning process. Competitive, success-oriented students as well as self-mastery-oriented students strive to high achievement, but members of the competitive and success-oriented population are characterised by higher levels of anxiety. In such an environment, girls tend to give up sooner and show avoidance tendencies. By contrast, students perform better in a non-competitive, mastery-oriented environment where there are much less anxiety and concern about demonstrating competence (Tuominen-Soini et al. 2008).

The majority of staff in school systems consist of women. Their reflecting or non-reflecting behavioural patterns can reinforce the strengths or weaknesses of their gender. It is called non-reflective pedagogical behaviour when, for example, the pupil is assessed not on a diagnostic basis but on the basis of cultural and linguistic codes. On the one hand, reflective pedagogical behaviour presupposes professionalism that can be nurtured by a Finnish type of research-based teacher training. On the other hand, it would be important to attract the best performing students to the teaching profession, which, unfortunately, is not achieved due to low prestige and relatively low income of teachers in Hungary. Numerous authors (Wang and Degol 2013; Eccles 1993; Eccles and Roeser 2013; Charles and Thébaud 2018) address the effect of parental

and teacher perception of, and relation to, mathematics, their own confidence and knowledge in the field have a strong impact on their children's or students' success.[5] It is an interesting research finding that among the students taught by teachers who were anxious about mathematics, girls also became anxious, but boys were unaffected. The researchers argue that women teachers also represent a gender model for girls, which is reflected much more strongly on students of the same gender, i.e. girls (Beilock et al. 2010). The effect of educational methods on genders is an area which is yet uncharted, and especially so in Hungary. Teacher training and educational research are extremely gender blind, an issue which we take up in detail later.

Technocratic Changes in Higher Education

Secondary students' career choice is obviously strongly affected by changes in the higher education system. As mentioned above, the expansion of higher education resulted in women's growing participation in higher education, which, after the peak in 2006 started to decline. The decreasing trend was strengthened by the modifications of higher education financing in 2012. The figures of felvi.hu (see Fig. 6.1), the database containing higher education applicants and admissions, reveal that after the 2012 peak the number of female students in economic sciences dropped to two-thirds by 2017, while the number of male students declined only to 78%. In law, the number of women plummeted to 64% of the 2012 peak, while that of men, only to 74% by 2017. In the same period, there was a 10% growth in the number of female students of ICT (albeit the numbers are low as they are, growing from 2361 to 2602), as opposed to a 10% decline in men's numbers (from 16,296 to 14,778). In engineering, the number of women shrank by 10%, and of men, by 15%. On the whole, women, and not men, suffered the greater loss in these four well-paid areas of the labour market (economics, law, engineering and ICT) as women's numbers dropped by 30% compared to 20% of men's; moreover, the expected increase of students' participation in ICT and engineering training never materialised.

[5] The OECD PISA 2015 database shows that the expectations of Hungarian parents of their daughters in STEM fields are among the lowest, and Hungary is also at the tail end of the line in terms of girls' aspirations to pursue a career in STEM. The two are most likely related.

Although the direct aim of the reform was to support STEM fields, indirectly, it left youths wishing to continue their studies in programmes other than STEM. Recent analyses of applications for higher education programmes find that within the overall decline in the number of applications, the trend is considerably stronger in the case of girls: compared to the number of secondary school graduates in the reported years, the proportion of girls applying for university admission dropped from 61.8% in 2011 to 54.8% in 2012. The same decrease for boys was from 54.4 to 49.8% (Declercq and Varga 2019). As the researchers pointed out, 'Men responded to the modifications of 2012 rather by increasing their STEM applications, while women were more likely to apply to self-financed programmes after 2012' (Declercq and Varga 2019: 116). This means a drastic drop in the proportion of women in state-funded higher education: the rate of girls applying for tuition fee-based programme as their first choice increased from 1.9 to 10.2%. In the case of boys, the same growth was from 1.7 to 6.7%.

However, the coin has two sides. Not only should women be attracted to STEM careers, but the prestige of women's professions should also be increased to bring men into teaching and medical careers in order to have a more balanced gender mix in professions.

Gender Blindness in Educational Research and Science Policy

The majority of the factors listed above including the gender gap in different fields of science and the disappearance of women at the top echelon of the academic career ladder are global phenomena. In Hungary, the situation is exacerbated by gender equality blindness, which is typical among teachers as well as education researchers. It transpires from the PISA data that Hungary is the country where the family background has the greatest impact on students' scholastic achievement; consequently, and particularly in light of the large Roma population, educational researchers have focused primarily on disadvantaged students. The fact that after primary school, more girls tend to go on to grammar school than boys, the majority of whom choose vocational training without the prospect of further studies has often been interpreted as the education of boys being much more problem-ridden than girls' schooling (Fényes 2010). As a result, gender (in)equality in the context of education is seldom investigated in Hungarian educational research.

Looking at the theoretical background of teacher training, it is conspicuous that scientific foundations are laid on the basis of traditional pedagogical historical narratives rather than theories supported by classroom research. The result is a continued reproduction of a generalised, universal anthropological vision as the educational ideal, insensitive to gender differences and inequalities (Thun 2006: 82). The invisibility of women as part of the hidden curriculum affects the balance of power in the classroom and in society, and can strengthen, reform or even transform (Thun 2006). The reports on Hungarian public education published regularly by the Hungarian Institute of Public Education have been characterised by a lack of gender perspective. Trends behind pure statistics have been disregarded in the reports, and no gender problems have been identified (Kereszty 2007).

Girls' seeming advantage in secondary schools is actually a sign of the unavailability of vocational training that would really suit them. Hungarian vocational education and training is dominated by programmes in what has traditionally been considered boys' trades. Girls have a far narrower choice, and most of the trades that are available are not competitive in the labour market (Csillag et al. 2019). Compared to men having the same characteristics, women are at a disadvantage not only in the highly educated population but also within the low educational attainment group. This is demonstrated by the 2016 nationwide youth research data whereby a striking 70% of NEET (Not in Education, Employment, or Training) youth with low educational attainment are girls (Széll and Nagy 2018).

The topic of gender segregation is, however, wider than just motivating girls to enter male-dominated fields and disciplines. Strongly feminised jobs should be presented in a way that boys and men are encouraged to be allowed to select jobs in education, humanities or elderly, child or health care. In Hungary, the initiative Girls' Day was launched in 2012 (http://lanyoknapja.hu), but there is no boys' day yet. It is obviously also problematic that large companies participating in the initiative are interested in hiring for STEM jobs, and it is also an obstacle that feminised jobs are less acknowledged and well-paid in Hungary.

Emerging Anti-gender Movement and Climate

The total absence of gender awareness, or the existence of gender equality blindness, is experienced not only in education science and educational research but in the operation of higher education and education policy.

The reason is the overall nationwide lack of special attention to women's situation, and a lack of demand for a policy of equal opportunities which should also embrace gender equality. Hungary is special in that the first response after 2010 was to sweep it under the rug and neglect it, then the legitimacy of gender issues were attacked, which denotes the beginning of a strong regression in this area. Science is not just riddled with gender blindness, but an anti-gender movement is emerging, which will be discussed in detail (Pető 2017; Grzebalska and Pető 2018). This anti-gender attack started shortly after the 2010 political elections that brought the right-wing Orbán government into its long-lasting power position. This political approach has gained continuous power over the distinct spheres of public life. The strong anti-feminist and anti-gender rhetoric delegitimised and marginalised gender-related problems. This process has been clearly summarised as follows: 'Stripped of funding, demonized as threats, as well as operating in an illiberal context where their voice is not heard, women's NGOs, academics and feminist civil servants are pushed into a position where they have little outreach, cannot influence policy making through previously utilized, technocratic channels like advocacy or consultancy, and are often unable to function without relying on foreign donors' (Grzebalska and Pető 2018: 170).

This process falls in line with the loss of steam of equal opportunity policies described by researchers as early as the late 2000s decade (Krizsán and Zentai 2006). At the same time from 2010 state policy has shifted the focus on family policy and demographic issues, like fertility and marriage, instead of overseeing the implementation of gender equality (Grzebalska and Pető 2018). Tertiary students are encouraged to start a family through government measures, for example by the introduction, in 2014, of maternity assistance for 'full-time women students who give birth to a child during their studies or within a year after graduation' (Infojegyzet 2014: 3).

The implementation of the 2010 national strategy for gender equality has also been neglected (Government Decree 2010), and there is a general absence of an institutional system supporting gender equality. Albeit it has never been implemented, the gender equality strategy was very progressive and fully aligned with the EU's Gender Roadmap in force for the period 2006–2010. For example, Strategic Directions and Goals included the following important goals related to the issues addressed in this paper: *1.2. Eliminating the gender pay gap:* '– Promotion of women's choice of careers stereotyped as men's jobs and enhancing the

attractiveness for men of feminised careers (decreasing horizontal segregation). – Promotion of gender proportionate participation in vocational education and training' (Government Decree 2010: 6346).

The most noticeable indications of regression are when (women) politicians question achievements scored in gender equality. One early sign appeared when in 2010 two changes were made to the national curriculum of pre-school education. According to the opinion of the then state minister for education Rózsa Hoffmann, the first sentence of the document stating that the pre-school 'makes a conscious effort to avoid the reinforcement of gender stereotypes and promotes the eradication of prejudices regarding gender equality in society' actually suggested that strengthening awareness of sexual determination in pre-school education is an error. The sentence was changed as follows: the pre-school shall not entertain the development of prejudices, should they be social, gender-based or any other kind.[6]

This was matched in March 2019 by Boglárka Illés, deputy minister of state of the Ministry of Human Capacities at the time, who extolled the fact that the 'dominance' of women over men in higher education institutions and graduate women's higher proportion in society as a whole compared to men as a hallmark that '[Hungary has] reached the stage in gender equality that is women's due'.[7] Paradoxically, this statement was made at the closing ceremony of a programme training women in public leadership (Women in Public Leadership Programme) and was intended to inspire women students in the audience.[8]

This anti-feminist effort is not surprising, given that in the current government structure, the unit responsible for gender equality is invisible in terms of both organisation and work. The 2019 documentation shows that the Ministry of Human Capacities has a Division, and within it, a Department of Women's Policy under the auspices of the deputy minister of state responsible for family and youth (MHC 2019: 219). The Ministry website includes no information about this area or about the activity, head and staff of the Department, and the communications uploaded on the

[6] https://index.hu/belfold/2010/07/30/ujra_a_nemiseg_megelesere_nevelnek_az_oviban/.

[7] https://444.hu/2019/03/03/az-emmi-helyettes-allamtitkara-szerint-a-magyar-nok-mar-annyira-egyenjoguak-amennyire-annak-kell-lenniuk.

[8] https://www.mcc.hu/articles/elso-evfolyam-mcc-noi-vezetokepzo.

home page of the office of the state minister in charge is predominantly related to family policy.

This draws attention to another signal of regression, namely that the symbolic counterposition of family policy and gender equality has become an important political message (in both Hungary and Poland) (Grzebalska and Pető 2018). A message declaring at a ministerial level that family policy is important while gender studies are unnecessary and illegitimate (Balog 2017). This was a political step that indicated questioning the legitimacy of the academic research of gender equality and women's situation. This symbolic and spurious contraposition has given increasing prominence to the question whether the issue of women's participation in academic life could be restricted to motherhood or motherhood-related problems, like maternal employment.

Adopting this platform, the ruling political elite has created an anti-gender political climate where efforts to delegitimise gender studies have not stayed at the level of rhetoric. The government took action to render impossible the operation of NGOs (including those active in the field of gender equality); then to top it all, banned the accredited MA in gender studies programme in a government decision. This was another step in the series of government actions generally restricting academic freedom (for example attacks against the CEU [Central European University] and taking control of MTA's research institutes).[9]

None of the European Union countries' governing body decided to close down an accredited master programme. MA in Gender studies were accredited and taught at two universities in Hungary, at the public university ELTE and at the private university CEU, the latter one accredited in the USA. As no further programmes can be taught based on Hungarian accreditation, and the CEU cannot work according to the US accreditation in Hungary anymore, there is no place remaining to teach whole gender studies programmes in Hungary. As the authors of a recent report summarised: 'The nationwide ban of MA-level degree studies of gender in Hungary, however, is unprecedented' (Zimmermann et al. 2019: 9–10).

According to the political analysis we can state that anti-gender attack has had a several-year-long history in the region, mostly backed by the protest activity of various disappointed nationalist, conservative political forces or the ideology of Roman Catholic church (e.g. in Poland). For this

[9] http://eduline.hu/felsooktatas/megszuntetik_a_gender_szakot_BOM3GT.

very process in their recent article Grzebalska, Kováts and Pető applied the metaphor 'gender as a symbolic glue' (Grzebalska et al. 2017).

As Anikó Gregor, who has been in charge of the Gender Studies master programme at the Eötvös Loránd University reminds us, the ban of MA in gender studies can be understood only within the wider social context. In this social and economic context the slogan of failing liberal democracy (and establishment of illiberal state), the country's anti-EU rhetoric or repositioning, and the privatisation of higher education go hand in hand. Gregor emphasised that many dreams and promises have remained unfulfilled since the change of the political system in 1989. Referring to Grzebalska and colleagues (2017) she underlined their thesis that 'gender has become a signifier of the failure of the (neo)liberal order'. A stand-in for the lost promise of regime change and the lost chance of social mobility, 'gender' has come to symbolise in the eyes of the many even more: the uncertainty, social risk and growing social inequality neoliberalism frames as individual failure (Gagyi 2018).

Anti-gender actions have been rather widespread in almost all post-socialist countries, but the form and amplitude of the rejection of gender egalitarian ideas are rather diverse (Zimmermann et al. 2019). Several publications also reported on this hostile environment and 'backsliding in gender-equality policies', i.e. 'as states going back on previous commitments to gender-equality norms as defined in their respective political contexts' (Roggeband and Krizsán 2018: 4).

Besides the attack against gender studies, the recent retention and restructuring of the resources of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA) also reveal a highly utilitarian, technocratic science policy approach. It is illustrated by the fact that research institutes can apply for these resources in the following four areas in the future: Safe society and environment, Industry and digitalisation, health, culture and family.[10] The resources available for social sciences and arts (i.e. culture and family) are 25% less than in previous years. Social sciences seeking answers to structural problems face difficulties to find space in this framework. The three categories used in the culture and science policy under the Kádár regime in socialism seem to reappear: prohibited, tolerated, supported. Gender studies are prohibited, social sciences are tolerated and applied technical sciences are supported by the state.

[10] https://nkfih.gov.hu/hivatalrol/hivatal-hirei/temateruleti-kivalosagi-program-2019.

Attempts for Remedy in the Academic Sphere

Male dominance in science policy was noted by the leaders of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences when in the 2016 election of academicians no women candidates had been elected as MTA member. After the ensuing uproar, the General Assembly of MTA adopted a resolution (upon the motion of academician Péter Somogyi) to review 'the method and procedure of nomination and election of academicians with special regard to possible discrimination against women' (MTA 2016a). In the wake of the resolution, László Lovász, president of the Academy invited the newly established 13-strong Presidential Committee Facilitating Women's Academic Advancement to investigate the barriers and formulate concrete proposals to dismantle them (MTA 2016b, 2017).

As Vanda Lamm, chair of the Committee put it, 'women's competencies are often questioned. For example, there are real engineers who design and invent things, and there are not-quite-so-real engineers who help with the nitty-gritty, project management and administrative duties. These jobs are generally relegated to women, saying women are better and more thorough at the paperwork anyway'.[11]

As a first step, the Presidential Committee of the Academy developed a package of proposals for the General Assembly of MTA. It summarised measures assisting women to restart and advance their career and helping women who are planning to have children. It formulated the need to monitor women/men proportions at scientific events. The package addressed the need to enhance the visibility of women's achievements, women's difficulties in harmonising work and family life, promotion of women academician candidates and the review of election rules. It is significant that the Committee keeps issues of women's disadvantages on the agenda in an anti-gender environment in multifaceted ways. For example, they had talks with women researchers in every institute belonging to the Academy' research network, discussed the importance and opportunities of supporting women researchers with the heads of each academic section, every year staged a special programme related to the issue on the Day of Hungarian Science, and conducted a questionnaire-based survey among academicians in March 2018. (The second author of this chapter participated in the analysis of the data.)

[11] https://abcug.hu/gyereket-nevelnek-aztan-egesz-eletukben-szivnak-a-kutatonok/.

The aim of the survey in 2018 was twofold: to explore the academicians' intention to nominate female candidates in the election process, but also remind them of the importance of this issue indirectly. The questionnaire, which was sent out online by the secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, contained only three basic questions: had they ever nominated women for membership of the Academy, and whether they now saw suitable female candidates, and if yes, whether they were planning to nominate them for candidacy. Altogether 45% of academicians, 164 people, answered the questions within the given three-week-long period.

Despite the limited number of the questions raised, the findings served as an important prediction for the following candidacy period. Exactly half of the respondents (82 people) have already nominated at least one woman for candidacy in previous nominations. (Most frequently they have nominated one or two women.) More than three-quarters of those academicians who had previously nominated women, saw a suitable female candidate again. Two-thirds of those who have not yet nominated women for academic membership saw suitable women for nomination. Thus, overall, 118 people, 72% of the responding academicians saw a suitable female candidate in their environment (44 saw one, 43 saw two and 12 saw three suitable female candidates). Surprisingly, 7 of those who saw a suitable female candidate around them, would not nominate a woman, so 62% of respondents planned to nominate a woman for the 2019 election (Lamm and Nagy 2019).

It is probably due to the Committee's awareness-raising endeavours that at the 2019 elections a quarter of the corresponding candidates and 26 out of the total 102 newly elected academicians are women, including honorary members as well (MTA 2019b). However, there have been more optimistic flash reports as well, emphasising that the latest election might be the beginning of a new trend. Data summarising the last five elections at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences show that both the nomination (26.6%) and election (28.6%) of women were the highest this year (Bazsa 2019).

However, it should be remembered that these positions are the top of the iceberg, far away from young researchers at the beginning of their scientific career. Academics reaching the highest positions, certainly attain full academic citizenship. This echelon obviously means outstanding academic status and prestige. While the symbolic message is strong, its real impact on the entire academic life should not be overestimated.

Concluding Discussion

This chapter attempted to demonstrate that, despite common beliefs that women's growing presence in the education system has been privileging and beneficial for women, women choosing an academic career face numerous hidden and overt obstacles in their struggles for attaining full academic citizenship. These obstacles systematically surround women in society as they go through life from early childhood. Hindrances reaffirm the expectations regarding women's and men's performance that are equal and meritocratic in theory but deeply traditional and discriminative in practice.

Our analysis revealed that public education is imbued with the hidden curriculum, i.e. references that mark the place of genders in social reality. Through this gendered and routinely reproduced and transferred traditional worldview, the education system hammers home the traditional roles of girls and boys, and at the same time influences their self-image. This is particularly the case if teacher training and education science, however dominated by women, fail to respond to social changes. The signs are visible, for instance when the inclusion of mathematics-related motivation in the PISA analysis model led to the disappearance of differences in mathematics performance. This means that 15-year-old girls are not less gifted in mathematics than boys, but their self-perception and motivation seldom include enthusiasm about mathematics.

Gender stereotypes and confidence gap act as self-fulfilling prophecy. There are no signs of existing initiatives which would change this situation. According to our knowledge neither teachers' and parents' actions nor programmes connected to educational policy address the roots of women's demotivation. This may explain why women interested in STEM, and particularly engineering and ICT careers are few and far between. This trend keeps women in secondary position in math-related fields and does not strengthen their belonging to the quantitative area of scientific life. Women's belonging remains poor: they are discouraged in the STEM fields, as teachers do not reflect on gender issues and rely on an individually competitive and chilly school climate.

The science-related segregation of boys and girls does not abate upon their entry in higher education. Similar to other countries, Hungary is also characterised by the increasing gender balance of the student population, but after 2006 (and parallel with the fall in participation in part-time programmes), the proportion of women has settled around a relatively

balanced 53%. The 2012 education policy reform did nothing to promote women's tertiary studies as access to state-funded places in the fields favoured by women was curtailed. Consequently, while the number of secondary school leavers applying to study in higher education decreased overall, the drop in the number of women was much greater than that of men. Therefore, 2012 can be considered as a breaking point for women due to the mounting limitations to their access to scientific fields of study. Nevertheless, tertiary studies are particularly important for women as secondary vocational education and training hardly offers them viable trades. If we take these signs seriously, we can treat it as indirect discrimination against women, which remained unnoticed in the turmoil of higher educational reforms. Thus, this turn can be also understood as women's exclusion from attaining full academic citizenship.

Our findings have shown that even though the number of women students at universities is slightly higher than the number of men, segregation by disciplines has remained in place, and aspiration at a career in science is a less obvious alternative for women. Looking at career progress, it is apparent that fewer and fewer women acquire successive degrees or positions. As a result, the academic hierarchy, for example the population of Ph.D. holders is dominated by men even in fields where the student population clearly consisted of more women than men (e.g. law and business). The unintended or hidden mechanisms limiting women's academic citizenship can be detected here.

No wonder that women in Hungary occupy less rewarding positions: hence, limited academic citizenship in research and development. R&D spending as a percentage of GDP is below the EU level. In addition, not only are greater proportions of funds allocated to fields where there are more men researchers (such as engineering), but the trends of the past few years have also proved that these funds primarily supported research projects of the corporate sector. By contrast, women researchers mainly work in higher education or in the public sector, where the pay is poorer, but it is easier to balance work and private live than would be possible amidst the working conditions dictated by the private sector. Moreover, women gain mostly limited academic citizenship within the structure of academic life, which was demonstrated both by their underprivileged position in R&D and higher education, but also by the unfriendly or chilly academic environment discouraging women from academic career. This, of course, does not mean that women are less able to do well in a competitive corporate environment; rather it denotes the traditional expectation

of the gender regime whereby a woman's main job is to undertake the duties related to social reproduction. These phenomena together reinforce women's limited academic citizenships, understood very often as non-competitive, non-professional and non-corporate employees working in non-quantitative areas of academic fields.

Our findings do not support the expectations that equal participation in the education system and high achievement will sooner or later be advantageous for women in the labour market in general and in science careers in particular, as we live in a meritocratic society. In contrast to this statement we argued that over the past decade Hungary regressed in several areas of gender equality. The list is long, and the policy changes that identify women primarily as mothers rather than independent and highly trained women are clear. Systematic steps have been taken to eradicate gender policies and their institutional guarantees; one of the last stations along the road was the closure of the gender studies master's programme by government decision. Banning gender studies MA refers to the limited legitimacy and recognition of gender-related issues. It shows a situation where the scientific analysis of gender equality and women's empowerment is not welcome. Indirectly, women have less voice to call attention to their limited academic citizenship.

Based on the few Hungarian research that are available on academic careers we could identify at least three main obstacles women face: childbirth and work–life balance, limited international research career and the lack of visibility. All these problems, as the interviewees and respondents have pointed out, are embedded into a chilly, masculine and discriminating atmosphere diminishing women's belonging to academic fields. Women mostly have limited career track meaning that full professorship is hardly available for them, moreover, they are stuck in less advantageous, support positions, which characterise the presence of limited or second-class academic citizenship. The hardly available work–life balance also influences the shape of women's academic citizenship and belonging. Recent research among young researchers underlined women's lack of recognition already at an early age.

The science policy embraced by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences is aimed at the identification and dismantling of obstacles barring the progress of women scientists, the elimination of discrimination and the promotion of opportunities for women to gain full citizenship in academia. It relays an important message to the entire society. At the same time, no one should have their hopes too high as to an automatic

and long-term effect, as gender issues involve querying the status quo and could therefore be against dominant interests.

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CHAPTER 7

Sexual Harassment in Turkish Academia Through the Lens of *Gendered Academic Citizenship*

Yıldız Ecevit and F. Umut Beşpınar

Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to examine sexual harassment in Turkish academia by using the theoretical framework of *gendered academic citizenship* which involves the key components of membership, recognition and belonging. We will examine the phenomenon of sexual harassment and recent institutional and social mechanisms of dealing with it in Turkish academia by considering the impacts of the simultaneously rising conservatism and feminist awareness in the Turkish society.

Although sexual harassment has become a widely debated issue in the last couple of years, with an increasing worldwide effect of the #MeToo movement, it has been on the agenda, especially for feminists, much

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longer. Starting from 1970s, this concept gained an increasing visibility in the public opinion with the legal regulations developed in relation to the cases held in labor courts. #MeToo social media movement which started in 2017 can be regarded as an outcome of the struggle against the sexual harassment of scholars and activists over 40 years. As Fileborn and Loney-Howes (2019: 2) argue, #MeToo shows publicly "how widespread sexual assault and harassment actually are; that most victim-survivors know the offender; and, significantly, that these experiences are routine and normalized, in short, confirming many feminist arguments about 'rape culture.'" The global explosion of the hashtag #MeToo on social media is reflective of the magnitude of the problem.

The effect of feminist academics' conceptualization and theorization of sexual harassment as an attack against body integrity and violation of rights is significant on the rising publicity of the concept and related increasing awareness. Discussions about the sexual harassment cases in university campuses which are the places for learning, working, and living (Benson and Thomson 1982; Ramazanoğlu 1987) started to appear soon after in workplace (Farley 1978; MacKinnon 1979). These studies which became a significant part of feminist policy have focused on the individual, institutional, and social damages of sexual harassment. Victims of sexual harassment (student, academic, and administrative staff) are negatively affected by this experience since they feel personally at risk and under threat. Students discontinue their classes due to the emotional difficulties (e.g., discomfort, sadness, anger, and disappointment) during and/or after the harassment, and in some cases, they may withdraw from classes or leave school altogether. Cases of sexual harassment harm the working environment and culture of universities. In other words, sexual harassment transforms the university into a hostile learning and working environment and negatively affects emotional and academic well-being of university employees by causing conflicts among university members (Koss et al. 1987; Ramazanoğlu 1987; Hill and Silva 2005; Huerta et al. 2006; Tenbrunsel et al. 2019; Pinchevsky et al. 2019). At the same time, the corporate reputation of the institutions where the harassment takes place is damaged leading to adverse academic consequences. Academic and administrative staff lose their thrust and sense of belonging to the institution. Students and administrative staff lack the social awareness and means of combatting harassment if they are studying or working in environments where there is no active fight against harassment. People who have been harassed may react by staying silent, fearing, feeling

at risk, receding, blaming themselves, describing the situation in a less harmful way by reinterpreting it (for instance as a joke), and revealing it depending on the factors such as their position, the extent of the harassment, and by whom it is committed (Hill and Silva 2005; Fitzgerald et al. 1995). Unfortunately, seeking social support and applying for institutional support and protection is not a common reaction. The significance of the actions for fighting sexual harassment in campuses can be understood by collectively considering the destructive impacts of harassment and the reactions against it.

Turkey is a very interesting example in terms of sexual harassment. In parallel with the increasing conservatism in the last decades, we see an increase in awareness and sensitivity toward violence and sexual harassment against women in the society. In Turkey, in the last ten years, the growing awareness of sexual harassment by the academic staff engaged in gender studies, combined with strong demand from students, has led to regarding campuses also not free from sexual harassment with a growing call to converting the relevant policies and practices in the universities. The Sexual Harassment and Assault Prevention Network (SHAPN) was established as part of such efforts. We started to work on this subject in 2010 at Middle East Technical University where both of us teach and both of us are the members of the SHAPN since 2012.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the endeavors, which we consider as a part of the mainstreaming strategy of gender equality at universities, for the conceptualization and prevention of sexual harassment and assault within the framework of the concept of gendered academic citizenship (membership, recognition, and belonging). In this respect, before the analysis, we discuss the causes and consequences of sexual harassment and assault cases at universities by considering the relevant national and international literature. We believe that this discussion, which is based on our almost ten years of experience in the field of fighting against sexual harassment and violence on the university campuses in Turkey, will contribute to the theoretical framework and conceptualization of sexual harassment through the lens of the gendered academic citizenship.

Background: Gains and Losses Regarding Gender in Turkey

This section aims to provide a background information on rising conservatism in Turkish socio-political environment and its reflections at the universities particularly in the form of sexism, masculinist culture, sexual harassment. There are some contradictory situations in Turkey both in the context of gender equality policies and the position of female academics at universities, when gains and losses are combined. Gains in the context of gender equality policies have recently been targeted by the political power and some right-wing conservative social groups in line with the recent strengthening of political conservatism. These gains have a relatively long history in the Turkish case.

Efforts toward achieving gender equality in Turkey has progressed bi-directionally since the early 1980s. While the first is the women's movement, which has gained momentum in this era, the other is the efforts of the state. Turkey approved the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)[1] without any reservations in 1985, and it was enacted in 1986. Since then, the first of the steps taken to achieve gender equality in Turkey is the establishment of the Directorate General on the Status and Problems of Women (DGSPW) in 1990. The establishment of this body has been necessary to fulfill the requirements of CEDAW. Its objectives include improving the status of women in Turkey in social, political, economic, and cultural spheres of life. In the 2000s, within the framework of the efforts to join the European Union, necessary legal regulations were made, and changes have been enacted in the legislation to ensure the principles of gender equality in all laws including the Constitution. The principle of gender equality was strengthened with the changes that were made in the article 10 which adjudicates that the state is responsible for achieving gender equality. With the cooperation of public institutions, women's NGOs and organizations of professionals the preparation and legalization of the new Civil Code (2002) and the new Penal Code (2005) was enacted. The

[1] CEDAW (The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women) spells out in detail women's human right to equality and non-discrimination and maps out the range of actions that must be taken to achieve this equality. It is one of the core international human rights treaties of the United Nations and it requires state parties to undertake legal obligations to respect protect and fulfill women's human rights.

new Penal Code includes progressive amendments toward the protection of women's rights and the violence against women is acknowledged as a crime. In 2004, a Prime Ministry circular was published banning the discrimination based on gender in recruiting personnel in public offices. The Law on Protection of Family which was enacted in 1998 with the aim of the protection of women exposed to domestic violence was rearranged in 2007. Through another Prime Ministry circular, the actions to be taken to eliminate violence against women were formulated and the responsible institutions were designated. Immediately after the circular, the Monitoring Committee for the Violence against Women was established under the presidency of the State Minister. In 2009, the Turkish Parliament adopted the law number 5840 which established a Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men which was a result of common efforts of NGOs that have been active in the field of women's advocacy in Turkey. This Committee has been operating since 2009 as a standing committee of the Parliament. The establishment of the committee is a milestone in Turkey to support equal rights between women. The Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combatting Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence, known as the Istanbul Convention, is the first international legally binding treaty on violence against women which was adapted in 2014. Therefore, it is extremely important not only for Turkey as the first country ratifying the convention, but also for all other members of the Council of Europe. However, since last year, the implementation of the Istanbul Convention has been under attack through public campaigns initiated by non-governmental organizations who are representatives of the right-wing populist movement and supported by the right-wing media.

The absence of a political will that views women as individuals in Turkey, conversely, increasing familialism and an understanding that defines them within the family institution is an important obstacle in achieving gender equality. While the inadequacy of women-centered policies is a major problem, the conservative view of women's rights in recent years has played an impeding role in exercising these rights. For many years, women's organizations in their efforts for the democratization of Turkey have endeavored to defend women's rights in addition to provide an environment of solidarity at the local, national, and international levels (Ecevit 2007). As a result of an increase in Government Organized Non-Governmental Organizations (GONGOs), notable obstacles and reversals

occur in the area of women's rights. Nevertheless, the field of civil society is increasingly shrinking for defenders of women's rights.

After briefly summarizing the current situation in the context of gender equality policies in Turkey, let us have a closer look at the situation of women academics at universities, which is the focus of our study. Turkey has the thinnest glass ceiling in higher education within Europe. At the European level, the Glass Ceiling Index Figure varies between 3.8 (Ireland) and 1.2 (Turkey). EU-27 has an index value of 1.8. In Europe, academic span starts with 46% female participation at the level of assistant professorship, but this proportion decreases to 20% at the level of professorship. The data on Turkey for the same year show that these proportions are 48% and 28%, respectively (She Figures 2019).

According to the 2019 data, 44% of faculty members in Turkish universities are female. When we look at the numbers in 2019, 43% of the assistant professors and 31% of the professors are women (The Turkish Higher Education Council 2019). Despite the low rate of female participation into the labor force in Turkey (for the 15- to 64-year-old women, it is 32.9% in 2018) and the high level of unemployment rate of tertiary educated women (16.6% for women (She Figures 2019), the sheer number of female academics is noteworthy as an important paradox (Özbilgin and Healy 2004). In the last thirty years, there have been many studies examining this issue (Öncü 1981; Acar 1983, 1991; Köker 1998; Günlük-Senesen 1996, 2009; Öztan and Doğan 2015). These studies explain the high number of female academics with reasons such as encouraging women to get education within the scope of the modernization project since the Republican Era (Acar 1998; Arat 1998; Durakbaşa 1998; Köker 1998); making space for educated women at universities (Healy et al. 2005; İnce-Yenilmez 2016); finding a university career safe and appropriate for women (Kandiyoti 1997; Zeytinoğlu 1999); increasing need for employment of academics in line with the rising number of universities; male graduates not preferring university positions due to low wage (Özgüç 1998; İnce-Yenilmez 2016).

In addition to the high number of female academics in Turkey, there are two more positive changes in terms of gender equality. As the opportunities of graduate studies improve, the number of doctoral students in almost every area increases. Thus, the proportions of female students among doctoral students are increasing. Higher education statistics indicate that the number of female doctoral students in most areas, including traditionally male-dominated engineering branches, is increasing faster

than that of male doctoral students since 2001, except in areas such as architecture and medicine (The Student Selection and Placement Centre, The number of graduate students according to their educational areas, 2001–2010). In 2019, 44% of doctoral students were women. It may be estimated that the gender-based difference will shrink further, assuming most of the female students doing PhD will work at universities after completing their studies.[2]

In spite of the high number of women in the academia, there are very few female academics in executive positions. In 2019, among the universities in Turkey, only five state universities and 11 private universities have female presidents (a ratio of 8%). The ratio of female deans among all deans is 17.5% (The Turkish High Education Council, 2019). These ratios show that women are at a very low rate in charge of both public and private university senior management positions compared to men and they have very limited say in the decisions taken by universities.

One of the most common explanations in the literature on the lack of executive positions of female academics is that female candidates refuse these positions because it will increase their workloads, extend working hours, require domestic and international travels, and they will not be able to fulfill their responsibilities regarding their families (Acar 1998; Köker 1998; Özkanlı 2010). Although the factors mentioned affect the decisions of women academics on not getting high level executive positions, the main cause is the patriarchal point of view that dominates the universities. In our opinion, one of the main reasons why women are not present in executive positions is that universities are organized according to a male-dominated structure and culture. Women who cannot enter the networks and relationships established among the men, cannot reach positions requiring power, even if they are academically successful (Carvalho et al. 2012).

In addition, the male-dominated structure of university administrations has been strengthened in recent years due to the presidents appointed by the conservative political power and the male academics appointed to the sub-management positions assigned by them. This structure has potential to lead to covering up sexist attitudes including sexual harassment at universities. That is why it has taken a long time to talk about sexual harassment at universities in Turkey. A strong denial and ignorance

[2] https://istatistik.yok.gov.tr/ retrieved on 25 May 2019.

(usually reflected as "it can be anywhere else, but not at universities") prevented the issue from being discussed and caused the abused ones to be alone in their fight against harassment. Another consequence of protection of abusers is the reinforcement of the opinion that those who are harassed will not be taken seriously and will not be protected if they file a complaint with the administration.

In this sense, 2011 is a turning point. A group of women academics has demonstrated a clear response for the first time to a harassment case which occurred in one of Turkey's leading universities, and they established the Support Unit against Sexual Harassment and Assault. A year later, this group organized a workshop with the participation of female academics from other universities and decided to make joint studies on how to prevent sexual harassment and assault cases at universities.

SHAPN, which meets twice a year since 2012, is growing and strengthening with the participation of representatives from new universities. The first group meetings opened up the door of many years of collaborations and partnerships between university representatives and served another purpose than to set the scene. Those who have not yet attempted to work on sexual harassment and assault have been encouraged by the advices they received from their colleagues who had come a longer way up to that date. Moreover, following the path of those who took the first steps before them saved time for late comer universities and prevented them from repeating the same mistakes. We can regard the rapid sharing and circulation of the policy and strategy documents and directives aiming to prevent sexual harassment as the best examples of this cooperation and solidarity. The group, attaching great significance to the fact that they collaborate, describes their connection as the beginning of breaking their silence about sexual harassment. The group has created a very solid foundation by setting the basic standards for what should be done at universities against sexual harassment and abuse. Being a member of this group encourages female academics at universities and helps them stay strong in the face of obstacles and challenges when implementing group-established strategies to combat sexual harassment (Ecevit and Beşpınar 2018).

Gendered Academic Citizenship in Understanding Women's Experiences in Academia

The term "gendered academic citizenship" contributes into the conceptualization of sexual harassment as an attack to bodily integrity and violation of rights. Lister (1997) argues that bodily integrity is regarded as a precondition of citizenship because women's access to the public sphere is damaged without having control over their bodies. Feminist theories of citizenship underline the significance of bodily integrity for women's autonomy, and full and free access to public sphere. As Beasley and Bacchi (2000: 337) argue "bodies give substance to citizenship and that citizenship matters for bodies." Sexual harassment, as a form of "gendered and sexualized violence" against bodily integrity, consequently leads to a potential impairment of both participation, recognition and belonging dimensions of citizenship.

The concept of "gendered academic citizenship" enriches the discussion of sexual harassment on the campuses in two aspects. The first aspect is that the notion of citizenship contains benchmarks such as rights, recognition, inclusion, and belonging. The notion of academic citizenship includes both rights such as academic freedom, autonomy owned by the stakeholders that constitute academia; experiences of recognition and belonging and an emphasis relating to the social responsibilities of academia. Academics and students as a part of academic community have some rights and responsibilities for both other members of academia and the rest of society (Shills 1997; Ward 2003; Macfarlane 2007). The second aspect is the emphasis on the gender dimension. Even though the notion of citizenship historically implies a universal and gender-neutral relation built with nation state, the emphasis on the necessity of tackling inequality dimensions, such as gender inequality within the framework of intersectionalism is on the increase (Oleksy et al. 2011; Roseneil et al. 2012). These discussions have led to the development of the notion of gendered citizenship which reveals that academia, despite being presented as gender-neutral, in fact is based on male norms and gender inequalities through processes of membership/participation, belonging, and recognition.

"Membership of a community" dimension of "academic citizenship," as stressed by Shills (1997), requires an understanding of membership and embracing shared values and purposes in the academic community. With this understanding, academic and administrative staff, and students taking

part in academia, within the framework of shared values and purposes, with some principles and rules, should create a system in which all stakeholders of academia can feel like a member with equal rights, express themselves, share their priorities and needs with other members, and those priorities and needs are institutionally addressed. Such an organizational structuring includes every person that has a part in academic institutions. Embracing social inclusion in the functioning of institutionalization is only possible when it is guaranteed that each member has equal rights. At this point, gender inequality seriously hinders the members from having equal rights.

Female and male members of academic community cannot have equal rights because organizational forms of academic institutions, with Acker's (1990) conceptualization, are arranged according to male norms. There is a lack or insufficiency of the policies and regulations which protect women from sexual harassment. Inequalities based on gender are not independent from the dynamics behind sexual harassment. Institutionalization of male norms results in this academic environment harming women's feeling and practice of membership of an academic community. At this point, especially the studies of Dziech and Weiner (1990) and Benson (1984) are significant to show the intersectionality of inequalities and power positions in the universities. Dziech and Weiner (1990) acknowledge that individuals who hold power in academic hierarchy are either harassed to a lesser extent by individuals with less power than themselves or students or they do not interpret what they have experienced as sexual harassment. However, while sexual harassment can occur between persons who occupy equally powerful positions, it also occurs in such a form that occupants of more powerful positions in the hierarchical structure are sexually harassed by the ones with less power than themselves. Benson (1984), therefore, states that the definitions in widely accepted approaches require revision considering that sexual harassment is not only a state in which the more powerful harass the less powerful or equally powerful persons harass one another, but also a behavior of the "powerless towards the powerful." An additional problem with the power relations at the universities is that both administrators and the other parties of the university, do not take the possibility of sexual harassment against instructors by their students into account. The harassment of male students against female faculty members, which Benson (1984) defines as "counterpower harassment," has negative influences on female faculty members. Young female

members, especially those who have just started to work, are more vulnerable to it. University administrators tend to explain this situation as the faculty members' failure to enforce discipline in their classrooms and, as a result, to see it as their mistake. Thus, since young female faculty members are unprotected against sexual harassment practices, they cannot even get the support they need from their own institutions and are sometimes accused directly or implicitly of the incident; they feel lonely and their sense of institutional belonging is damaged. Power is not a one-dimensional social phenomenon; gender inequalities can extend beyond the hierarchical institutional power dynamics.

Women are significantly less likely to occupy positions, especially those that may affect the decision-making processes when the academia is reviewed with the dimensions of membership, recognition, and belonging. The low rate of women in the decision-making processes in the academia leads to the domination of gender-blind institutional policies and practices fighting against sexual harassment. Hoffmann (1986) underscores the fact that universities should develop institutional solutions in fighting sexual harassment by taking into consideration structural conditions leading to this problem. In this respect, she highlights that the political documents prepared, and arrangements made by institutions should consider both the structural reasons behind and results of sexual harassment. Baker, in her 2010 study, questions the reasons of on-going sexual harassment at universities, she highlights the fact that male dominance, especially in the natural sciences, still exists, and disclosing the harassment is a difficult process for women since they hold a minority position in male dominant settings. Complainant woman is marginalized in the male-dominated academic environment, and such systematic marginalization processes give rise to women's feeling oppressed in order not to file a complaint. The failure of putting immediate, appropriate, and effective implementations into practice even if the existence of harassment is known results in the rise of a hostile environment at universities.

In addition, it is expected that women will be present in the positions in academic process, where social and institutional service is provided and that women will serve for their institution and society in the caregiver gender role with no thought of any personal gain. Women major in activities such as training, in-house training, and commission tasks, while men major in administrative tasks. Although institutional and social service is very significant in terms of contribution, these services are not

acknowledged while rising in the academic hierarchy and women's institutional and academic labor is invisible and depreciated. Women have great difficulties in accomplishing their life cycle duties and non-work responsibilities such as birth, parenting, child, and elderly care along with their academic responsibilities (Özbilgin and Healy 2004, see also Chapter 5 in this book). In the Turkish context, academia adopts a purely gender-blind approach to women's non-work responsibilities. This gender-blind approach is most commonly observed during the appointment and promotion stages. Although they have quite different life responsibilities, women and men must compete with an acceptance as if they have equal conditions to meet the criteria presented as neutral in terms of social gender. Women's comparably limited academic citizenship experiences have the risk of undermining their professional and institutional loyalty. The secondary position and the lack of recognition of their effort and services hinder their sense of belonging in the academia. The negative experiences of women in academia in terms of membership, recognition, and belonging create a vicious cycle. Women, not encouraged to participate in some areas such as academic leadership, are more concentrated in labor and service intensive areas; however, their work in these areas is not valued and recognized. This lack of recognition in turn undermines women's sense of belonging.

After briefly touching upon the importance of the concept of gendered academic citizenship in understanding women's experiences in academia, we will discuss the prominence of this concept in examining sexual harassment in the following section which examines the three interconnected causes of sexual harassment.

Mechanisms Behind Sexual Harassment at the Universities

There are various explanations for pervasive existence of sexual harassment at universities. Researchers acknowledge that institutional, individual, and structural factors are influential. In order to understand the recent Turkish context, we propose the following mechanisms: political, social, and cultural conservatism; sexism within the framework of social and institutional male dominance and heteronormativity; and lastly, ambiguous perceptions about sexual harassment (See Fig. 7.1). In this section, we are going to evaluate those factors by both referring to the discussion in literature and identifying the arguments within the Turkish context.

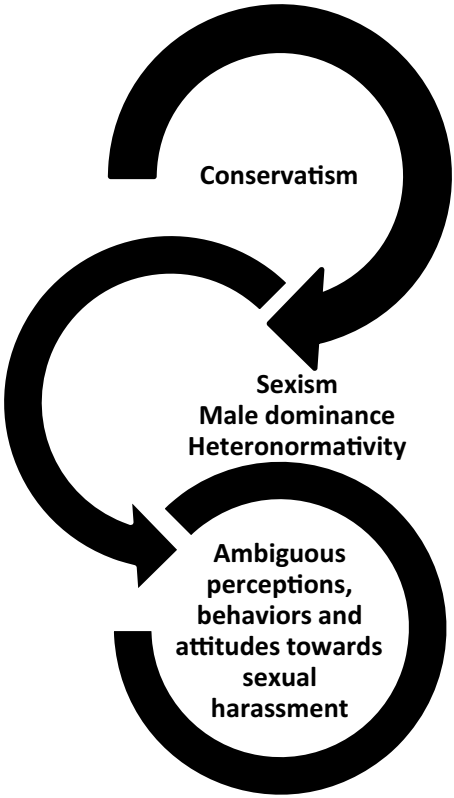

Fig. 7.1 A cyclical approach to the causes of sexual harassment

Increasing Conservatism and Sexism

Turkish society, since the 1990s, is becoming socially and politically more conservative. The distribution of economic, symbolic, and cultural resources and the operation of political mechanisms are increasingly based on religion and conservatism. With the rise of religiosity and conservatism in political mechanisms, the traditional gender roles, stereotypes, and sexist perceptions/views have become dominant in the socio-political climate of Turkey (Beşpınar and Beşpınar 2018). It is not surprising that sexist perceptions and views are common in such a social environment. According to Linglehart and Norris' Gender Equality Scale in the

World Values Survey in 2012,[3] Turkey was ranked 48 among 60 countries. In Turkey, while 76% of the participants agreed with the statement "A man should be the head of the household" which was one of the items in the scale, 64% of the participants approved the statement "A wife should always obey her husband." One in three individuals (33% of participants) agreed with the statement "higher education is more important for boys than for girls." 60% of the participants stated that if there is unemployment in the country, men should be given priority.

Universities are also directly affected by the increase in conservatism in Turkey. In parallel with the strengthening of political conservatism in society, cadres close to the political power are also increasingly present at the universities. As members of the SHAPN network, we anxiously observe that this process leads both to the appointment of the top executives in the universities by the political power instead of being elected and the increase in the number of conservative instructors and faculty members. The sexist perceptions and views strengthened by conservatism are also adopted at universities. Through our almost ten years of experiences, we witness that practices such as discrimination and harassment against female instructors and students are increasing in Turkish academia. The spread of mentality that values women less than men at universities both makes each woman more vulnerable to discrimination, harassment, and violence and breaks their power to struggle with such practices socially, politically, and legally. All in all, women think and feel that they are viewed as second-class citizens in academia (Şentürk 2012).

University administrations adopting approaches that devalue women ignore their damaging experiences and do not allocate institutional tools to fight against these negative practices. Even if they create such tools and establish policies on paper, they do not show enough enthusiasm and effort to implement them. A similar trend prevails not only at university administrations but also in the Turkish Council of Higher Education (CHE) these universities are affiliated to. CHE prepared a document in 2015 (The Gender Attitude Document) in order to strengthen gender equality and combating sexual harassment at universities. Removing this document from the institution's website in 2019 may imply that it withdrew its institutional support from universities on this issue. This document involved significant gains in ensuring the rights of women

[3] This is the sixth wave (2010–2014) of World Values Survey, the seventh wave has not been publicly shared yet.

to academic citizenship, which paved the way for academia to make certain arrangements that are sensitive to the rights and needs of women. Another application that can be considered within this scope is the insistence of CHE to include the expression of Family in the names of Women's Studies Research Centers established at universities since the mid-1990s. As this familialist approach, in which women are not recognized as individuals, but are seen as part of the family, prevails in society and at university, impediments arise to guarantee the individual rights of women on an institutional scale (See Chapter 6 on similar trends in the Hungarian context).

Along with being an ideological approach seen in political setting, conservatism is influential on individuals' perceptions of social relations and creating norms about these relations. Conservatism is based upon the idea that social hierarchical relations should be present in social organization (Wilson 1973). The way to establish and sustain such social hierarchy is to develop prejudices and stereotypes toward dissimilar others. The ones who want themselves or similar others to be socially dominant, develop prejudiced attitudes and behaviors toward others. Such an understanding and approach feed racism and sexism as well (Whitley 1999). Seeing the world from a conservative ideological framework brings along some values and lifestyles. These values produce norms for many areas of everyday life; however, mostly through the roles of femininity and masculinity, they shape social expectations and norms related to the relationships between same-sexes and opposite-sexes (Glick and Fiske 1996; Christopher and Mull 2006; Podesva and Van Hofwegen 2014). In this regard, the male dominant system adopts a devaluation approach based on prejudices against others in order to preserve the power and status it bestows to heterosexual men. Sexist stereotypes produce generalizations about gender roles. These generalizations depict men and women as different from and often opposite of each other. Such an understanding places heterosexual men to the hierarchically highest position; it rejects the notion of equality and claims that heterosexual men deserve advantageous positions and resources in society more than others. A sexist attitude toward women and LGBTI+ individuals is sometimes in the form of protection, sometimes hostile, and sometimes contradictory emotional sexism. Christopher and Mull (2006) discuss how different aspects of ideology can be indicative of different forms of sexism, underlining the reciprocal relationship between (a) hostile/protective sexism, and (b) abuse, violence and sexual harassment against women. Abrams

et al. (2003) conclude that participants who adopt protectionist sexism blame those who have been harassed in cases of sexual harassment, and those who adopt hostile sexism may be inclined to rape when "appropriate conditions" are at stake (ibid.: 113).

Today, overt and covert forms of sexism co-exist at Turkish universities. Adopting a gender-based hegemonic approach in institutions, overt sexism leads to a hierarchical structure between women and men, which has consequences against the former. This approach, which does not find women as valuable as men and considers their statements as reliable as men's, becomes quite effective with the effect of men occupying more powerful positions in the hierarchical organization of the university (Blackstone and Gardner 2018; Sağlamer et al. 2018). In this respect, universities, like other institutions in society, are areas where gender based hegemonic narrative is dominant. Not listening to the victim on the one hand and suppressing the voice of the victim while listening to this hegemonic narrative on the other hand can turn out to be common institutional response mechanisms. In the same breadth, this hegemonic narrative invalidates the complaints of victims of sexual harassment by creating counter arguments. One dimension of the hegemonic narrative is manifested in the form of insistence of proof and demonstrable experience. Often in cases between two people and in isolated environments, and thus cannot be proven, this evidence-based approach is a deterrent for victims in filing complaints and contacting relevant authorities (Code 2014). The academic environment based on hierarchical relations between academics with different titles and between academics and students is formed to protect the highest position in the hierarchy. Based on our direct observations and experience on the sexual harassment cases, we argue that the Turkish academic environment, like other institutions, is ready to sacrifice the "worthless" for the "worthy." While investigating harassment cases which we involved as members of the SHAPN, we clearly witnessed that people at the top administrative positions favor and protect privileged harassers in the academia. The outstanding success of the academic, bringing a large budget project to the university, and having the power to represent the institution abroad are other components of the hegemonic narrative effective at universities. Within the hegemonic narrative, on the other hand, the clothing and behaviors of the victim are perceived and questioned as a "call" to sexual intimacy and intercourse. Moreover, the economic and social resources of the occupant of a high position in the hierarchy are perceived as a threat to the reputation of the

institution in the process of investigating the complaint of an individual in an unequal position.

Covert sexism forms at universities are as effective as overt sexism forms. Whitley and Page (2015) state that sexism constantly conceals itself and that the existence of sexism and sexual harassment at universities continues through tactics that pull individuals and institutions out of the focus of the problem. In other words, sexual harassment in institutional practice, detached from personal factors and an institutional context, turns into a hollow concept. Sexual harassment is reduced to the "tiresome/baseless" complaints of the victims and to the damaged reputation of the institutions rather than being handled with its structural consequences. This situation not only distracts the institution of harassment from taking responsibility, but also hides the efforts of victims and their supporters to gain regular visibility. Referring to Marilyn Frye's concept of "strategic misogyny," Whitley and Page (2015), state that the most important feature of sexism is to make itself invisible. Institutions that present themselves "as gender-neutral" are in fact the best areas hiding sexist experiences and institutionalized sexist mechanisms. The long silence and institutional denial of the sexual harassment in the Turkish academia is a result of "gender-neutral" approaches.

Hegemonic Masculinity and Heteronormativity

Male domination and heteronormativity are two interrelated and intertwined forms of sexism discussed above. Both forms of sexism establish a hierarchy between different gender and sexual orientations. In this hierarchy, heterosexual men are at the most powerful and advantageous position. As Acker (2012) also states, the gendered logic of organizations accepts man's behavior, needs, and practices as the norm in institutional structuring. Acker (2012: 215) argues that there are "often-invisible processes in the ordinary lives of organizations in which gendered assumptions about women and men, femininity and masculinity, are embedded and reproduced, and gender inequalities perpetuated." In this section we are going to discuss male domination and heteronormativity, even though they are related, in the context of the university.

Although misogyny, an extreme form of male domination, cannot be made openly in universities today, it is widely seen that women are marginalized through devaluation. The concentration of men at universities, especially in some disciplines, leads to the strengthening of the male

norm and male domination in these environments. According to Baker (2010), sexual harassment is more common at universities, especially in STEM fields where female students are in the minority, confidentiality and privacy are supported by secrecy and women are rarely present in the high positions. Women face barriers and difficulties to enter and exist in these environments. In such environments, while women feel themselves "misfit" and "inappropriate," they become more vulnerable to all types of discrimination and harassment compared to environments where there is a balance between men and women. At universities, women's behavior and dressing can sometimes be justified for sexual harassment. Women encounter strong male norms and male solidarity in such areas; and confidentiality and privacy built on secrets is one of the most important manifestations of male solidarity. While the institutional order organized according to male norms shows a reflex of self-protection through male solidarity, the victim woman is perceived as the biggest threat to the order. In the hierarchical relationship between student and instructor, students are expected to get on well with their instructors and counselors and stay silent in case of any problems. The victim is marginalized as a trouble-maker and investigators focus on the behaviors of the victim, not that of the harasser.

Universities in Turkey are one of the institutions where male domination and heteronormativity are intense. At hierarchical institutions such as universities, sexual harassment instances occur not only between students–students and students–faculty members but also among the faculty members themselves. In these cases, it is common to see a mindset and attitude that legitimize heterosexual man occupying a more powerful position within the hierarchy. Despite the numerous examples on this issue, we believe that the discussion of two recent cases reflected in the public is important to understand the dimensions of male domination and heteronormativity. The first case is a female research assistant at the Law School of a private university being stabbed to death by a male student she caught cheating in an exam. As the case proceeded, the perpetrator's lawyer declared a close and intimate relationship between the female research assistant and the perpetrator, and defended perpetrator claiming that the attack was not limited to being caught while cheating, but was a dispute within the framework of this relationship. This defense caused serious reactions in many segments of society and academia. That the lawyer thought that his defense could mitigate the penalty of the perpetrator is critical in terms of showing the dimensions of the mentality that

considers men superior, protects and justifies the men in society. Also, this case shows how vulnerable all women in the academia are to face such threats and slander. Even if women are superior to men in the academic hierarchy, they are in a position open to both physical and gender-based attack. The lack of institutional arrangements that protect women reinforces their feeling of being a second citizen in the academia.

The second case, on the other hand, is a sexual harassment by a male faculty member, who works at the Faculty of Veterinary of an old-line state university in Turkey, to his student who works at his private clinic. This case is worth examining in several respects. Firstly, the senior management of the university that has accumulated experience by establishing a unit against sexual harassment for many years must take into account the awareness and reaction relating to this issue. The second is the persistent reactions and efforts of the public, including university faculty members and students, to keep the issue on the agenda. If the issue had taken place in another institution or in another period, it would be covered up, but as a result of these efforts and reactions, it was investigated properly. Council of Higher Education has been more receptive toward these cases in accordance with rising women's awareness and solidarity against sexual harassment. Despite the dominance of hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity in institutional structures, the strengthening of organized reactions against many forms of violence against women, including sexual harassment, is one of the most important tools for women to gain academic citizenship rights.

LGBTI+ individuals' being subjected to discrimination, mobbing, and harassment due to dominant heteronormativity and working culture in academia is widely discussed in the related literature (Waldo 1998; Rankin 2005; Friedman and Leaper 2010; Letsoalo 2016). LGBTI+ students, academics, and administrative staff face serious problems and barriers to fully accomplish their academic performance and participate in academic environments. Moreover, LGBTI+ students have indirect negative experiences by being excluded from social inclusion and acceptance mechanisms even if they do not face direct negative practices (Rankin 2005). Such exclusion mechanisms adversely affect the academic achievement of students whose sexual orientation and gender identities are contrary to heteronormative values and norms. These students think that they are ignored and not recognized in academic settings which accept heterosexual masculinity as the norm. Rankin and Reason's (2008) study especially emphasizes the importance of institutional consideration of

the needs and priorities of minority sexual orientations and identities in combatting discrimination and harassment against these groups.

In this regard, different experiences emerge in Turkey from European and North American countries. In Turkey, not different from the rest of the society, it is not socially welcomed for LGBTI+ students, faculty, and administrative staff to express their sexual orientation and gender identity in the college campuses in Turkey. LGBTI+ students in university campuses are marginalized through systematic discrimination and from time to time become the target of sexual abuse, and physical and sexual assault. LGBTI+ students' solidarity groups are faced with hindrances and discouragement in most universities. Their efforts in expressing themselves, drawing attention to the discrimination they experience, and trying to make the university environment more egalitarian and gender sensitive are ignored by top administrators in many universities and these efforts are even punished with disciplinary practices. The disregard of LGBTI+ students and faculty members by the administrators and members of the university makes it difficult to combat such discrimination and harassment practices against LGBTI+ individuals. The systematic ignorance practices against the demands of LGBTI+ students and faculty members prevent these people from feeling as a respected equal member of the academic environment, in other words as a full academic citizen.

Perceptions, Behaviors, and Attitudes Toward Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is significantly detached from the social and institutional context through increasing conservatism in Turkey. Sexual harassment is regarded as "unfounded" complaints of victims and damaged reputation of institutions without paying attention to the structural reasons and consequences behind it. This approach does not only prevent the institution from taking responsibility but also discourages the efforts of victims and their supporters to gain visibility and recognition. Not only the institutions that adopt the male-dominated approach and the strong men in these institutions under the influence of the changing political atmosphere, but also the women affected by this institutional culture may have difficulty in identifying their experience as sexual harassment. The lack of awareness and institutional and social support mechanisms against sexual harassment and the absence of units to combat harassment may force individuals to abstain and/or deny harassment.

Both lack of awareness of sexual harassment and assault in society and the fact that institutions such as universities are built on complex power relations lead to ambiguous perceptions, behaviors, and attitudes about sexual abuse at universities. As a reflection of the general attitude in society, the approach, which almost exclusively views physical harassment as sexual harassment and neglects other forms of harassment, is also present at universities. Institutions and individuals sometimes consider experiences other than sexual assault and rape, especially verbal abuse, as jokes and/or intimacy. Negative consequences of such behavior for the victim and the institution are totally ignored by institutions.

In Turkey, where gender inequality is common, how the managers of the institution see sexual harassment, how they identify it, whether they suppress and ignore the incidents or take the necessary actions come into prominence for the institutional combat against sexual harassment in the academia. According to the results of a study conducted by the Turkey Higher Education Council in 2019, of the 10,241 women faculty members and research assistants 47% indicated mobbing and 12% of them stated sexual harassment were the most common types of violence.[4] It is also quite new that the issue of sexual harassment is spoken up at universities and faculty members who have been harassed by other faculty members are able to report the case to the administration. Though it is more positive that these situations are more disclosed, we still know of the existence of confidential harassment cases. Moreover, we can estimate that there are a large number of faculty members who do not name sexual abuse as sexual harassment but interpret it as mobbing. Under the rule of an administration that ignores harassment incidents and in the absence of institutional arrangements to deal specifically with these events, harassed faculty members do not disclose their situation. Sexual harassment in higher education institutions in Turkey is a form of action that has not been clearly named until recently (Uygur and Şimga 2018). When the incidents are sometimes reported to the administrations, the male executives in the top management can claim that those who have been harassed make baseless allegations, behaviors are misinterpreted even if they include harassment, the harasser has superior career characteristics, and they may even argue that the harassed has behaved in a manner that causes it. Especially, if there are some instructors in the memory of

[4]The first author of this chapter is the editor of the cited study, which has not been published yet.

the institution that have been harassed in the past but have not received support from the administration, this not only affects the expression of new cases adversely, but also hinders women's feelings of recognition and belonging as full citizens at the academia. As a result of such approaches, women think that they are seen as second-class citizens by the institution, their sense of corporate loyalty declines and they feel excluded.

On the other hand, there are higher education institutions that take sexual harassment cases seriously and are willing and intended to make institutional regulations to prevent them. Sabancı University is one of them. The following excerpt from the President of the University is important to see how the state of being unaware of sexual harassment turns into awareness:

> We have spent hours, sometimes days, listening to and discussing among us those who have been subjected to harassment or witnessed it and those accused of harassment after the cases started to appear in 'the Committee for the Prevention and Support Principles against Sexual Harassment'. These meetings included a process of awareness and training for all participants. In 2007, when the committee began to take the first cases, concepts such as gender, sexuality, harassment, homophobia, and transphobia were distant concepts for students, faculty members and staff who did not attend gender studies classes or undertake specific studies on that field. While the ones who were complained about started to realize, most of the times, in their meetings with the Committee that their actions were harassment, many applicants learned that there was a name for their experiences and that they could get support for them through these meetings. (Altınay et al. 2018: 131, our translation)

Another example of institutional transformation can be given from the Middle East Technical University (METU) experience. The five-year long effort to increase awareness at METU has led to the acceptance of the document on "Achieving Gender Equality and Combatting Sexual Harassment and Assault" by the Senate in 2016. The establishment of the Unit for Prevention of Sexual Harassment and Assault has further increased the knowledge and awareness among all components of the university. This Unit has received more than 120 applications from students, administrative staff, and faculty members in the last four years. Most of the applicants are female students, followed by male students and junior female academics, and female administrative staff. Seminars by this Unit given to the administrators, academics, administrative staff,

and students have changed the ambiguous perceptions and increased the overall understanding among all stakeholders of the university. We believe that such awareness-raising activities should be continued so that everyone can feel as an equal academic citizen in a safe learning and working environment.

Raising institutional awareness on the subject is the leading step to be taken to transform ambiguous perceptions and attitudes toward sexual harassment (Göker and Polatdemir 2019). The practices to increase awareness and knowledge within the institution will not only lead to a more participatory and democratic course of proceeding with the involvement of different stakeholders, but may also lead to the transformation of the decision makers' mentality.

Sexual Harassment as a Threat to Academic Citizenship

Sexual harassment is a global problem embedded in the social and political framework. Globally in the last decades, conservatism and awareness on the sexual harassment have both increased in many countries. Universities as institutions are also influenced by the conservative ideologies and policies. At the same time, the ideational transformations including increase of awareness on globally contemporary topics have been developed and disseminated more rapidly in universities as compared to other institutions. In this section, we discuss how sexual harassment becomes a threat to academic citizenship in Turkey in the last decades by taking current socio-political and cultural context into account.

Conservatism experienced throughout a large segment of the Turkish society has reflections in universities. The political climate indirectly impacts on the universities as both the students who just start university education have a more conservative understanding compared to the past and with the conservatism of the administrative and academic staff at universities. Direct conservatism is achieved through centralized appointment prevalence of presidents and administrators.

On the other hand, indirect conservatism reveals itself with male domination and heteronormativity. We and our colleagues combatting sexual harassment at universities witness how widespread a hegemonic narrative that protects men in cases of harassment is, how the women victims are reduced to silence, that men (and even some women) defend men,

and that "rational" and "valid" explanations are raised to this unreasonable protection. In order to fight for the victims of sexual harassment at the university and to evaluate the cases fairly, we must first have a clear conceptualization of sexual harassment and ensure that this conceptualization is adopted by all parties of universities. The perception of sexual harassment which was deliberately made ambiguous hinders the effective fight against these cases. The approach which trivializes sexual harassment, identifies it as a kind of joke and sincerity, and ignores its negative consequences on the victim and the university environment protects the heterosexual male dominant order by prioritizing not to sacrifice the harasser. When an institutional approach and attitude defending the rights of sexually harassed and assaulted people is lacking, it cannot be possible to state that all parties of the university have equal rights. The lack of equal rights due to a negative institutional approach and attitude prevents the development of full and equal academic citizenship, i.e., membership, recognition and belonging of individuals from disadvantaged groups. Academic practices are based on gendered power relations including mechanisms of subordination and discrimination causing inequality structures in the cross-cutting axes of age, class, ethnicity, sexuality, and disability. Individuals exposed to sexual harassment and/or assault feel excluded and discriminated because they experience an institutional reaction protecting the advantaged one(s). Whitewashing such cases causes victims to feel displaced, and their academic commitment and identification are severely damaged.

Over the last decade, while we are actively fighting, on one hand, against sexual harassment, on the other hand we are trying to create a university culture based on gender equality. Otherwise, we believe that the process of preventing sexual harassment will be condemned to remain weak and unfounded. The first thing we have learned through our efforts to stop sexual harassment and assault, as well as to defend victims and conclude the cases fairly is that internal and external support are important. The university's senior managements having a positive approach to combat sexual harassment is the leading point. The support from the administrators both alleviates the possible gaps and contradictions between the functioning mechanisms of the unit and the university, and it leads to the development of a relationship based on mutual trust between the university administration and the unit. Another fact that we want to mention is the significance of the legal support of the institution. To make the struggle effective, it matters for the academic staff, one of the

university stakeholders, to be aware of sexual harassment and to have a sense of institutional responsibility. In the event of a lack of awareness and consciousness, the first reaction can be close to preserving male-dominated values and doubting the experiences and narratives of young students. In many of the cases we have dealt with, we have witnessed that faculty members take sides with the abused students, develop empathy by trying to hear their voice, and determined to activate all institutional mechanisms to support them. The sexually harassed person needs institutional support and someone who will listen to what she/he tells in a non-biased and empathetic approach. Thus, the actions, faculty members with such characteristics can take, have a major role in the fight against sexual harassment. Increasing awareness of students about sexual harassment and their taking responsibility for the development of an institutional culture that does not tolerate it is just as important and valuable as the contribution of other stakeholders.

Finally, we would like to emphasize the significance of gender mainstreaming in the development and implementation of institutional mechanisms and policies aimed at preventing sexual harassment and assault (Ecevit 2018). Because in this process, we have personally experienced that the approaches focusing only on the cases of sexual harassment will be limited in transforming the internal culture, social mentality, and practices adopted in the institution, and that the gender-based inequality will continue. Therefore, it is essential that gender mainstreaming strategies should be implemented to eliminate this discrimination with a more holistic and inclusive approach. We believe that the mainstreaming of gender equality is indispensable to combat the phenomenon of sexual harassment encircled by practices based on both male domination and heteronormativity. Precisely with this in mind, while struggling against sexual harassment at universities in Turkey, we are simultaneously trying to create a university climate which is composed of academic citizens who are sensitive to gender equality. In a society like Turkey, where achievements and losses are dynamically reshaped in terms of gender equality, we observe with great pleasure and hope that this effort has been increasingly recognized not only at universities but also in many segments of society, especially among young people.

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CHAPTER 8

Conclusions: Gendered Academic Citizenship as a Promising Research Agenda

Sevil Sümer, Pat O'Connor, and Nicky Le Feuvre

Introduction

This book has identified and developed the concept of *academic citizenship*, locating it in the context of Higher Education and Research Institutions (HERIs) affected by neo-liberalism and managerialism, and with the hyper-competition, auditing and individualisation that has come to characterise academic institutions in the developed world. The book

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has an overall focus on the processes of inclusion and exclusion, recognition and denigration, privilege and discrimination and their consequences for women's membership, recognition and belonging in such HERIs.

Just after we started writing this concluding chapter, the world was hit by the COVID-19 pandemic. Almost overnight, universities and research institutions were closed down, students and staff were asked to study and work from home. Like many of our colleagues, we had to adapt, practically overnight, to the mass digitalisation of teaching and research activities, whilst also dealing with home-schooling and securing complex, often trans-national, care solutions for our loved ones. These gendered consequences of academic lock-down attracted rapid media and research attention (e.g. Minello 2020; Utoft 2020; Craig 2020). And rightly so: early analyses of available data and initial reports from journal editors showed a rapid decline in the number and share of journal articles submitted by women since the pandemic hit (Murdie 2020; Viglione 2020). The concept of gendered academic citizenship appears particularly relevant in this context, as consequences of COVID-19 measures seem likely to exacerbate existing inequalities within—and outside—academia. As we have argued elsewhere (e.g. Le Feuvre et al. 2012; Sümer 2014), any account of citizenship as related to participation in the public sphere, also needs to consider divisions of care work in the private sphere. Although we still need more research on the medium and long-term consequences of the pandemic and of the economic crisis that is likely to ensue, our multidimensional definition of academic citizenship suggests that these will vary by gender, class, race, age and physical ability and be experienced differently within HERIs in different societal contexts.

In Chapter 1, we identified four *ideal-types* of academic citizenship (i.e. full citizenship, limited citizenship, transitional/probationary citizenship and non-citizenship): each involving different configurations of membership, recognition and belonging. We also highlighted the existence of internal hierarchies within each of these ideal-types of citizenship, based on gender or other intersectional characteristics. Overall, the book makes a significant contribution to existing knowledge, by resisting the tendency to focus on particular aspects of the gendered academy, at the risk of losing the 'whole picture'. Our framework enables us to develop:

- A broad-ranging analysis of academic citizenship, encompassing both permanent and precarious positions, and the multiple places in-between, and including those located 'beyond the margins' (Aaron and Walby 1991) of any type of formal citizenship.
- An integrated analysis of the systemic, organisational, interactional and individual (biographical) factors that contribute to the gendering of academic citizenship.
- An exploration of how these factors combine and operate in particular national and institutional contexts.

Furthermore, the contributions to this book shed new light on a number of issues that are at the forefront of contemporary contributions to the "women & science" debate. These include:

- Undermining the myths of meritocracy in order to understand how the multiple and shifting criteria of 'excellence' are used to restrict women's access to full academic citizenship, and to legitimate their exclusion.
- Examining societal, institutional and even disciplinary variation in the framing of motherhood and care responsibilities as a barrier to full academic citizenship, and the influences of gendered expectations, practices and the concrete divisions of tasks in academia.
- Better understanding how hyper-competitive, male dominated working environments (with stable or precarious employment contacts), influence the acceptability of social, sexual and psychological harassment and those micropolitical practices (O'Connor et al. 2017) that constitute gender violence and create a more or less 'chilly climate'[1] for most women academics.

Gendered Repercussions: Key Findings on Gendered Academic Citizenship

The gender issues related to the ideal-types of citizenship in HERIs were explored in Chapters 2–7, either through single-country case studies or

[1] The term 'chilly climate' was originally coined by Roberta Hall and Bernice Sandler in the 1980s in the US context to "describe patterns of inequitable treatment that, as they accumulate, inhibit women's confidence, self-esteem and accomplishment" (Britton 2017: 7).

through cross-national comparison. They have each demonstrated that the multidimensional concept of Gendered Academic Citizenship (GAC) offers a useful, integrated analytical lens through which to analyse the structural, organisational and/or interpersonal processes at work within academic institutions that work to the detriment of women and other disadvantaged groups who fall outside the conventional definitions of the 'ideal academic' (male, white, middle-class and 'care-free'). It is to a discussion of these that we now turn.

Full Academic Citizenship

In Chapter 1 it was suggested that full academic citizenship is granted to a core of tenured academics who are usually employed on a permanent and full-time basis, paid relatively well compared to other members of the academic community, endowered with a range of social protection measures (e.g. pension plans) and empowered with a sense of recognition and personal autonomy. Full academic citizens thus score high with respect to membership, recognition and belonging. Although they experience first-hand some of the structural changes currently sweeping across HERIs, they have the power and resources to insulate themselves from most of the negative consequences. In some cases, they are even able to shape the institutional responses to such external pressures. These academics often have a linear career path and are able to define, to a certain extent, the core values of the academic community and the nature of valued knowledge. They participate in decision-making fora and experience recognition and a sense of belonging, within the institution and within the wider scientific community.

Chapters 2 and 4 explored the impact of what are effectively micropolitical practices, involving the use of informal power relationships which influence the gendered patterns of access to academic positions and full academic citizenship. Chapter 2 focused on the translation of informal power into practices (such as devaluation and stereotyping) during evaluation and recruitment procedures and demonstrated their impact on women's access to full academic citizenship. It found major ambiguities in the constructions of 'excellence' criteria across different national contexts, combined with a lack of transparency and homosociability within these male dominated structures. Chapter 2 also underlined the fact that academic citizens are not de-gendered automatons that exist

outside of informal power relations, but agents with identities and interests who engage in everyday practices to advance their own or others 'agendas', with consequences as regards access to academic citizenship.

With its empirical focus on woman academics at different career stages, Chapter 4 laid bare the potential for gender hierarchy and inequality within every citizenship status (Steinthorsdóttir et al. 2018). Thus, even those women who reached the pinnacle of the academic hierarchy (tenured/full professorships) can experience gendered exclusions and various forms of marginalisation. Chapter 4 illustrated this through an analysis of the Medusa-effect observed in Norwegian HERIs. The most frequently mentioned indicators of this involve micropolitical practices that combine to devalue women, and that can be observed in many other national contexts too, including: being overlooked or ignored in meetings; being excluded from professional networks; not receiving strategic information or receiving an unfair allocation of resources. All of these seemingly 'anecdotal' experiences have a huge impact on the recognition and belonging experienced by women—even those who formally have secured full academic citizenship—creating feelings of lacking power, voice and respect. Thus, for women, holding a permanent position does not automatically imply access to all the advantages of full academic citizenship, even in a country like Norway, renowned for having institutionalised gender equality policies for many decades.

Limited Academic Citizenship

This form of citizenship is associated with institutional positions that are generally less prestigious and rewarding than those of the full academic citizens, with lower salaries and associated benefits, poorer promotion prospects and less voice in institutional decision-making processes. It implies reduced recognition and sense of belonging, limited influence on the professional ethos of the academic community, with a disproportionate share of less valued activities, such as teaching and pastoral care. Women are more likely than men to get 'stuck' in these intermediary positions, which offer a parallel and partial form of belonging to the academic community.

There are various multi-level factors leading to this situation and several of these factors were explored in the previous chapters. For example, Chapter 2 focused on the kind of assumptions and practices that impose this intermediary status as the highest 'appropriate' position for women

to reach on the academic career ladder, revealing the prevalence of gendered stereotypes and selective gender blindness. Lack of informal relationships with power holders also contribute to limiting women's academic citizenship, as was also demonstrated in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 discussed the stereotypically gendered construction of the 'full academic citizen' as someone free of care obligations, with unlimited time resources and unconstrained mobility, thus effectively discouraging women's identification as academic leaders. In Chapter 6, the authors showed the systematic steps taken to eradicate gender equality policies and their institutional guarantees in HERIs in the Hungarian context. This chapter also referred to state pressure to reproduce and sustain traditional gendered expectations, reflected in the effective banning of Gender Studies, thus hampering institutional recognition of gender-related issues. Chapters 3 and 5 also demonstrated the prevalence of conservative societal-level gender arrangements and traditional assumptions about women's care duties. In the national contexts studied here, reconciling paid work and caring responsibilities were seen as individual (i.e. women's) problem with very few attempts to question the structural and cultural factors that impact on this challenge.

In Chapter 3, the in-depth analyses of the Swiss context showed that, during the early career stage, the men who succeed in moving on to full academic citizenship usually benefit from the informal support of a 'flexible' spouse, whose own career prospects are tailored to the needs of the internationally mobile male career path.

Chapter 7 discussed another major factor limiting women's academic citizenship, namely sexual harassment. Based on research from the Turkish academic context, the authors showed how male monopoly over top academic positions and increasing conservatism interact, ultimately limiting women's membership, recognition and belonging in the academic environment, through the enactment of power as reflected in harassment.

Transitional/Probationary Academic Citizenship

This form of citizenship is usually experienced by those early career academics who aspire to full or even limited citizenship, but who are currently located on the periphery of academic institutions. Due to the numerical expansion in postdoc positions and the imbalance between PhD holders and the availability of permanent academic positions, all

aspiring academics are now expected to pass through an early academic career stage following their PhD defence. This postdoc period provides transient membership of the academic community and limited opportunities for recognition or belonging. Typically, it coincides with women's childbearing and rearing period. Their suitability for an academic career is assessed by male dominated structures, procedures and criteria at this critical stage.

Chapter 3 provided a detailed analysis of how women experience this type of academic citizenship, which is increasingly widespread throughout Europe. Focusing on the Swiss context, the authors showed how probationary citizenship is associated with particular forms of subordination, both to individual academics or university departments and to managerial indicators of academic performance. Transitional academic citizenship is also fraught with internal hierarchies, often along gendered lines. It is a period that is characterised by structural uncertainty and embodied anxiety. The duration of the probationary period and the chances of a favourable outcome are affected by the structural and organisational characteristics of HERIs and by the broader gender culture of the societal context in which they are embedded.

Non-Citizenship

This is the fourth and final form of academic citizenship identified in the research. Those who experience non-citizenship lack even basic entitlements and social protection. The sheer numbers of non-citizens with extremely insecure work conditions became highly visible in some countries during the COVID-19 crisis (e.g. Collini 2020). Non-citizens are called upon and encouraged to work in academic institutions, but are effectively treated as disposable 'hands and minds'. Their contribution to undervalued work such as teaching is critical, but individually they are considered marginal and transient (O'Keefe and Courtois 2019). Non-citizens are often in casual hourly paid work or on precarious short-term contracts, with relatively low wages, little social protection or employment rights (Murgia and Poggio 2019). They have only scant career prospects and almost no voice in decision-making structures. Non-Citizenship is also fraught with its' own internal hierarchies, often ordered along gender lines.

Chapter 6 illustrated the societal pressures that consign female academics or aspiring academics to non-citizenship status in a specific national and historical context, characterised by a violent anti-gender 'backlash'. Many of those who have achieved probationary citizenship have come from the ranks of non-citizens and are acutely aware of the possibility of slipping back into that highly marginal status.

Non-citizens are structurally most vulnerable to abuses of power. Chapter 7 focused on one manifestation of this: sexual harassment. Conceptualisation of sexual harassment as an attack to bodily integrity and violation of rights and consequently as an impairment of both recognition and belonging shows its intrinsic ties to academic citizenship. Although this can occur at all levels, it is particularly difficult for it to be named and reported by those with little power.

The personal and financial cost of continuing as a non-citizen indefinitely, and experiencing the consequent lack of recognition and belonging is considerable and many eventually give up the dream of an academic career (Le Feuvre et al. 2019)

Similarities and Differences Across the National Contexts

Women are becoming more and more visible within HERIs across the globe, both as students and staff. There is now widespread recognition of the 'leaky pipeline' or 'glass ceiling' effects that prevent them from reaching the top of the academic hierarchy. The piecemeal elaboration and patchy implementation of a wide range of 'equal opportunity' measures aimed at redressing this imbalance has created, for some, the illusion that gender equality is now a reality. But a closer look at the relative positions of men and women in relation to each ideal-type of academic citizenship, along with a careful analysis of the division of academic tasks, resources and power, reveal that this is far from true, and that new forms of gendered inequalities may even be taking shape.

Even where broadly similar patterns exist (as measured by the proportion of women in different academic positions, for example), there may be different processes at work within particular national contexts. This is because the relative share of full-time, stable or tenured positions within the academic labour market varies considerably between countries, and because the proportion of women to reach such positions is generally lower than the proportion of their male counterparts (Le Feuvre et al. 2019).

We detect a general 'backlash' throughout Europe against equal opportunity measures designed to redress the persistent gender imbalance in the academic labour market, associated with the promotion of a meritocratic ideology under the guise of 'academic excellence' which purports to be 'universal' and 'fair', but is loaded with gendered expectations and priorities (see Chapter 2).

The chapters that are based on single-country case studies (e.g. Chapter 3 Switzerland; Chapter 4 Norway; Chapter 6 Hungary; Chapter 7 Turkey) offer striking support for the gender-backlash theory.

Chapter 3 showed how the very conservative societal-level gender regime in Switzerland clashes with the normative requirements for several periods of international mobility during the years following a successful PhD defence. The authors also note that becoming a full (and recognised) professor in this context requires taking on a very 'managerial' role, a prospect that may be unattractive to those women who aspire to pursue a personal research agenda whilst maintaining 'egalitarian' relationships with their peers and colleagues.

In Norway, the beacon of institutionalized gender-equality, one can detect media (and even some academic) hostility towards gender equality measures, claiming that feminism has gone too far and that men are the real losers now (e.g. NRK 2019). These are signs of 'gender equality fatigue' and an embracement of neoliberal, post-feminist ideals that ignore the persistent gendered patterns in the labour market.

Chapter 6 showed that the concept of gender in itself is under attack in Hungary, with growing anti-feminist and anti-gender measures. Within the academy, the effective closure of many Gender Studies courses and Centres has *de facto* limited the academic career opportunities of those women who had invested in the institutionalisation of this interdisciplinary and globalized field of academic enquiry.

Chapter 7 discussed the parallel and yet contradictory developments in Turkey: increasing conservatism together with an increase in awareness of gender violence and sexual harassment in the society. Women's relatively large share of professorships does not automatically imply a gender egalitarian environment, since 'numerical diversity does not automatically present a challenge to power, influence, and domination of the elite' (Özbilgin 2009: 114).

Thus, although HERIs are going through similar transformations of academic capitalism, specific national and societal contexts, with their

differing welfare and gender regimes, need to be considered whilst analysing practices of gendered academic citizenship.

Strengths of the *Gendered Academic Citizenship* Perspective

The specific strengths of the *Gendered Academic Citizenship* (GAC) perspective can be summarised as follows:

1. The concept of gendered academic citizenship enables us to focus—simultaneously or successively—on the experiences of women located at different stages of the academic career; to analyse the disproportionate share of precarious academic jobs that are falling to women, whilst also recognising that their share of full/tenured professorships has never been so high, and is still rising in most countries and disciplines. These are not alternative realities; they are both part of the complex process of institutional gendering and need to be analysed as such.
2. With the systematic use of the GAC framework, we are able to fully recognise the potential for hierarchy, marginalisation and inequality that exists, even for those who have ostensibly achieved the employment status associated with full academic citizenship rights (Steinthorsdóttir et al. 2018). The identification of membership, recognition and belonging as key dimensions of academic citizenship provides a tool for understanding internal hierarchies within and across all types of academic citizenship.
3. The GAC framework enables us to develop a subtle analysis of women's experiences of working in HERIs, without necessarily presuming that all women always share the same experiences, all the time. In other words, the framework is particularly suited to an intersectional approach, and enables us to recognise the multiple faces of inequalities in academic careers today.
4. The framework developed in this book also provides an important tool for fine-tuning existing cross-national comparisons of women's academic careers. For example, it is helpful in establishing the degree to which 'full academic citizenship', albeit in slightly different forms, continues to remain the dominant form of academic employment in

different national contexts and at different historical periods. Likewise, it is useful to compare the duration and precise employment conditions associated with 'probationary academic citizenship' in different countries, or historical periods.

5. The GAC typology enables us to recognise that a specific title (e.g. Associate Professor) or employment contract (e.g. non-tenured) may not correspond to exactly the same degree of membership, recognition and sense of belonging in all national contexts, in all disciplinary fields, or at all times. We can thus put some degree of historicity and contextualisation back into the comparative study of the gendering of academic careers.
6. The framework enables (and presupposes) a multidimensional approach to gender inequalities with a simultaneous attention to the factors at systemic, organisational and interactional levels that shape it in particular contexts. It thus permits an analysis of crucially important (but informal and mostly invisible) micropolitical practices in the overall context of academic capitalism.
7. Finally, the GAC framework enables us to study more explicitly the degree to which the expectations associated with specific types of academic citizenship are—or are normatively framed to be—more or less 'compatible' with other forms or dimensions of citizenship (e.g. political, economic, social) and particularly those which are limited by unpaid domestic labour and emotional care work inside and outside the paid employment context.

Setting a Gendered Academic Citizenship Research Agenda for the Future

The book has laid the groundwork for what we hope will prove to be a promising research agenda. Our suggestions for future research include:

- More international/comparative research on links between gender regimes (family and gender equality policies) and academic capitalism.

It has long been recognised that systemic factors have an impact on gender equality. These have been variously conceptualised, most recently as involving gender regimes and academic capitalism (O'Hagan et al.

2019). There is a need for further research on how these interact and their effects on academic citizenship in HERIs in particular national contexts.

- More comparative research on academic evaluation and recruitment processes: how does reference to a particular definition of 'academic excellence' dominate (or not) recruitment and promotion procedures in different national contexts?

A discourse of excellence, which purports to be objective and gender neutral has been widely used to legitimate women's exclusion from various types of academic citizenship. However, in some contexts, such as Spanish HERIs, a competing and alternative discourse revolving around loyalty and familiarity exists: with implications for the value of geographical mobility for access to academic citizenship (Cruz-Castro and Sanz-Menendez 2010; Montes Lopez and O'Connor 2019). Research is needed on the conditions associated with the existence of such alternative discourses and their implications for women.

- Contribution to citizenship literature through more research on academic citizenship and micropolitical practices and how these interact with other structural and cultural factors.

It is increasingly recognised that gender inequality is perpetuated by micropolitical practices i.e. by the exercise of informal power. More research is needed on the relationship between such practices and wider structural and cultural conditions, and in particular on the conditions under which the gendering of such micropolitical practises can be reduced.

- Practices constructing the 'ideal academic' as predominantly male, middle-class, white, heterosexual, able-bodied (or disembodied) subject (free of care obligations).

It is widely recognised that the male, white, 'monastic' (White 2014) stereotype of the scientist is unhelpful in terms of increasing diversity, particularly in STEM fields. This stereotype impacts on the evaluations of those outside this stereotype and hence influences their recognition and

belonging. Research is needed on the practices that create and maintain this stereotype and the extent to which these vary cross-nationally.

- More intersectional focus in research: how does gender interact with race, ethnicity, class, age, sexual orientation and physical ability in influencing academic citizenship?

Although intersectionality has long been recognised in feminist circles, more research is needed on how gender interacts with other characteristics in shaping access to the four types of academic citizenship and on membership, recognition and belonging within each of these types.

- More empirical research on the practices reflecting a masculinist sense of entitlement and/or collusion with the reproduction of gender inequalities.

There is evidence that men in academic environments vary in terms of their attitudes towards gender issues, as well as their work and relational commitments (O'Connor et al. 2015) but in general they are less likely than their female counterparts to think that gender inequalities exist in HERIs (HEA 2016). The relationships between such attitudes and access to various types of citizenship and gendered differences in sense of entitlement within HERIs need to be explored further.

- More empirical research on the extent and consequences of sexual harassment within all types of academic citizenship.

With the #MeToo movement there is an increasing awareness of gender violence in general, and sexual harassment in particular as the overt face of power in keeping women 'in their place' (Bondestam and Lundqvist 2020). This seems likely to be a particular problem in STEM, where laboratory-based relationships between probationary citizens and PIs are extremely dependent and potentially exploitative (the so-called 'relationships of vassalage', Etzkowitz et al. 2007: 405) generating a reluctance to report such behaviour. In these instances, institutional action is highly unlikely, particularly if the PI is a research 'star' on whom the institution depends for its global ranking performance. However, sexual harassment

is not peculiar to those contexts. Research is needed both on the prevalence of such harassment within all types of citizenship and on national variation in the extent and nature of the attempts to tackle it.

- Access routes and the extent and implications of precarity for women starting an academic career.

National systems of higher education vary in the extent to which they rely on non-permanent academic staff, with the share of those on fixed-term contracts varying from 70% in the US (Zheng 2018) to 20% in the Irish context (HEA 2019). Research is needed on the implications of such variation for the academic career trajectories of women who start out as non-citizens or probationary citizens.

- More research on women in leadership positions, particularly in HERIs that fail to recognise the existence of gender inequalities, and on the consequences of this denial.

Former research has shown that not all women who are successful in reaching the pinnacle of the academic citizenship hierarchy are necessarily supportive of their junior, female counterparts: the so-called 'Queen bee' attitude of some female academic leaders (Faniko et al. 2017), who identify with the meritocratic discourse of academic 'excellence' that enabled them to 'succeed'. Some women faculty deny the salience of gender and are also critical of gender equality measures (Britton 2017). These practices should be seen as yet another sign of the structural and cultural disadvantages faced by academic women and need to be the subject of more in-depth and comparative research.

- Implications of national variation in organisational structures for access to various types of citizenship.

Even where broadly similar patterns exist (e.g. as regards the proportion of women at full professorial level) the organisational structures in academia vary widely, notably in terms of the number of 'steps' on the academic ladder and the procedures used for accessing each step (Bozzon et al. 2019; Le Feuvre et al. 2019). Further research is needed on the gendered implications of this variation.

- National versus organisational procedures for accessing different types of citizenship.

Countries vary in the extent to which criteria and procedures for accessing different types of academic citizenship are laid down at national level or alternatively defined by individual HERIs. More comparative research on the implications of these alternatives for women accessing each type of citizenship is needed. Thus, for example, to what extent does Turkey's relatively high proportion of women at professorial level reflect the existence of such a national procedure? Does this national recruitment procedure have implications at local level for women's recognition and belonging? Have similar patterns emerged in other countries which use national recruitment procedures?

- Assessing the impact of gender equality interventions, including such measures as Athena SWAN and Gender Equality Plans (GEPs).

In the past fifteen years, there have been a very large number of intervention projects aimed at tackling gender equality in HERIs. The most cross-national of these has been Athena SWAN, which originated in the UK, but has now been extended (in a slightly modified form) to Canada, Australia and Ireland. Research by Graves et al. (2019) on the UK case suggested that, although Athena SWAN creates a context for discussing gender equality and reduces male anxiety about its existence, it does not actually increase the proportion of women at full professorial level, nor is it associated with change in key micropolitical practices, other than in departments with Gold awards. In these latter cases it seems probable that other factors, such as strong leadership committed to gender equality, is the crucial factor. Elsewhere, Gender Action Plans (GEPs) have been implemented in a wide range of HERIs, often with financial support from the EU. Further comparative research is needed to assess the impact of Athena Swan and other GEPs, in different national contexts and across all types of academic citizenship.

The overall advantage of the Gendered Academic Citizenship perspective developed in this book is that it provides a framework to understand experiences in various academic settings and national contexts and illuminates a wide range of issues impacting on women and other disadvantaged groups in a range of HERIs. Although we focus mostly on the experiences

of women in this book, we know that many men also suffer from and are critical of the hegemonic masculine structures of academic capitalism. For women navigating the labyrinth of academic institutions and wishing to make them more inclusive, these men are potential allies. We are also well aware that many academic women deny the salience of gender and focus on the individual 'choices' that women make to explain the gender imbalances. One of our aims in this book was to make visible the structural constraints and inequal power relations under which those individual 'choices' are made, so as to promote solidarity and collective resistance to the individualising forces of academic capitalism.

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