

Gender, Academia and the Managerial University

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Abstract

New Zealand universities used to be staffed largely by white males who were seldom compelled to consider equity issues for women academics (or other minorities). Since the 1970s, women's caucuses, equity initiatives and mentoring programmes have been developed, but how effective have they been in advancing women's academic careers, especially in the new 'managerial' or 'neo-liberal' university? This article is based on qualitative interviews with New Zealand academics and a survey of research on gender and academia in the English-speaking countries. The article argues that patterns and perceptions of relationships and responsibilities interact with institutional practices and priorities to create additional challenges for academic women, slowing their progression through the ranks.

Introduction

In the past few decades, universities in many countries have been restructuring to accommodate rising costs, new government reporting requirements and changes in the wider society. Considerable research has focused on the ascent of 'managerialism,' as universities become more influenced by factors such as an 'accountability and audit culture', cost-cutting, acquisition of external income, the enumeration of research outputs, reliance on merit pay, and concern about university rankings (Butterworth & Tarling, 1994; Peters & Roberts, 1999; Curtis & Matthewman, 2005; Larner & LeHeron, 2005; Taylor & Braddock, 2007; Thomas & Davies, 2002). Restructuring within the university sector has also involved merging colleges of education with universities, downsizing or closing departments with fewer students and less funded research, and attempting to raise the research productivity of academic staff (Nakhaie, 2007). New Zealand's Performance-Based Research Fund (PBRF) is often cited as an example of managerialism and neo-liberal restructuring. This fund provides tertiary institutions with government grants based on research productivity scores of academic/research staff,

as well as postgraduate student completions and external research income.

This article asks if these priorities increase the existing ‘gender gap’ in universities, which refers to differences in qualifications, working conditions, rank, job tenure, salary and productivity between men and women academic staff. The tentative answers to this question are derived from interviews with New Zealand academics and a survey of international research on the academic gender gap in English-speaking countries¹. Although this project did not focus specifically on university restructuring², the article gleans some insights from an analysis of participants’ comments made about working conditions, expectations of productivity, job satisfaction and promotional opportunities. The article argues that the gender gap in academia continues to be influenced by the differences in human and social capital³ that men and women bring to their job, and by their varying experiences and priorities at work and at home. However, academic practices in the managerial university reinforce some of the very practices that create the gender gap and also serve to counteract programmes supporting gender rebalancing.

The Academic Gender Balance

Over the past three decades, major improvements have been made in the gender balance of university academic staff in New Zealand and other English-speaking countries. More women have been awarded doctorates, more have become academics and more have moved into senior academic positions (Wilson, 1986; Worth, 1992; Vasil, 1993; Brooks, 1997; Carrington & Pratt, 2003; White, 2004; Probert, 2005; Sussman & Yssaad, 2005; Nakhaie, 2007; NZ Human Rights Commission, 2008). For example, women now occupy about 20% of senior academic positions in New Zealand, Australian and Canadian universities⁴, up from less than 5% in the 1960s (Carrington & Pratt, 2003; NZ Human Rights Commission, 2008; Sussman & Yssaad, 2005). This gender rebalancing

¹ This review includes studies from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United Kingdom and the United States. Thanks to Helen Cox, graduate student at the University of Auckland, for assistance with this review.

² It focused on the intersection between academic work and family life.

³ In this article, human capital is defined as personal characteristics and qualifications (such as motivation & having a PhD) and social capital includes social relationships and professional networks.

⁴ Senior means associate professors and professors in NZ and Australia, and professors in Canada.

has been influenced by struggles within universities and the women's movement, by generational differences, and socio-demographic changes in the larger society (Glazer-Raymo, 1999).

Considerable research has measured change in the academic gender gap and attempted to explain its existence. Although this gap has significantly diminished since the 1960s, indicators of its perpetuation include higher attrition rates for women doctoral candidates and junior academic staff; a lower probability that women will gain a doctorate, work full-time and acquire permanent jobs; lower publication rates for women; higher satisfaction by male academics with their job security, teaching loads and advancement opportunities; and higher rank and salaries for male academics (Brooks, 1997; Asmar, 1999; White, 2004; Curtis, 2005; Probert, 2005; Nakhaie, 2007; Toutkoushian et al, 2007; Boreham et al, 2008; Monroe et al, 2008). Researchers also report a 'chilly climate' for academic women and an 'unbreakable glass ceiling' (Drakich et al, 1991; Bracken et al, 2006; Settles et al, 2006; Monroe et al, 2008)⁵. Explanations for the continuing gender gap draw on a number of factors including differences in human and social capital that academic men and women bring to the job, their family circumstances ('babies matter'), different academic priorities (teaching vs. research), varying publication rates and career length, access to professional networks, and institutional practices.

In recent decades, equity policies and women's mentoring programmes have been established in most tertiary institutions but universities have also introduced new measures of accountability and higher expectations of academic productivity for academic staff. In fact, the nature of academic work is becoming similar in all of the English-speaking countries as more universities rely on international recruitment of academic staff, external research funding, international and national ranking systems, and benchmarking with other universities both within their own country and overseas (Larner & LeHeron, 2005; Taylor & Braddock, 2007). Nevertheless, differences in working conditions continue among universities, influenced by local funding regimes, governance structures, organizational practices and cultural differences.

⁵ This conclusion may also pertain to academics from certain cultural minorities and/or working-class backgrounds who do not conform to the male middle-class standards of behavior in the academy.

Some universities have focused their work activities and marketing efforts on high-quality research as well as teaching, attempting to attract more internationally acclaimed academics and international postgraduate students, and to encourage academic staff to produce high-quality publications in international journals and books, and to gain competitive research grants. Other universities concentrate more on teaching while urging staff to increase their external funding and research outputs. However, the historic differences between the ‘research’ and ‘teaching’ universities have recently diminished with research assessment exercises and new government funding regimes that acknowledge ‘research productivity’ as well as student enrolments⁶. In addition, universities are ranked internationally and nationally, with some universities (often the more established ‘research’ institutions) ranking higher than others. However, the various ranking instruments produce quite different scores for the same university, as they are based on different measures (Taylor & Braddock, 2007).

For academics, securing permanent academic positions and subsequent promotions involves peer assessment of their research outputs, teaching evaluations and postgraduate supervision, as well as evidence of service to the university, school/department and profession. However, research suggests that greater credibility is usually granted to research of international quality, published in reputable peer-review journals or high-prestige publishing companies (Burriss, 2004; Nakhaie, 2007). Increasingly, highly-valued research is funded by competitive grants, sometimes involves overseas partners and often quantitative research, and can come with teaching ‘buy-outs’. Bought-out classes are often taught by part-time lecturers, who include a disproportionate percentage of doctoral students and women (Brooks, 1997; Bracken, Allen & Dean, 2006).

Previous research has found that publication rates are strongly correlated with promotion, salary increases and higher rank, but women academics publish less than men (Brooks, 1997; Long, 2001; Nakhaie, 2007). However, when researchers control for the structural variables influencing publications (such as subject, teaching loads and degree of

⁶ New Zealand’s Education and Amendment Act (1990) as well as collective employment agreements for academic staff both emphasise the interrelationship between teaching and research.

specialisation) and if they include non-refereed publications, the gender differences become negligible (Xie & Shauman, 1998; Leahy, 2006 & 2007). Yet academic women are more likely to work in departments with lower publication pressure and to produce fewer refereed articles⁷. Bellas and Toutkoushian (1999) argue that women publish less because they work more slowly and carefully due to heavier scrutiny of their research outputs and exclusion from academic networks, but others suggest that family responsibilities also interfere with women's research productivity (O'Laughlin & Bischoff, 2005; Mason, Goulden & Wolfinger, 2006).

As well as publications, promotion systems generally recognise seniority within the rank, the institution and the discipline (Long, 2001; Nakhaie, 2007): but women have shorter careers because they are more likely to enter academic careers after having children or working in other occupations (Brooks, 1997). Previous research indicates that men typically have more years of full-time academic employment as well as more publications and citations, higher visibility and greater peer esteem (Leahy, 2006, Nakhaie, 2007). Despite women's longer life spans, they retire earlier than men and retirement timing often coincides with their (older) partner's retirement or family/leisure pursuits. Men's longer academic careers can contribute to higher rank upon retirement.

In the rest of the article, the international research findings are combined with the results of the interviews with New Zealand-based academics to further explore reasons for the academic gender gap and some possible ways that neo-liberal restructuring might influence this gap.

Research Design and Methodology

In 2008, 30 tenure-stream or tenured academics were interviewed at two New Zealand universities. The main purpose of this qualitative study was to investigate perceptions of the impact of gender and family circumstances on academic careers. The idea of choosing two types of university was to explore the effect of work environment on the careers of academics with similar qualifications. The sample was intended to include an equal number of men and women with doctorates and

⁷ This is also a reason given for women's lower average PBRF scores in New Zealand.

permanent positions at each university, and an equal number of academics at each rank from lecturer to (full) professor.

After receiving ethics approval, potential participants were selected from the universities' websites in the humanities and social sciences. These two fields were chosen because they are more gender balanced than most but the intention was also to 'control' for work expectations by limiting the number of disciplines and schools/faculties. A short email was sent to each potential participant inviting them to participate in the study, with attachments containing a personally-addressed letter with information about the study and a consent form. Both of these were on university letterhead.

The two universities differ in several respects. One emphasizes its research strengths and has a higher ranking, both internationally and nationally⁸. The other university emphasizes its teaching and learning capabilities and has a slightly higher percentage of female academic staff in the senior ranks (NZ Human Rights Commission, 2008). Despite my intentions to equalise the number of participants from each institution, my purposive sample became heavily weighted to the 'research university' because I was unable to find, within my timeframe, an adequate number of participants from the 'teaching university'. The humanities and social sciences schools/faculties at this university were relatively small and available staff members fulfilling the sampling requirements were too few.

The international research indicates that a greater gender gap exists between temporary and permanent academic staff (Brooks, 1997; Bracken, Allen & Dean, 2006) but this study deals only with academics working in permanent or continuing university positions. This focus permits an examination of the choices and constraints of those scholars who are seen by academic managers and peers to be the most ambitious and successful. The final sample contained 30 academics: 20 from the research university and 10 from the teaching university; 18 females and 12 males, with a response rate of about 73 percent⁹.

⁸ By international ranking, I refer to the Times Higher Education University Ranking System and by national ranking I refer to New Zealand's Performance-Based Research Fund scores.

⁹ Some people emailed replied that they were on sabbatical leave. I have excluded those who said that they were interested but couldn't be interviewed because they were overseas.

Most of the taped and confidential interviews were done by me in their university offices but my assistant¹⁰ completed eight interviews. The interviews were qualitative and included questions about their academic credentials, doctoral and mentoring experiences, domestic circumstances and division of labour at home, their perceptions of promotional opportunities, commitment to the profession, and job satisfaction. The interviews lasted between 30 minutes and one hour, and were fully transcribed. The analysis consisted of categorising their personal/professional circumstances and answers to particular questions, noting patterns by gender, rank and university affiliation, searching for common themes, and collating evocative verbatim comments to illustrate them. Clearly, this is a small study that does not permit generalizations from the interviews, although this article is also based on a survey of the international literature.

In total, eight lecturers, eleven senior lecturers, four associate professors and seven professors were interviewed, as Table 1 indicates. The participants varied from junior staff in the first year of post-doctoral teaching to long-term academics on the brink of retirement; the age of the eighteen women ranged from 34 to 62 years compared to 28 to 68 years for the twelve men. In the article's tables and direct quotations, gender is noted but many other personal details are omitted to retain anonymity. For example, I grouped the lecturers and senior lecturers together and labelled them as 'L/SL', while the associate professors and professors are labelled as 'senior'. The university where they work was also omitted to protect their identity in such a small country.

¹⁰ My assistant, Christine Todd, was a mature MA student at the University of Auckland.

Table 1: Sampling Table (Number of participants)

Rank	Male	Female
Lecturer	3	5
Senior Lecturer	4	7
Associate Professor	2	2
Professor	3	4
Total Sample = 30	12	18

Differences became apparent between the academics working at the two universities. For example, more participants from the research university achieved degrees from prestigious overseas universities and more completed their doctorate on international scholarships. In contrast, most of the participants from the teaching university had New Zealand doctorates and local teaching experience, and several had completed their doctorates later in life. Most were less effusive about their academic mentors, reported elevated teaching loads, and held higher ranks relative to their qualifications. Several of these participants had doctorates from the research university but none from the research university had doctorates from the teaching university.

The next section examines differences in social and human capital of academics working in universities, from both the overseas research and the local interviews.

1: Human and Social Capital

Academic qualifications are an important form of human capital but previous research has found that male academics are more likely to have a doctorate as their highest qualification (Brooks, 1997; Nakhaie, 2007). All the participants in this study had earned a doctorate but some had received theirs partway through their academic careers (especially at the teaching university) or had entered academic work in mid-career. Academics with doctorates have proven they can do research, are more likely to view themselves as researchers, and tend to publish more than

academics with lower degrees (Nakhaie, 2007). Increasingly, universities require new staff to have doctorates and pressure them to publish but the research universities usually offer more incentives such as lower teaching loads, research leave and internal research grants. Receiving a doctorate later in life would reduce the probability of reaching the rank of professor by retirement.

Working in a department or institution with a strong research culture tends to encourage publishing (Burris, 2004; Munroe et al, 2008). Women academics, however, are still clustered in departments valuing 'pastoral care', such as social work, education and language teaching. These fields expect longer teaching hours and more student-related meetings, leaving fewer opportunities to specialize and complete research projects (Leahy, 2006). In this study, the teaching university had a higher percentage of women in the senior ranks but higher teaching loads. A number of women expressed a preference for classroom teaching over leading large research projects, and scheduled their time accordingly. This could work against women in the PBRF exercise that values funded research, research teams, and international networks.

Studies show that marriage can be a form of social capital, at least for men, increasing academic networks and therefore assisting promotion (Toutkoushian et al, 2007). Marriage to a non-employed spouse has been found to be a definite asset for men's salary and promotion but women's marriage to a professional man sometimes becomes a liability (Long & Fox, 1995). Previous research also indicates that the personal and family circumstances of male and female academics continue to differ substantially, leading to gendered perceptions, choices and opportunities. More full-time academic men are married with children but married women with young children are much more likely to work part-time. Among tenure-stream academics, more women are single or divorced, and academic women are much more likely to become single parents (Fox, 2005; O'Laughlin & Bishoff, 2005).

Married academic women are more often in dual-career marriages with older partners who are established professionals, while men's partners are typically younger with lower work attachment (Fox, 2005; Bracken et al, 2006). Academic women are also more likely than academic men to marry other academics, but if the couple publishes

together, the research suggests that husbands receive a disproportionate amount of credit for the joint publications (Loeb, 2001; Wolf-Wendel et al, 2003; Creamer, 2006; Nakhaie, 2007).

In this study, gender differences were also apparent in some forms of social and human capital. Family circumstances certainly differed by gender: more men were married or in long-term cohabiting relationships with younger partners, and more men were parents. All twelve men (100%) were married or cohabiting in long-term relationships and 8 out of 12 (67%) were fathers. Another two men were contemplating fatherhood at the time of the interview. In contrast, 10 out of 18 women (56%) were married or cohabiting (some with substantially older men and one with a woman), and 10 (56%) were mothers (including five sole mothers). Three of the married or partnered women reported that their male partners were either retired or semi-retired, while two men reported that their wives were outside the labour force (one was a student and the other a homemaker/mother) although several others worked part-time.

As Table 2 indicates, the higher the academic rank, the fewer women in this study were mothers. Only two of the six senior females were mothers, compared to eight of the twelve women lecturers or senior lecturers. In contrast, four of the five senior men were fathers. These findings confirm previous research about the human/social capital of male and female academics but also suggest that a more detailed discussion of division of labour at home is necessary. However, we first need to examine perceptions of support from academic mentors.

**Table 2: Marital and Parental Status of Sample
(Number of participants)**

Rank	Male		Female	
	Married/ Cohabiting	Parent	Married/ Cohabiting	Parent
Lecturer/Senior Lecturer	7/7	4/7	6/12	8/12
Associate Professor/Professor	5/5	4/5	4/6	2/6
Total	12/12 100%	8/12 67%	10/18 56%	10/18 56%

2: Academic Mentoring

Academic mentoring has been related to productivity, promotion and career satisfaction but fewer female academics report that they have been adequately mentored. In the international research, men are more likely to say that their doctoral experience was positive, that their supervisors were interested in their research, or that they published with supervisors (Brooks, 1997; Seagram, Gould & Pyke, 1998; Carr et al, 2000). Despite recent increases in women academic staff, reports of gender-based discrimination and sexual harassment also remain common. This is reported particularly by separated or divorced women, who are over-represented among academic women, and older women reporting about past experiences, which implies positive change over the decades (Carr et al, 2000; Rosser, 2004).

In this study, slightly over half (16/30) of the participants reported that they had been mentored by a supervisor or senior academic during their graduate work or early career. This group included lecturers as well as professors, and women as well as men. There were no gender differences in reports of mentoring, perhaps because my sample focused on permanent staff with doctorates, but more staff from the research university talked about strong and meaningful mentoring relationships:

My supervisor ... happened to be working in [a UK university] and then I just stayed in contact with him and went and worked with him afterwards. (L/SL male)

The mentoring really started happening from day one [in his US doctoral department]. People pulled me in on their projects, really groomed me for the job market. (senior male)

On balance, I would say I have had mentoring from some very key people from both genders. (senior female)

The people who reported the strongest mentoring tended to be scholarship winners from the research university, and the women tended to be single and childless, at least during their doctorates. Those who claimed to have had no mentor tended to work at the teaching university, to come from working class backgrounds, to mention previous outspoken behaviour or disputes with their supervisors, or to suggest that their doctorate took 'too long' to complete. Some of the women who reported

no mentor were mothers during their doctorate. There is some suggestion in the international research that married women who become pregnant as students or are already mothers are less likely to be mentored into academic positions (Bracken, Allen & Dean, 2006). One female participant in this study said: “I certainly ran into conflict with my [doctoral] supervisor, especially towards the end, which I know that he wrote off as me being pregnant and hormonal.”

Although many universities have now introduced formal mentoring programmes, especially for mid-career and senior women, it is too early to ascertain their outcomes. However, there is anecdotal evidence that participating women are learning ‘the rules of the game’ and becoming more comfortable with their place in academia. At the same time, there is also evidence from the interviews that young women do not always see senior academic women as desirable role models, especially when they are single and childless. As one L/SL woman said of her experiences as a doctoral student: “I thought at the time it was pretty sad that all the women professors were either divorced or single, and I thought I didn’t want to be like that.” Another young woman said: “I guess the role model thing for me is big because I do feel like the women I know who are ahead of me... most of them have been frustrated that they haven’t gone as far as they would like to.”

3: Institutional Experiences

The new universities (some formerly polytechnic institutes or colleges of advanced education) often expect staff to spend more time and effort on teaching-related activities than the more-established research universities do. However, they increasingly expect academics to obtain grants and publish as well as teach large numbers of courses. The rapid changes in the new universities mean that recently hired people are often more qualified than existing staff, are more oriented to research, and receive faster promotion, which can lead to resentments (Thomas & Davies, 2002).

Several participants from the teaching university commented that their institution was changing ‘too fast’, had a high turnover of managers, placed unreasonable expectations on staff in terms of teaching loads and research productivity, and that ‘outsiders’ were getting promoted faster

than long-term (local) staff. Several participants from the teaching university seemed very distressed by recent changes. One L/SL woman said: “Staff are exploited here. Teaching loads are too high!” and described the politics of the university as “toxic”. Here are comments from two others:

(The university) is very hierarchical and bureaucratic but they keep appointing people... they've got Vice Chancellor and Pro Vice Chancellors and Deans and Heads of School and oh Heads of School, Heads of Department, Programme Leaders, da di da di da... And really, you feel like you're on the shop floor and you've got all these managers telling you what to do. And telling you off about your behaviour which is 'unprofessional' because you question their decisions

I have been here [many] years and I've had [numerous] Heads of School. I have prepared about 250 different lectures because my teaching keeps getting changed. I am never bored, I'm often stressed but I am never bored (laughter)

Participants from both universities mentioned that their love of scholarship and teaching was being destroyed by growing levels of bureaucracy and reporting requirements. Participants from the research university made similar comments about new accounting procedures and PBRF requirements. One senior man who was also had an administrative position said:

I must say I find the increasing administration and the increasing requirements and requests from academic staff but the lack of delegation of authority to do them frustrating. So I now have to produce an enormous amount of paperwork.

Several women said:

It is not the wonderful job that it used to be ... I think there's just such a wealth of bureaucracy and there's so much monitoring and inventing justifications and descriptions of what one is doing that to me have no real relationship (laughter) to which I'm doing... Under that heading, I'm including filling in PBRF forms.

To think about things, to debate things ... that's slowly being taken away by wanting measurable outputs, making money and profit-driven type of thing.

Some studies suggest that university corporatisation can create new obstacles for women academics. As universities downsize, recently-hired academics without job security are more likely to lose their jobs, and women form a disproportionately high percentage of part-time and temporary staff. Although this was not an issue in my interviews because I was talking only to permanent staff, the creation of a dual labour market between teaching and research tends to reward the researchers (mainly males) rather than the part-time teachers (disproportionately females). In addition, overseas researchers argue that ‘feminised’ fields have also been retrenched. In New Zealand, departments recently merged have included women’s studies, European languages, education, social sciences and social work/social policy, which all include a disproportionately high percentage of women academic staff.

Overseas research indicates a backlash against affirmative action and maternity leave programmes (Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Curtis 2005). These studies show that employees are sometimes afraid to use family-related leave policies for fear of losing academic credibility and women academics with young children continually express concern about heightened productivity requirements of the ‘neo-liberal’ university (Thomas & Davies, 2002). In our interviews, most mothers felt that colleagues and sometimes managers were unwilling to accommodate maternity leave, despite university policies. One woman L/SL said: “And [my boss] said to me that if she knew I had a baby who was three months at the time, she would never have appointed me”. Another woman said:

When I first came back to work [from maternity leave], I was scheduled to teach from 5 pm until 6 pm three days a week and the crèche closes at five. And so there were just kinds of simple practical things like that that I had to sort of go and say ‘Look, this isn’t workable, this isn’t feasible, I can’t do this’ and there was just not really the kinds of systems set up, you know? (L/SL woman)

Another mother in a senior position spoke of past difficulties when she had a baby some years ago:

I had a fairly strict head of department who made it very clear that there were going to be no concessions allowed. So that was very demanding - being responsible for a new baby, breast feeding and

all that ... That first year with my first child was difficult. I did manage to carry on ... yeah, one does I suppose.

Although both universities have improved their maternity policies in recent years, most participants agreed that parenthood still makes a huge impact on women's academic careers. Here are comments from two women without children:

How would I ever have time to have kids? I find this job hard enough as it is, without having kids as well (L/SL woman)

I work very, very hard, in a way that I never could if I had kids. I hear stories about the struggles and the pressures of my colleagues who are mothers (L/SL woman)

In addition, many of the women reported feeling excluded from academic networks or felt that women scholars were not treated with the same respect as men. As one senior woman said:

It's a bit of an old adage ... that women ... have to work twice as hard with a quarter of the support, and you just know that if you take on a senior role like head of school or head of department that you are going to have far more trouble from people than you would if you were a bloke. (senior woman)

However, some women may be perpetuating this lack of respect as well. As one L/SL woman said: "I've have some very, very bad women managers. In fact, probably the worst manager was a woman, very dishonest, vindictive."

Most academics report that they work long hours and many reported that they were working harder and harder without getting ahead. However, women seemed to object to the 'long-hours culture' more than men. An L/SL woman said: "I find myself working over weekends to live up to expectations that have been set on us". A senior woman said:

I started to get a bit stressed about the way in which I was working right through every weekend as well as often quite late at night ... I just thought that I'd quite like my life back now for myself to do things that I enjoy doing.

Although men also reported working long hours, they were less likely to report it as a hardship.

The long-hours work culture and heightened requirements of productivity are challenging for many participants with young children, but particularly for single mothers. At the same time, universities now provide written criteria for promotion, special mentoring programs for women, university childcare services and work-life balance policies, encouraged by pressures for greater levels of accountability and growing concerns about gender and other inequities. In the next section, we examine in more detail the research findings about family responsibilities, which suggest that some institutional equity goals might be counteracted by what happens at home.

4: Family Constraints and Responsibilities

In addition to long hours of academic work, women academics also report doing larger amounts of childcare and domestic labour. In overseas studies, many more academic mothers than fathers report being the primary caregiver of children, and more women report caring responsibilities for aging parents and changing jobs for their partner's career moves (Probert, 2005; Bracken, Allen & Dean, 2006; Mason *et al*, 2006). Our interviews also reflected these findings although some men also saw fatherhood as a huge responsibility that influenced all aspects of their lives. Two men who shared the housework and childcare with their academic partners said:

If I hadn't had kids, I probably would be a professor now [ironic small laugh]. I think I probably could have published another book or something like that.

Love is time with kids and if you're not spending enough time with them, they let you know.

Clearly, rearing children can have an impact on the career progression of both fathers and mothers but women in this study were more likely to report that they made work-related concessions for their children and partners. For example, two mothers in the study (but no fathers) negotiated permanent part-time positions in order to manage childrearing. One of them said: "At the moment everything has to fit around my family so it's a bit hard for me to think of a time when it's not going to be like that."

Lack of opportunities to relocate for promotional positions was a 'bone of contention' for many partnered participants. Several doubted that they could move for a promotional position because their spouse would not move or their children's education or friendships would be disrupted. This was particularly a concern for those who were 'head-hunted' or wanted to relocate overseas, but this was largely a male concern. One man (L/SL) with an academic wife and two children expressed this quite explicitly: "I've been offered lots of jobs but I can't take them. It's not an option...If I wasn't married with kids, I would have left here three years ago". Another senior man made a similar comment: "I was offered a position at the University of ... and I would have gone but my wife didn't want to live in Britain. But it was a good job and I would have gone, yeah". However, some men saw relocation as a joint venture. One senior man with an academic wife said: "We're not going to make a move unless both of us do well... We don't actually want to move but if we do, we move as a couple". More men reach the top of the academic profession and more men in the interviews believed that they could become professors. They were also more likely to report that they had promotional opportunities elsewhere and that relocation to another (overseas) university would be desirable for their career.

Women were less likely to talk about missed promotional overseas opportunities and more likely to focus on managing their daily lives. This may relate to the fact that many partnered participants reported that the female partner did most of the unpaid housework. Several men reported sharing housework 50/50 but even wives with male partners outside the workforce claimed that they themselves do most of the housework. Two senior women, whose male partners are retired or outside paid work, made this comment:

Most weekends are filled with housework... I come back on Monday morning and some of my colleagues say: "Have a good weekend?" and I think: what did I do on the weekend? [laughter] Spent most of Saturday, anyway, cleaning the place, catching up on housework... My partner does the washing and the shopping but I do the cooking and cleaning. He would live in a tip.

I've never been very house proud and I can quite sort of cheerfully leave the house looking appalling and [my partner]

doesn't really notice if I have cleaned it... Now that we're both practically retired I do most of the cooking.

A domestic division of labour in which women did the 'lion's share' was especially likely among the older participants, couples where the wife wasn't working full-time, and parents. This unequal division of labour at home was sometimes mentioned by men with intonations of guilt - but not always. One young L/SL man talked about his homemaker wife: "Her career aspirations in many ways have been secondary... and they've become less pronounced over time", mentioning that she did most of the domestic work. In addition, several academic women did not seem to feel that they were excessively burdened by shouldering most of the housework.

Women participants were far more likely to discuss parenting and homemaking as central to their lives and to make work-related concessions for them even though more men are married with children. Both men and women in the study talked about work-life balance but only a few men seemed prepared to delay or forfeit promotion for domestic reasons. One senior man, who reported doing considerable amounts of childcare, gave a positive spin on these activities:

Having children is the greatest sacrifice you can make ... it's (also) the greatest blessing in some ways. It prevents you from being a single track workaholic ... You know that we're being pressured towards extremely high levels of 'performativity', and having a family is actually a ballast.

Despite the impact of family responsibilities on the careers of both mothers and fathers, the women in this study were more likely to work half-time, take time off, report responsibilities for frail elderly parents, and relocate with their partner's job. One woman (L/SL) made a comment that was fairly typical among female participants when she said: "For some academics...their job is their lifestyle, but that's absolutely not for me. But I can see it encroaching and I'm always trying to hold it back."

5: Productivity and Intellectual Confidence

Increasingly, academics need confidence and entrepreneurial skills to gain promotion, win competitive research grants and publish their research findings in top journals and leading international publishing companies, which are all rewarded by higher PBRF scores. However, the research suggests that males are more likely to portray themselves as experts and to engage in career self-promotion (Probert, 2005). Here are some comments from the men in our study:

I'm not shooting for promotion at every turn but ... I assume that if I continue to publish at a reasonable rate and teach well that I'll get there (male L/SL).

I will certainly have enough publications in a year's time ... and significant ones - to justify a professorship. (senior male)

I thought, gosh, I'm quite an asset to the university and I'm doing all the things that I'm supposed to be doing ... I thought well, this is a game... I'm clearly performing at a level that one would expect of a professor. So I applied and yeah, they recognised that and I got my promotion. (senior male)

In contrast, women's comments showed lower levels of confidence and ambition, and less desire to accept additional responsibility at work. Here are several examples of women's comments about promotion:

I think I have the ability to get to professor but ... I've heard ... that it is very difficult, or impossible, to get promoted up through the ranks. (L/SL woman)

I was encouraged to apply for a chair by [name deleted]. I would never have dreamt of applying otherwise. (senior woman)

Yeah, I should be (applying for promotion) and that's what I should be doing...but ... It probably comes down to feelings of guilt on my part that I'm not working at capacity now that I have a child.

No, I wouldn't want to be a professor. A female associate professor who has gone back (overseas) said that she actually found it a real burden because she was expected to take on all the scut work that the blokes at that level didn't want.

Overseas research indicates that women's research projects often involve smaller-scale studies, qualitative research, feminist perspectives, and projects with female participants and collaborators, which tend to receive less acknowledgment by male colleagues (Leahey, 2006). Furthermore, studies conclude that publications produced by women tend to be awarded less value for promotion (Long, 2001; Nakhaie, 2007) but women are also less likely than men to apply for promotion. When they do, they apply 'less vigorously' (Probert, 2005).

Having the time to allocate to research and writing was cited by many participants as essential for career progression. The single participants (all women) explicitly mentioned that their marital status helped their career in this way. A senior woman said:

It's much easier to be a workaholic if you're single. **Would you see yourself as a workaholic?** Oh definitely. Yes, I think that you have to be, I think that academic life attracts fairly compulsive personalities. I think that we're all a bit obsessive... It's clearly an advantage being single, instead of trying to carry the double load that a lot of my women friends do.

Not everyone felt so positive about being single or working long hours. Several married men claimed that they wanted a "balanced life" and were not prepared to do the amount of work required to reach the rank of professor but this kind of remark was more typical of the women in the sample.

Conclusion

Universities have always rewarded academics who are willing and able to devote long hours to the profession, to publish widely and remain fully employed throughout their working lives (Caplow & McGee, 1958; Jencks & Riesman, 1977). Under these 'rules of the game', some academics reached the top of the profession while others floundered.

More recently, universities have attempted to accommodate the rising percentages of female academic staff and to help them to progress through the ranks. However, at the same time, tertiary institutions have been restructuring to deal with rising operating costs and new government requirements. This has meant that universities have increased their commitment to some of the very priorities and practices that contribute to

the gender gap, such as augmenting the 'dual labour market' by hiring more research-only academics (often males), and leaving temporary or junior staff (disproportionately female) to teach the larger classes. In addition, universities are placing more pressure on academics to apply for competitive grants, perform more administrative tasks, participate in overseas conferences, engage in prolonged international travel during sabbatical, and increase their peer-reviewed research outputs in prestigious journals. While both men and women have excelled in these activities, they require more time, personal commitment and in some cases, household resources as well as family support.

In this New Zealand-based study, most academics talked about the heightened expectations of productivity at their university, higher student enrolments, more levels of management, and increased pressure to perform their job in certain ways. The participants spoke of these issues even though they were not specifically asked about them. In addition, most of these academics believed that they worked very hard and deserved (but did not always receive) greater levels of institutional and collegial recognition for their efforts. However, the men seemed more accepting than the women of the long-hours culture, and more confident that they could publish high-quality work and reach the rank of professor in the current competitive environment.

This article has explained these gender differences by referring to the social and human capital brought to the job, as well as academic and personal priorities and practices. It has shown that academic men are still more likely than academic women to have doctorates, report favourable mentoring experiences in early career, to work full-time in departments with a strong research culture, to have a supportive spouse who shoulders the responsibility for domestic duties while giving priority to his career, and more likely to remain in academia throughout their working lives. Many of these research findings relate to personal relationships and life goals, and therefore are challenging for universities to alter.

Despite developing formal programmes for equity hiring, mentoring and maternity, it is difficult for universities to create a 'level playing field' except by giving greater priority to teaching and university service, or downplaying traditional academic values. The age-old disciplinary priorities and practices continue alongside the institutional

concerns about equity, and sometimes serve to counteract them. The most significant criteria for promotion to the senior ranks in many universities remain high-impact research outcomes, rather than teaching skills.

Acknowledging gender differences also involves additional challenges for some academic managers, such as the need to find teaching replacements during staff pregnancies and mentoring women staff without apparent paternalism or favouritism. For academic women, however, prevalent impediments for promotion include lack of professional confidence but also falling behind with research, publications and seniority during pregnancy, childbirth, childrearing, moving with their partner's career, or other perceived family responsibilities.

This study shows that personal and career priorities in academia (as well as other occupations) can be self-regulated and gendered, although they are also influenced by social class, culture and personal circumstances. In the interviews, many of the mothers and a few of the fathers felt that they could not devote the requisite number of hours to the job to merit promotion to the highest academic rank. More women seemed to 'tailor' their career expectations, saying for example that they did not want to compete in such an 'individualistic' or 'managerial' work environment because they wanted a 'balanced life'. Certainly, more women found the academic workload 'daunting', with no set work hours but constant pressure to engage in entrepreneurial research projects and disseminate their findings. This was especially the case for young women contemplating maternity or considering having another child when they anticipated that the domestic workload might be unequal.

When men and women enter the academic profession at the same age and work full-time throughout their lives, as more women are now doing, they increase their chances of reaching the professoriate. As senior men retire, more women may fill the new vacancies, although some permanent positions will be lost as universities continue to restructure (Curtis & Matthewman, 2005). However, universities in New Zealand and many other countries are focusing on their research capacities and capabilities, and attempting to increase their international status. This tendency has reinforced the advantage of those academics with the human/social capital to single-mindedly pursue their research interests

and thereby gain publications and peer esteem. This suggests that the academic gender gap will persist even as women's presence in universities increases.

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