
Gender and Career Opportunities in science.

A piece of the productivity puzzle.

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Abstract.

In recent years, many quantitative studies have been published regarding gender differences in publication output between men and women. This trend is referred to by Cole & Zuckerman (1984) as the productivity puzzle. In order to find out why men publish more than women and how this affects their career opportunities, this paper investigates the phenomenon in a qualitative manner through the gendered organization theory. Findings indicate that the increasing pressure on publication output disadvantages women because they have a harder time dealing with competition than men. It also became apparent that women still suffer from the existence of traditional gender roles, giving birth and stigmatizing by their environment. Another explanation has been found in men and women's different networking strategies, their efforts to make themselves visible in the scientific field and the alleged existence of an old boys' network.

Keywords Gender, publication output, women, network, old boy's network, gendered organization

Paper type Master Thesis

1. Introduction.

1.1 Context.

Gender in education has been a heavily-debated topic since the first wave of feminism in the beginning of the 19th century. The prevailing viewpoint on women was one of inferiority; and women were not deemed eligible to study at the university level. In 1876 the Dutch law on higher education included the acceptance of women in universities and the admission criteria changed as a result that men and women received equal opportunities in scientific education. Henceforth, the most important criterion for a scientific career after a university study was the quantity of publication an academic produced. This objectification was supposed to make sure the proportion of women in higher scientific functions increased, but even nowadays female professors at Dutch universities are still in the minority (van Balen, 2001).

In recent years, many studies have been published regarding the differences in publication output between men and women in science. This trend is referred to by Cole and Zuckerman (1984) as the productivity puzzle. The outcomes of such research all have one thing in common; women publish less than their male colleagues, accounting for both books and academic articles (for example: Fox, 2005; Keith, Layne, Babchuk and Johnson, 2002; Prpic, 2002). The puzzle will not be solved until we can explain this difference through questioning why women publish less than men and how this affects their career opportunities.

In both the quality and quantity of their publications women seem to fall behind compared to men. This male advantage begins by men releasing their first publication earlier in their career and also publishing in prominent journals more often than women. (Keith, Lane, Babchuk and Johnson, 2002). These results are questionable because as Prpic (2002) states, functionally irrelevant characteristics such as gender, race, nationality or religion have no influence on one's professional position. Regardless, we see that women publish slightly more than half of what men publish and therefore have lower chances of having a flourishing career in science (Zuckerman, Cole, Bruer, 1991).

Aside from the observation that women publish less than men, Ledin, Bornmann, Gannon and Wallon (2007) point out that women are also cited less, and their publications have a lower impact factor. An impact factor is a measure that shows the amount of times articles in science and social science journals have been cited. The impact factor is often used to reflect the relative importance of a journal. The higher the impact factor, the higher the importance. One explanation given for the difference in impact factors is that more women work part-time and are therefore less likely to publish frequently (Prpic, 2002). Prpic also demonstrates that women generally spend more time on education, and men spend more time doing research. At the EUR the division between academic tasks, consisting of education, research and administrative tasks, is set and differentiates per department and function.

I will research this disparity through the theory of the gendered organization because this theory provides a new and refreshing perspective on the topic. In order to do this I will hold in-depth interviews to gain qualitative results on a topic that is mostly researched in a quantitative manner (Prpic, 2002).

1.2 The Productivity Puzzle.

As mentioned above, Cole & Zuckerman (1984) have referred to gender differences in publication output as the productivity puzzle. Continuing with this theory, we can distinguish two patterns in the research. The first pattern shows only a limited amount of scientists occupying the most powerful and prestigious positions within universities. The bigger group of scientists publish less often and will never find their way to the top. However, this larger lower performing group accounts for both men and women (Zuckerman, Cole, Bruer, 1991).

The second pattern identified is one of scientific productivity that up until now cannot be explained very well; that we find men publish more frequently than women. This gender related pattern was visible in over 50 studies used by Cole and Zuckerman (1984). They demonstrated that men publish twice as much as women (Zuckerman, 1991). Other research consistently shows men simply publish more than their female colleagues (for example: Fox, 2005; Keith, Layne, Babchuk and Johnson, 2002; Xie and Shauman, 1998).

In this paper I will take a closer look at gender differences in publication output and contribute to solve a piece of the productivity puzzle.

1.3 Relevance and Value.

Prpic makes clear that the outcomes of research on publication output have so far been contradictory and insufficiently satisfactory (Prpic, 2002). Also Burrows addresses that:

'Quantitative studies have failed to help us understand the dynamics of women's lives in science, to explain what Cole and Zuckerman see as a productivity puzzle, or allow us to see why women are still, or at least for the most part, concentrated in the lower ranks of science' (Burrows, 1992: 285).

Quantitative research is of primary importance in addressing the issue of inequality. However, there is a danger of exact motivations and experiences of the respondent to remain unintentionally hidden. The current range of research articles focuses mainly on the quantitative aspect of the productivity puzzle and thus gives an insufficiently clear answer as to why this is so.

Publication output being such an important indicator of one's academic prestige in general, it is remarkable that up until now a clear explanation for the difference in publication output has yet to be found. Previous research which has shown horizontal segregation has virtually disappeared. Horizontal segregation is present where the composition of employees is made up of one gender, race, or other functionally irrelevant characteristic, for the bigger part. But vertical segregation, which is referred to as the glass ceiling, is still apparent in scientific work (Cotter et al., 2001). In reality, this means that work-related chances are narrowed for people with a certain gender or race. Women can, if they so wish, work in every possible field. In science, the subsequently expected progress is measured by publication output. A successful academic scientific career literally builds upon one's publication output. The literature study revealed that women publish less, and do so in less cited journals, which makes it difficult to enter the higher ranks of science. We can therefore conclude that vertical segregation is still occurring within the scientific community.

1.4 Research Question.

Following the observation that female scientists publish less than their male colleagues, I want to raise the question whether men and women have the same career opportunities in science. During this qualitative study I will focus on the question;

‘Can differences in career opportunities between men and women within the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Erasmus University Rotterdam be explained by the theory of gendered organizations?’

This specific case is best examined through in-depth interviews, to ensure that no opinions or experiences of the respondents remain unintentionally hidden. Methods will be explained more deliberately in chapter three.

2. Theoretical considerations.

2.1 Theory.

The aim of this article is not to explore if women publish less and therefore have fewer career opportunities; this has been convincingly established already. Rather, I seek to investigate why this is so, by providing an in-depth analysis of the gendering processes in the social science department of the EUR. The article is structured around theories of gendered organizations and seeks to contribute to this expanding collection of knowledge. Joan Acker (1990) looks at hierarchical organizations through four different dimensions, which constantly produce and reproduce gender inequality. My aim is to contribute to Acker's work and explore its implications in the context of a male-dominated department.

Acker's approach will be combined with theories by Cole & Zuckerman (1984), Prpic (2002), Ledin et al. (2007), Fletcher (1999), Cooper (1997) and Goffman (1990). The key theoretical aim is to contribute to the gendered organization theory by examining ways in which theories of networking, prioritizing, mentoring, traditional role patterns and gendered organization work together. This generates detailed and differentiated knowledge about the mechanisms which produce and reproduce gender inequalities and presents us a piece of the productivity puzzle.

The productivity puzzle has been researched through many different perspectives. However, non of them were able to completely resolve the puzzle. I will thoroughly confine myself to the gendered organization theory, complemented with a carefully composed range of work from other researchers. This theory focuses on more than one aspect of the productivity puzzle and will therefore contribute to the most complete and broad examination of the problem. The range of possible explanations this theory covers compared to other theories leads me to expect that it will provide the most promising outcomes. Earlier, this theory was used to research gendered segregation in organizations. I will now use it to examine gender differences in publication output at the EUR.

2.2 Gendered organization theory.

The gendered organization theory was used by Joan Acker to examine gender differences in organizations. In her research on gender relations, she found previous theories assumed all organizations were gender neutral. Her work highlights the relation between masculinity and organizational power and has called upon feminists to debate previous theoretical frameworks. In her theory, she defines a gendered organization as follows:

'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. Gender is not an addition to ongoing processes, conceived as gender neutral. Rather, it is an integral part of those processes, which cannot be properly understood without an analysis of gender' (Acker, 1990: 146).

I will ground my research within this definition.

2.2.1. Gendered division of labor.

In a university's departmental organization, women are more likely to act as a 'mother of the department', by creating a comfortable atmosphere, helping others and organizing different social events. These activities don't get the same appreciation in terms of academic value as publications and the development of one's career. One of the explanations for this gender difference is that men work more than women, and therefore have more time to publish because women work part-time. Besides the different tasks men and women feel responsible for, there also seems to be a difference in the way men and women make a division between education and research. Men would spend more time researching and women would spend more time giving education (Prpic, 2002). When we convert this to the current society, we can see the same pattern in the division of labor and care. Women still account for most of the caring tasks at home. This makes it harder for them to continue their work while being at home. So we should question to what extent we live up to traditional role patterns and how that affects women's career opportunities.

1.1.2. Gendered interaction.

Theories of gendered organization examine the ways in which interaction and communication are gendered. A variety of studies have looked at the ways in which universities work with tacit knowledge (Fox, 1991). In such social organizational cultures, the emphasis is on interaction and men's networks for transmitting information. Part of this gendered interaction entails gendered evaluations of scientific success, so that work of men and women can be evaluated differently (Brouns, 2001). Ledin et al. suggest women receive less support from mentors and supervisors, making them less likely to benefit from the networks of these masters. In addition, women visit significantly less conferences than their male counterparts (Ledin et al, 2007). This affects their women's publication output because conference papers are increasingly likely to become journal articles. Another factor to mention is the difference between men and women in competitiveness and ability to make oneself visible in the scientific field. Visibility promotes cooperation between colleagues and gives scientists an opportunity to invite each other to do cooperative research. The more visible someone is, the more work opportunities are likely to result. This can also be of great relevance when obtaining a research grant or subsidy. Taking into account the increasing pressure to publish, it is not a surprise that Prpic (2002) argues competition within the organization increases as well. Scientists are pressured to achieve higher goals. Men would find it naturally easier to compete with colleagues, women would have difficulties adapting to the competitive system because it is less likely to be in their nature.

According to Cooper (1997), Koonce (1997) and Brown (1997), women do not only create fewer chances for themselves, they also keep other women from creating chances. This was referred to by Cooper (1997) as the crab basket effect. This metaphor refers to crabs that individually could easily get out of the basket, but they keep pulling each other down in a 'queen bee' competition which accounts for their collective destruction.

In reality, this means that women judge each other more negatively and more strictly than they judge men. It also appears that women feel threatened by other women and therefore hinder each other (Cooper (1997), Koonce (1997) and Brown (1997)).

1.1.3. Gendered symbols.

Gendered symbols and titles also are apparent in current society and gendered organizations. Language can produce gendered ideas and images and academic titles such as masters and fellows, carry out a masculine identity. This can be interpreted as a sign that universities are still very masculine organizations. In order to create full gender equality, should academic titles be adapted to modern times?

1.1.4. Gendered interpretations of one's position in the organization.

Men and women's ways of interpreting their positions and chances at the university and the departmental level are important factors in order to understand the gendered organization. It might appear that women interpret their marginal position within the department as a consequence of their own choice. Men, in turn, can interpret their position in similar situations differently, for example by seeing themselves as individual achievers instead of a part of a group. Here, I will add the theory of Fletcher (1999) on different gender roles. Fletcher's (1999) research shows gender roles effect expectations on how men and women should act within the organization. She links the women to the private sphere, which is featured by work being something you want to do, passion for the job is the motivation, the way of working is emotional and concrete, time is undefined and the output is characterized as people, social relationships and the creation of a community. Men, on the other hand, are linked to the public sphere, with the ethic of work being something you have to do, motivated by money, the way of working is rational and abstract, time is defined and the output are salable goods. The goals of organizations are mostly directed to the public sphere and this can sometimes clash with women's expectations. So, in order to compete with men, women need to be able to be rational, yet caring and empathetic. A possible consequence of this expectation is that women help men with their research, but feel like they are being exploited. These women don't feel like they get recognition for their work and disappear to the background. As a result the women try to behave more masculine and only offer help that is highly needed. Subsequently, men experience this as distant and inappropriate behavior (Fletcher, 1999).

Not only do men and women have different ways of interpreting their position, there are differences on the perception side as well. Therefore, I will take into account the stigmatizing of the different academic functions. In his theory, Erving Goffman refers to a social stigma as a detrimental behavior or reputation that causes a person to be classified in a negative and rejecting stereotype (Goffman, 1990). With Goffman in mind I will examine whether women at the EUR are being stigmatized according to their gender.

2.2.5 Social Selection.

According to Zuckerman (1991), social selection plays a big role in the determination of a scientist's future career. Social selection refers to the inability of individuals to influence the course of their own career, because of discrimination. Gender discrimination can influence salary, productivity and promotion, which are all related to the alleged existence of the old boys' network in academia. In contrast, the work of Xie and Shauman (1998), contends that not having a flourishing scientific career

is caused by a lack of quality and performance. I want to note that I will not research discrimination, but instead try to find out if respondents feel accepted and appreciated as a result of gender differences.

An additional theory is one of Merton (as described in Keith, Layne, Babchuk, and Johnson, 2002), and explains the 'Matthew effect'. This entails that male researchers know more appreciation for their work and therefore receive greater value for subsequent publications. This has the accumulative benefit of creating more opportunities to publish and more power in the organizational environment. It seems men are in a positive cycle upward, and women in a downward one. Merton's theory argues the possibility to publish in high quality journals is structured by the organizational environment in which a scientist works. He argues the organizational context of individual accomplishments need to be examined in order to understand the output of male and female scientists.

The organization of the university can also be of influence on the productivity of its employees. Some universities have a bigger focus on quantity than others (Clemens, Powell, Mclwaine and Okamoto, 1995). In case of the EUR, the organization is deterrent in how many articles a scientist needs to publish as a minimum.

1.1.6 Conclusion.

The combination of the gendered division of labor, gendered interaction, gendered symbols, the gendered interpretations of one's position in the organization and social selection will provide the most complete reflection of the current situation regarding career opportunities of women in science. The problem will be addressed through the perspective of both men and women, of different faculties and with different positions within the organization and should shed a light on the way men and women work together, their division of labor, how they express discontents and internally attribute success, the ways men and women are perceived by others within the organization and the way the current academic culture contributes to inequality.

3. Methods.

3.1 Operationalization.

In an effort to obtain the most thorough results I will use a triangulation of methods. I will combine both quantitative and qualitative research techniques. First, I will give an overall impression of the size and shape of the problem, based on a literature review. For the quantitative part of this research I will use data from She figures 2009 and the annual year report of the EUR (2011). For the qualitative part of this research I will collect data thorough and in-depth interviews. During these interviews I will use factors for gender inequality as proposed in the gendered organizations theory by Joan Acker (1990). Questions will focus on how men and women interpret their own academic situation and how they evaluate other's positions. I will also ask questions regarding men and women's different strategies of cooperation, their competitiveness, their efforts to reach the higher ranks of science and their perception of the opposite gender.

Because this theory focuses on a broad range of possible explanations for gender inequality, it will provide the most complete investigation of the problem. In addition, the current range of research on the topic is quantitative; therefore a an additional qualitative approach will contribute a new perspective to the existing research.

As opposed to previous research, I will use a broadened theory so as not to exclude any possible explanations for the difference in career opportunities between men and women. Furthermore, this allows me to be able to combine the outcomes of different topics into a single explanation.

I will, in line with other researchers, question both men and women and focus on the functions of Assistant Professor (UD), Associate Professor (UHD) and Professor (HL), because these functions can be considered the core of the faculty.

3.2 Respondents.

As mentioned before I have approached Assistant professors (UD), Associate Professors (UHD) and Professors (HL), of the Faculty of Social Sciences (FSW). The group of respondents consists of both men and women in all age categories and with different family backgrounds.

<i>Respondent number</i>	<i>Alias</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Marital Status</i>	<i>Children</i>	<i>Department</i>	<i>Position</i>
1	Roos de Koster	Female	29	Married	Children	Sociology	UD
2	Anton Langerveld	Male	39	Married	Children	Sociology	UD
3	Daniël Hofman	Male	49	Married	Children	Sociology	HL
4	Jurgen ter Horst	Male	33	Married	Children	Psychology	UD
5	Freek Pieterman	Male	47	Married	Children	Psychology	HL
6	Kristel van Dijk	Female	48	Divorced	Children	Psychology	UHD
7	Stef Boon	Male	53	Married	None	Sociology	HL
8	Hanneke Maaskant	Female	36	Not married	None	Psychology	UD
9	Sanne van der Lelie	Female	33	Married	None	Psychology	UD
10	Sarah Gommers	Female	39	Married	None	Administration	UHD
11	Kim Takens	Female	60	Married	None	Sociology	HL
12	Lotte van Gelderen	Female	38	Married	Children	Psychology	UD
13	Vincent Bartels	Male	48	Married	Children	Administration	HL
14	Lieneke Davids	Female	43	Married	Children	Administration	UHD
15	Gisela Dekker	Female	55	Married	Children	Administration	UHD
16	Frits Mulders	Male	59	Married	Children	Administration	UHD
17	Ken van der Ploeg	Male	59	Married	Children	Administration	HL

3.3 Analysis.

The qualitative analysis I perform is theme-leveled. To start I made a selection of citations from the respondents by different subjects, gender and position within the organization, and I indicated whether the respondent's statements matched my expectations. When the selection was composed, I analyzed these citations per theoretical theme and checked for different views per gender and position within the organization. Guided by the citations, I will enumerate my findings in order to find which factors influence career opportunities and eventually answer the research question.

4. Outcomes.

4.1 Quantitative outcomes.

To get an impression of the situation of women in relation to a scientific career, I took a look at the third publication of She Figures (2009) and the annual report of 2010 of the EUR. The research for She Figures 2009 was done by cooperation of the Scientific Culture and Gender Issues Unit of the Directorate-General for Research of the European Commission and the group of Statistical Correspondents of the Helsinki Group, and is relevant in the light of this thesis. This publication group focuses on the most relevant indicators that are of influence on gender inequality and are necessary to understand the position of women in science. In the figures I will give a short overview of the most important outcomes for 26 European countries (figure 1), then narrow down to the Netherlands, the Erasmus University (figure 2) and finally I will address the faculty of Social Science (figure 3).

Figure 1 shows the Netherlands are falling behind when we compare the amount of scientists in the higher rankings of science to other European countries. The higher the position, the bigger that gap gets. According to the Lisbon strategy of the European Union one quarter of all European professors were supposed to be female. As you can see in the data above, this goal has not been met. However, the target for 2020 remains the same. According to the annual year report 2010, the target for the EUR was set at a minimum of 15% female professors by the end of 2012. This target will not be met unless all new professors will be women.

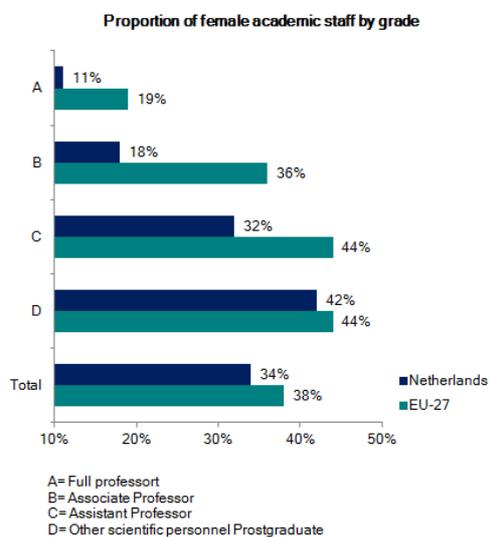


Figure 1, Resource: http://ec.europa.eu/research/science-society/document_library/pdf_06/she_figures_2009_en.pdf

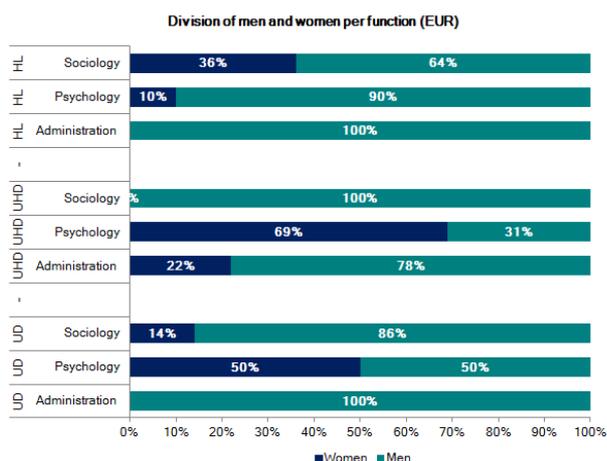


Figure 2

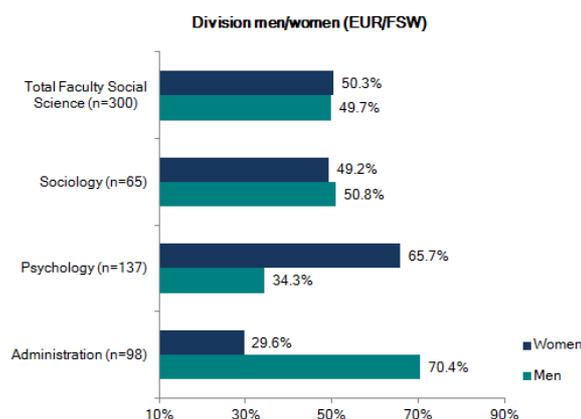


Figure 3

4.2 Qualitative Outcomes.

In the current academic climate a clear duality is observable. On the one hand, the Netherlands is considered egalitarian when it comes to gender and emancipation. Women vote, have careers and are better educated than men. Nevertheless, there are very few women in the higher ranks of science and even less are appointed professor. Since equality is important in the Netherlands, both the government and the EUR should desire to correct the current situation of inequality. Endless amounts of measures are taken to give women's scientific careers a boost. Nobody will argue that a 50/50 division is bad, if it benefits the quality of science. But does it do that? In order to get a clear evaluation, we should ask a few things first. Why do women publish less than their male counterparts? Is there a legitimate explanation? Why, as a seeming result, do women have fewer career opportunities than men in the academic sciences? The interviews conducted revealed two primary problems, namely:

1. Publication minima
2. Vertical segregation

4.2.1. Pressure to publish.

How do you measure a person's academic prestige and reputation? This remains a difficult question to answer definitively. Factors such as the amount of academic citations, the social relevance and the quantity of output play a role. At present, the latter factor is the most important predictor of academic success. Both at national level and within the EUR in particular, demands on the number of publications of scientists are increasing, much to their dismay. A male professor of the sociology department put it in this striking comparison:

'To me it's all about the game! When you play soccer, you want to win; you want to play soccer of dazzling beauty. You don't even want to win, you simply want to play the best soccer in the world. It doesn't matter if you lose, that's how I see science. And now you see that institutions have an increasing tendency to focus on output, and then a beautiful goal is not important anymore. It's about goals. It doesn't matter, gross violations allowed! Kick that goalkeeper in half and rot that ball into the goal, it doesn't matter. All goals are exactly the same, made in the same way, doesn't matter. There is no need for beauty if it is effective. And I am against that. I am for publishing a lot, but not on the quality's expense.'¹

Another male sociologist (professor) comes straight to the core of the problem. If the emphasis is on quantity, the quality will most likely decrease.

'But what I do is check if there is an effect. Colleagues then say yeah yeah, shouldn't you do a little more? Fine, but you also have to produce, right? So let's first indicate if there is a positive or negative relation. And then we continue on that in a later article'.²

The increasing pressure to publish appears to work to the disadvantage of women. This is because they often work part time and are less able to cope with competition. Working part-time is taken into account when determining an individual's minimum publication output, but it also slows down their career track. Beyond the fact that many female faculty work part time, there is the alleged existence of a glass ceiling in the academic field. A thorough investigation shows us there are several explanations why women have difficulty at the top, such as the existence of an 'old boys' network', the accumulative advantage that men have in successful publications, networking, and males increased ability to make themselves visible and recognized in social circles. In order to equalize this inequality several measures have been created, of which only a few effective. So the question becomes whether we should continue this or that measure and if it is wiser to use research to find out where the core of the problem lies. After conducting this investigation I would make a recommendation to expand this study on several fronts. It has been my observation that many female research assistants get stuck in their assisting position. This could be because it is a busy period which can coincide with a woman's wish to have children.

4.2 Gendered division of labor and gendered interpretations of one's position in the organization.

4.2.1 Traditional role patterns.

The gendered organization theory argues men and women feel responsible for different tasks in the workplace. Traditionally, the women take care of the household and the men are breadwinners.

¹ 'Voor mij gaat het gewoon om het spelletje! Als je voetbalt, dan wil je winnen, dan wil je wervelend mooi voetbal spelen. Dan wil je nog niet eens winnen, gewoon het mooiste voetbal van de wereld spelen. Je kunt ook verliezen maar dat geeft niet, dat is hoe ik tegen wetenschap aankijk. En je ziet nu dus dat instituten in toenemende mate de neiging hebben om te sturen op output, en dan maakt een mooi doelpunt niet meer uit. Het gaat om doelpunten. Maakt niet uit, grove overtredingen mogen! Schop die keeper door midden en rot die bal in het doel, het maakt niets uit. Alle doelpunten precies hetzelfde, op precies dezelfde manier, maakt ook niet uit. Hoeft niet mooi te zijn als het maar effectief is. En daar ben ik tegen. Ik ben wel voor veel publiceren maar niet ten koste van kwaliteit.'

² 'Maar wat ik dus doe is aangeven of er een effect is. Collega's zeggen dan ja ja ja, moet je niet wat meer doen? Ja best, maar je moet ook produceren, niet? Dus laten we dan voorlopig eerst maar aangeven of het positief of negatief is. En dan gaan we daar in het volgende artikel wel weer op door.'

These traditional gender roles and stereotypes still play an influential role in academia and give men more time to spend on work than women. This image also became apparent in this research. Traditional gender roles seem to be so deeply rooted in society that it is hard to erase them. They are most reflected in the expected patterns of care giving, which we can call very traditional within this group of respondents. In all cases the bigger part of caring responsibilities rested on the shoulders of the women. In addition, nature has determined the woman is the one who gives birth and a substantial proportion of respondents argue that this still has a negative effect on the career opportunities of women. A male professor of the psychology department indicates:

‘Yes, I think women are less likely to focus 100% on a career. Men are, they can spend more hours on work and therefore they perform better. If that will ever be fully aligned? Well, I don’t think so. Because besides culture there is also the nature that has decided that women will more often take care of the children.’³

A female sociology professor adds:

‘Women still ‘suffer’ from the fact that they give birth. And then they go half speed for a couple of years. We see that all the time. They work less hours. They put their careers on hold for a while. And that is, I think, the most determining factor. And besides that, men behave oppositely. When men have children they go full speed, make more money. So then the division of tasks, that was pretty equal until then, falls back in a traditional pattern.’⁴

A male UD of the psychology department adds to this:

‘I don’t think that female professors and the good male professors that I know are looked at differently. But it is true, of those female professors I know stories of them writing a paper at their due-day, hoping the contractions would wait so that they could submit the paper before the child was born. And then in the evening, while breastfeeding the child, they are working on their next paper so to speak. And those are situations where people lift their eyebrows and say wow that goes very far. While if the man would do a little more in that period, because he is so busy, people say he works very hard. But they don’t lift their eyebrows the way they do with women.’⁵

The distribution of care is in many cases unequal. Women are biologically disadvantaged by the fact that when they choose to have children, they are the ones who carry the child and give birth.

³ ‘Ja, ik denk dat vrouwen minder geneigd zijn 100% voor een carrière te gaan. Mannen wel, die kunnen meer uren besteden aan het werk waardoor ze beter presteren. Of dat ooit volledig wordt gelijkgetrokken? Nou, ik denk het niet. Want naast cultuur is er ook nog de natuur die ervoor zorgt dat vrouwen vaker voor de kinderen zullen zorgen’

⁴ ‘Vrouwen hebben nog altijd te ‘lijden’ van het feit dat ze kinderen krijgen. En dan gaan ze toch een paar jaar half speed. Maar ja, dat zien we steeds. Ze gaan minder uren werken. Ze zetten hun carrière een tijdje stop. En dat is, denk ik zelf, wel de meest bepalende factor. En daarbij komt dat mannen zich net andersom gaan gedragen. Als mannen kinderen krijgen gaan ze full speed, nog meer werken, nog meer verdienen. Dus op dat moment valt de taakverdeling, die tot op dat moment redelijk gelijkmatig was, terug in een traditioneel patroon.’

⁵ ‘Ik heb niet het idee dat er anders wordt gekeken naar die vrouwelijke hoogleraren en de goeie mannelijke hoogleraren die ik ken. Maar het is wel zo, van die vrouwelijke hoogleraren ken ik dus wel verhalen dat ze op de uitgerekende datum nog even een papertje aan het tikken waren en dat ze hoopte dat de weeën nog even zouden wachten want dan zou ze het paper nog even kunnen submitten voordat het kind geboren werd. En dan ’s avonds zit ze bij wijze van spreken alweer met het kind aan de borst het volgende paper te tikken. En dat zijn dan situaties waarbij mensen hun wenkbrauwen ophalen en zeggen van wow dat gaat wel heel ver. Terwijl dan als in diezelfde periode de man weer even wat zou doen, want hij heeft het zo druk, dan zeggen mensen nou hij werkt wel heel hard. Maar het is minder zo dat de wenkbrauwen daarvan omhoog gaan dan dat als de vrouw dat doet.’

Although arrangements are made to compensate for women's scientific delay, it is impossible to say that this exceeds the difference. The interviews revealed traditional gender roles are so deeply entrenched in our culture that more than an incentive is necessary in order to undo the natural disadvantage.

4.2.2 Stigmatizing.

Not only are men and women presumed to fulfill different tasks, there are also different expectations when it comes to appearance. And not only in the department, even among students. One of the female UHD's who educates in the administration department told me the following:

'Right now I teach statistics in a bachelor class, a room full of students, and then I walk in with my high heels on. If you ask students how they feel about being taught statistics by a female teacher, they don't have a problem with it. We are emancipated, it doesn't matter. But I am sure that they are surprised for a moment. And then I appear to have a soft voice, I am quite feminine in my behavior and my way of treating students. Call it empathetic, that might sound a bit fancy, but first of all you are visible as a woman. In the second place as a statistics teacher. And in the third place as, so she'll probably know something about the topic. But that only comes third. And I think, but I'm not sure, that you're behavior is interpreted as 'because she's a woman'.⁶

Besides that, men and women trigger different expectations when it comes to future plans. Traditionally speaking, men are presumed to be ambitious and women are expected to stay at home and take care of a household and children. In some cases these stereotypes were confirmed, but not always. A female UHD of the Department of Administration says:

'Yes, with men, ambition is presumed, with women it sometimes isn't. Yes, that's what other men think... Per definition, they assume that other men are ambitious and that they sometimes also try things they might not be capable of, but that they just want that for their careers and with women, more often they don't think about that.'⁷

This image is confirmed by a male UD of the psychology department:

'So I think there are relatively more women that find pursuing career a little less important than men. Maybe it has to do with the fact that men behave more macho, they insist to distinguish themselves in performance at work and women find satisfaction and fun in being at home and with social contacts.'⁸

⁶ 'Ik geef nu statistiek in de bachelor, een zaal vol studenten, en dan kom ik binnen trappen op mijn hoge hakken. Als je studenten vraagt van wat vind je ervan dat je statistiek krijgt van een vrouwelijke docent, dan vinden ze dat geen probleem. We zijn geëmancipeerd, dat maakt allemaal niet uit. Maar ik weet zeker dat ze even verrast zijn. En dan blijf ik een zachte stem te hebben, ik ben tamelijk vrouwelijk in mijn manier van doen en in mijn manier van studenten bejegenen. Noem het empathisch, dat klinkt dan een beetje duur, maar dan ben je eerst en vooral zichtbaar als vrouw. In de tweede plaats pas als docent statistiek. En dan in de derde plaats pas van ze zal er ook wel wat van weten. Maar dat komt dan pas in de derde plaats. En ik denk dus, maar dat weet ik niet, dat je gedrag heel erg geïnterpreteerd wordt van 'omdat ze vrouw is.'

⁷ 'Ja, er wordt bij mannen ambitie ook verondersteld hè, bij vrouwen soms niet. Ja, dat denken andere mannen... Per definitie, die gaan er bij mannen gewoon vanuit dat die ambitieus zijn en dat die ook wel eens iets proberen wat ze misschien wel niet kunnen, maar dat ze dat gewoon willen voor hun carrière en bij vrouwen wordt daar veel vaker niet aan gedacht.'

A female UD of the psychology department confirms the image that women have:

'I think women have a stereotype image of men and women as well. Of course it could be that women have a stereotype image of a good professor or manager. A good person for a hierarchical position simply is a man.'⁹

And a sociology professor adds to this:

'But women are more committed to the case, I mean, you'd have to generalize but men like to be the boss, to sit on their monkeys rock, a bit of that twisted masculine narcissism, you see that a lot less with women.'¹⁰

So men and women excel in different areas. Unfortunately, not all areas and gender-specific characteristics are as relevant for personal academic success. So one could say the characteristics which are more often found in men, such as enjoying power, flaunting success, career and ambition, are more useful for obtaining a promotion than female characteristics such as the assumption of care, helpfulness and the trivializing of achieved success. A female UHD of the Department of Administration illustrates this by means of an anecdote:

'Next week is our conference. I am asking everyone to open this and to that planar. My husband asked me, what are you going to do planar? What are you going to tell the people? I said I consider to give the secretary flowers, but of course that was not what he meant. He said you are taking yourself off the case. And that is what I do indeed. Then I'm thinking well, I'm busy, and I have to make sure it all goes according to plan, and then I have to deal with that. While I prefer to stand on the sidelines and when the speakers get applause I think, oh that's nice. But of course it is not very smart.'¹¹

These gendered stigma's on the one hand and different expectations on the other, cause men and women to interpret their position within the organization differently. That is often reflected in the different ways in which men and women attribute success. A female UHD argues:

'That is typical for men, that with successes they are more likely to internally attribute that they did something good. And that women are more likely to play it down. Like saying it is not a big deal, yeah I won that prize but it was the fourth time I joined the competition.'¹²

⁸ 'Dus volgens mij zijn er ook relatief meer vrouwen die in die zin carrière najagen net iets minder belangrijk vinden dan mannen. Misschien heeft dat er ook wel mee te maken dat mannen iets meer haantjes zijn, en er iets meer op staan om zich te onderscheiden in prestaties op bijvoorbeeld het werk en dat de vrouw meer voldoening en plezier haalt uit het thuis zijn en met sociale contacten enzo.'

⁹ 'Ik denk dat ook vrouwen een stereotype beeld hebben van mannen en vrouwen. Het kan natuurlijk goed zo zijn dat vrouwen ook een stereotype beeld hebben van een goede hoogleraar of een goede leidinggevende. Een goede persoon voor een hogere hiërarchische positie is gewoon een man.'

¹⁰ 'Maar vrouwen zijn meer betrokken bij de zaak zelf en meer hè, ik bedoel, kijk dan moet je generaliseren maar mannen vinden het leuk om de baas te zijn, en op hun apenrots te zitten, een beetje dat doorgedraaide masculiene narcisme, en dat zie je bij vrouwen veel minder.'

¹¹ 'Volgende week is ons congres. Ik loop jan en alleman te vragen open jij dit en doe jij plenair dit, en plenair dat. Mijn man vroeg ook van wat ga jij plenair doen? Wat ga jij tegen die zaal zeggen? Ik zeg ik overweeg om de secretaresse bloemen te geven, maar dat was natuurlijk niet waar hij op doelde. Hij zei je bent jezelf aan het uitroosteren. En dat is inderdaad wel wat ik doe. Ik denk dan ja ik heb het druk en moet in de gaten houden dat het allemaal goed loopt, en dan heb ik ook dat nog aan mijn hoofd. Terwijl ik dan liever aan de kant sta en als dan de sprekers applaus krijgen denk ik ah wat fijn. Maar dat is natuurlijk niet heel slim.'

As Fletcher (1999) argues, men are linked to the public sphere and women are linked to the private sphere. This research has shown within the university the emphasis that is placed more and more on performance therefore favors the qualities of the public sphere. I found this fact does not disadvantage women, but it does benefit men. This does not cause women to feel less appreciated. However, they do notice that academic culture allows men to spend more time at work. Most of the female respondents mentioned that they envy men who are able to say no to anything not performance-related. Women have the tendency to please colleagues and students of the department, because they think someday the investment will benefit them

4.3 Gendered interaction and Social Selection.

Acker's theory argues that communication is also gendered by nature. This could, for example, be reflected in how men and women actively work on their network. According to the Mathew effect men help and mentor each other and women suffer from the crab basket effect, in that they hinder each other. Zuckerman (1991) argues individuals don't have any influence on their career paths. This as opposed to Xie and Shauman (1998), who state that not having a flourishing career is due to a lack of quality and performance and cannot be attributed to factors such as gender differences.

4.3.1 Networking.

An important difference between men and women that played a dominant role in most interviews, and where a part of the stimulus is directed at, is that men are better able to manifest networks among their professional colleagues. The women interviewed indicated they would like their networks to be bigger. But either women lack knowledge on how to network or they do not give equal priority to it as men do. Some women also indicated there are differences in perception, meaning that active networking considered normal for men is viewed as 'pushy' when done by women. A female UD of the psychology department said:

'What I notice is that sometimes you meet ladies at conferences who actively work on their networks. Very instrumental, so not because they like to talk to you, but because they want something. Or because they want everyone to know them for example. And I notice that it comes across differently when men do that, than when women do that, and that is very strange and I think it is a general image. So if men do it is positively perceived and if women do it, it is perceived as pushy and instrumental, as negative. Which is ridiculous.'¹³

When it comes to networking, men point out they have extended networks without working actively to achieve that. A male UD of the psychology department says about the importance of networking:

'In order to reach higher position, people sometimes have to think about you. Not very long ago I was asked to be in the editorial board of a journal. One of the most important reasons that I was

¹² 'Dat is wel iets dat typisch mannelijk is hè, dat ook bij successen mannen eerder intern attribueren van ik heb dat goed gedaan. En dat vrouwen eigenlijk eerder geneigd zijn om het af te zwakken. Van het stelt niet zo veel voor, of ja ik heb die prijs wel gewonnen, maar ja ik had al 4 keer meegedaan.'

¹³ 'Wat ik zelf merk is, je komt weleens dames tegen op congressen die heel gericht netwerken. Heel instrumenteel, dus niet omdat ze het gezellig of leuk vinden om met je te praten, maar om er iets uit te halen omdat ze iets nodig hebben. Of omdat ze willen dat iedereen hun kent bijvoorbeeld. En ik merk zelf dat het anders overkomt als mannen dat doen dan als vrouwen dat doen, en dat is eigenlijk heel raar en ik denk dat dat een algemeen beeld is. Dus als mannen dat doen wordt het als positief ervaren en als vrouwen dat doen wordt het als opdringerig en heel instrumenteel ervaren, als naar. Wat belachelijk is.'

asked for that is that I know the editors very well. The job I have here is also for a big part thanks to the people I knew here. Knowing the right people in the right place. I think that gives you an edge.’¹⁴

A professor of the Department of Administration confirms this and adds it is important to have someone who is your mentor and is able to introduce you into certain networks.

‘Yes you have to make a march through the institutions. So in a certain way you need to rise to the surface, and rising to the surface has to do with qualities. If those are not ok... But it also has to do with yeah... who do I know, do I have certain people so to speak, that are my ambassador, who are able to put people in certain positions or at least draw attention to that.’¹⁵

A male UD of the sociology department adds to this:

‘On the one hand you are offered a certain position at some point or you’re introduced in a certain network. For example through my own mentor in Amsterdam, gave me a job sounds like I’m not capable of anything. But through him I entered an interesting research project, where I also got a number of possibilities for cooperation. So than you have a little advantage on someone who has to do that on their own.’¹⁶

The study showed men actually benefit more from the network of a supervisor or mentor than women. They indicate that males see successors in one another and therefore share more with other men. A female UHD who does research in this field says:

‘It is striking to me that my manager, and also my previous manager, never thought she is ambitious, I’ll ask her to do something for me and then I’ll make sure she will be on the article. Or I’ll bring her in contact with a certain colleague so that she can publish more. No, not at all. I am not in touch with her anymore. Especially since some years have passed, you can look back on it. More often I am in that senior role myself now. And then I try to bring people together. Or when there’s a conference I say, you can present there. To put someone in the spotlights. She actually never did that for me. Then I sat in the office doing analyses and she went to the conference. She played a very important role back then. And then you work for someone, not for yourself. And unfortunately she was the kind of person that found that the best way of working.’¹⁷

¹⁴ ‘Om verder te komen moeten mensen soms aan je denken. Dus ik ben nog niet zo lang geleden gevraagd om in een editorial board te komen van een tijdschrift. Nou een van de belangrijkste redenen dat ik daarvoor ben gevraagd is dat ik de editors goed ken. En ook mijn baan hier heb ik wel voor een groot deel te danken aan dat ik hier mensen kende. En dat je dus de juiste mensen op de juiste plaats en het juiste tijdstip kent. En dat geeft je denk ik toch een edge.’

¹⁵ ‘Ja, je moet wel een mars door de instituties maken. Dus je moet toch op een bepaalde manier komen bovendrijven hè, en dat bovendrijven heeft sowieso iets te maken met je kwaliteiten. Als die niet op orde zijn... Maar het heeft ook iets te maken met ja... wie ken ik, heb ik als het ware bepaalde personen die...noem het maar ambassadeur van mij zijn hè, die dus als het ware mensen op bepaalde posities kunnen neerzetten, of in ieder geval de aandacht daarop kunnen vestigen.’

¹⁶ ‘Enerzijds krijg je op een gegeven moment een bepaalde functie aangeboden of je wordt in een bepaald netwerk geïntroduceerd. Bijvoorbeeld via mijn eigen scriptiebegeleider in Amsterdam, aan een baan geholpen klinkt zo euh, alsof ik niks kan. Maar ik kreeg via hem dus een interessant onderzoeksproject, waarbij ik ook al een aantal mogelijkheden meteen kreeg tot samenwerking. Dus dan heb je wat dat betreft iets voor op iemand die dat helemaal zelf zou moeten doen.’

¹⁷ ‘Het valt me alleen wel op dat bijvoorbeeld mijn leidinggevende, maar ook vorige leidinggevende, er nooit mee bezig zijn geweest om te denken van zij is ambitieus, ik vraag haar nu om iets voor mij te doen en dan zorg ik even dat ze op dat artikel komt te staan. Of ik breng

4.3.2. Visibility within the scientific field.

Continuing on this topic, I also found a difference in the way men and women of the FSW make themselves visible. It proved to be a little easier for men than for women. The female respondents indicated they found it difficult to present themselves on the foreground. One of the female UD's of the psychology department said:

'No. I'm not someone who likes to be predominate. I am very bad at self-promotion like activities. And I don't like it either. And I am not going to strategically determine which steps I should take in order to get recognized.'¹⁸

Another female UD of the psychology department indicates that women are not disadvantaged, but that they seize every form of inequality as an excuse for their disappointing results.

'What you say is also true; in terms of professors it is all still very masculine. I can see that it is easier in the men's world. But I don't get the impression that women are not taken seriously. Especially when you have something to say, but yeah, it is easier for men, women are usually a little more modest.'¹⁹

4.3.3. Old boys' network.

One of the main findings is the lack of clear communication within the faculty which creates misunderstanding between colleagues. Most of the women prevail in the idea that many decisions are made in private and they do not have the preponderance to get involved. They are, unlike the male respondents, convinced of the existence of an old boys' network. A female UHD of the administration department has been part of such a committee but did not feel taken seriously and not heard. According to her a part of this has to do with her feminine qualities. She defends that assumption by arguing that selection committees consist of men and that women have a hard time finding their way into these decision making channels. About the appointing of professors she says:

'I have also been in a committee for the appointing of professors. I was the only woman there and in general you are younger than most men there. And then you notice what I am trying to do more often lately, I am UHD, did quite some things, so I have the right to speak otherwise they shouldn't have asked me. So my input is at the same level as theirs. And then you can feel some resentment. It is perceived unpleasantly.'²⁰

haar in contact met die of die collega want dan kan ze wat meer publiceren. Nee, totaal niet. Ik heb met haar ook geen contact meer. Zeker nu er wat jaartjes overheen zijn gegaan kun je daar goed op terugkijken. Ik zit nu zelf steeds vaker in een soort seniorrol. En dan probeer ik iemand in contact te brengen met iemand anders. Of als er een congres is zeg ik van nou, presenteer jij daar. Om iemand in de schijnwerper te zetten. Zij heeft dat eigenlijk nooit gedaan. Dan zat ik een beetje op kantoor analyses te draaien en dan ging zij naar het congres. Zij heeft toen een hele belangrijke rol gespeeld. En dan ga je voor iemand werken, dan werk je niet voor jezelf. En zij was helaas het type die dat ook de prettigste manier van werken vond.'

¹⁸ 'Nee. Ik ben niet zo iemand die graag op de voorgrond treedt. Zelfpromotieachtige activiteiten ben ik erg slecht in. En ik vind het ook niet leuk. En ik ga niet strategisch nadenken welke stappen ik zou moeten doen om meer bekend te raken nee.'

¹⁹ 'Wat je zegt is ook waar, qua hoogleraar is het ook allemaal nog steeds veel mannelijk. Ik zie ook wel dat dat makkelijker gaat in de mannenwereld. Maar ik heb helemaal niet de indruk dat je als vrouw niet serieus genomen wordt ofzo. Zeker als je iets te melden hebt, maar ja het gaat mannen wel wat makkelijker af, vrouwen zijn toch vaak wat bescheidener.'

²⁰ 'Ik heb ook in een benoemingscommissie van hoogleraren gezeten. Ik zat daar als enige vrouw bij en dan ben je over het algemeen ook jonger dan de meeste mannen die daarbij zitten. En dan merk je weer wat ik de laatste tijd steeds meer probeer te doen, ik ben UHD, heb best

A female professor from the sociology department adds to this:

'If those decisions are made by men, men are more likely to be hired. And if that happens behind closed doors it is harder for women to find their way in. And that starts with the recruitment, up till promotions. You'll be confronted with the fact that cases concerning promotions are handled in the backroom and that with equal suitability there is a tendency to hire the man.'²¹

A female UHD of the administration department agrees to this:

'But the point, of course, is especially that for many things, a committee doesn't even exist. Or it is predetermined. Or yes... for the appointing of professors there is usually a committee, but then the candidate is already present, that happens as well... And nowadays they focus more and more on individual qualities... You don't have to wait for a vacancy anymore.'²²

A female UD of the psychology department adds to this:

'I think men and women have a somewhat different style of communication. And you can see it at parties too, when you have informal parties with friends, women stand on one side of the room, men on the other. That makes talking easier, and as long as appointments are made that way or remain influenced by that, the problem is maintained.'²³

But the male respondents don't seem to be aware of this phenomenon and also don't share the opinions expressed above. They are convinced men and women have equal opportunities and fair treatment. But I am convinced the idea of the existence of an old boys' network is enough for an unspoken displeasure to exist among women. This can be considered an example of the Thomas Theorem (Merton, 1995). The Thomas theorem is a sociological concept which explains that if people interpret a situation as real, actual consequences will appear. So the definition of the situation is influencing the act. Although it remains unclear what women should do to be more likely to receive promotion, if they perceive an old boys network they may be less likely to seek advancement.

A female UHD of the psychology department said the following:

'I think that if the guidelines would be clear, women would benefit from that. I think clarity is more beneficial for women than measures that are taken ad hoc. And with clarity I mean that you get a contract and an appraisal, and what should come to the table is what do you want to become? Just the next step; UHD, or professor? If that's what you want to be then this is what

wat gedaan dus ik heb recht van spreken hier, anders hadden ze me niet moeten vragen. Dus op gelijk niveau ga ik ook mijn duit in het zakje stoppen. En ook dan proef je af en toe wat wrevel. Dat het onaangenaam gevonden wordt.'

²¹ 'Als die besluiten worden genomen door mannen zullen er eerder mannen worden aangenomen. En als dat gaat op een manier van het wordt in een gesloten kamertje beslist, dan komen vrouwen daar moeilijker tussen. En dat geldt al vanaf de werving, tot promoties. Je zal ermee geconfronteerd worden dat zaken aangaande promoties in de achterkamer beslist worden, en dat er bij gelijke geschiktheid toch de tendens is om de man eerder aan te nemen.'

²² 'Maar het punt is natuurlijk vooral dat er voor heel veel dingen er niet eens een commissie is. Of het is dan eigenlijk al voorgekookt. Of ja... voor hoogleraarbenoemingen is er formeel meestal wel een commissie, maar dan is eigenlijk de kandidaat al bekend, dat gebeurt natuurlijk ook wel eens... En tegenwoordig is het wel steeds meer op individuele kwaliteiten hè... Dus je hoeft niet per se te wachten op een vacature.'

²³ 'Volgens mij hebben mannen en vrouwen gewoon een wat verschillende communicatiestijl. En je ziet het op feestjes ook, als je gewoon informele feestjes hebt met vrienden staan vaak de vrouwen aan de ene kant en de mannen aan de andere kant. Dat praat gewoon makkelijker met elkaar en zolang een deel van de benoemingsbeslissingen op die manier genomen worden of daardoor beïnvloed worden hou je dat probleem in stand natuurlijk.'

you have to do. And if you do it you should have the option to become a professor. And I think that is something that doesn't automatically exist. But it might be good. I don't think women should be favored, but I think that if it's clear to everyone, both men and women will benefit from that, women no less. So I think that would be a good development.'²⁴

This quotation refers directly to the measures taken to provide women with help towards scientific success. To increase the number of female professors at the EUR a number of different initiatives have been created. These are designed to ensure that 15% of the professors on faculty will be women by December 31, 2012. Board President Pauline van der Meer Mohr indicates the university will not meet this target. She says although the deans have committed themselves to the goal, the results are disappointing (Annual year report, 2011).

In addition to the stated goal of a 15% female faculty there is the objective that every faculty would have at least one female professor who is funded by the EUR in 2010. Each faculty could receive a premium of €100,000 for hiring a female professor. The annual year report of the EUR states that transparency in the qualifications for professorial positions will be included in their policy. Also, a mentoring program for female associate professors was announced. In the academic year 2009-2010 the masterclass female career development took place at Woudestein campus for the first time. This course consisted of participating in cases and role plays and they received advice on how to negotiate, network and present themselves. So far, the course has been organized one time and was, according to Geske Dijkstra, long restrained by deans. Since 2005, the steering group diversity seeks to have more women and ethnic minorities enter higher ranked places in science. The steering committee is responsible for ensuring women the possibility to have a period of lesser teaching duties after maternity leave to catch up their time loss in research. This policy has now been introduced and is in a pilot program for the years 2011 and 2012.

Many of the male respondents believe women should not be disadvantaged by policies, nor should they be benefited or favored by them. Female respondents also share this view. The existence of objective standards concerning publication output can also benefit women, as long as they are transparent and objectively measurable. It is difficult to determine whether standards are objective because they are always colored by the interpretation of the research director. So in one sense, publication standards can be beneficial. But when it comes to promotion, there are other standards that are difficult to capture and located in the grey area of executive deans, which are very masculine standards. As it stands, the current policy seems aimed to train women in order to conform to male standards.

However, male respondents also refer to the sometimes discriminatory nature of the measures taken to encourage women in science. It so happens that men cannot apply for certain grants or jobs because they are men. A male UD of the psychology department said:

²⁴ 'Ik denk als er duidelijke richtlijnen zijn dat vrouwen daar meer baat bij hebben. Ik denk dat vrouwen meer baat hebben bij duidelijkheid dan bij maatregelen die ad hoc worden gedaan. En met duidelijkheid bedoel ik dat je een contract krijgt en een functioneringsgesprek, en wat daar dan meer in naar voren moet komen is de vraag wat wil je worden, uhd, gewoon de volgende stap, of hoogleraar? Als je dat wilt worden dan is dit wat je moet doen. En als je dat doet dan moet je het ook kunnen worden. En volgens mij is dat iets dat nog niet standaard bestaat. Maar dat zou misschien best goed zijn. Ik vind zelf ook niet dat vrouwen bevoordeeld moeten worden maar ik denk dat als het duidelijk is voor iedereen, dan hebben zowel mannen als vrouwen daar voordeel bij, maar vrouwen niet minder. Dus ik denk dat dat een goede ontwikkeling zou zijn.'

'Yeah and somehow I think it's good because people should have equal chances. But sometimes it bothers me that I think, that is a nice subsidy, but it is only accessible for women. I can't do anything with it. And that makes me wonder if it is really something women are disadvantaged with. What chance needs to be made up for?'²⁵

He continues:

'And I also think you have to ask yourself, is it really a problem? Why is it bad? Does it really matter? Actually it is nonsense because men and women are not equal. There will always be differences. Sometimes those will favor women and sometimes they will favor men.'²⁶

This is a relevant question because the same goes for ethnic minorities, for example there's the Mosaic subsidy by NWO.

4.4 Gendered symbols.

4.4.1. Language.

As the theory argues, language can produce gendered images. A male UD from the Sociology department referred to terms that are used to describe a promoter:

'Well, for example in Germany, they call a promoter a vati-professor, that is kind of like an intellectual father.'²⁷

However, he was the only one mentioning language as a factor of reproducing gendered images. Most respondents referred to this as the fact that men share more and are more likely to benefit each other than women.

²⁵ 'Ja en ergens vind ik dat ook wel goed want mensen moeten gelijke kansen krijgen. Maar soms stoort ik me er ook wel aan dat ik denk van potverdorie, er is weer een mooie subsidie maar die is alleen maar toegankelijk voor vrouwen. Daar kan ik zelf niets mee. En dan vraag ik me wel af is dit nou echt iets waar vrouwen mee benadeeld worden? Welke kans moet voor hen goedge maakt worden?'

²⁶ 'En ik denk ook dat je jezelf moet afvragen is het een probleem? Waarom is het erg? Maakt het echt wat uit? Eigenlijk is het onzin want mannen en vrouwen zijn niet gelijk. Dus zullen er altijd verschillen zijn. Soms zullen ze uitvallen in het voordeel van de vrouwen en soms in het voordeel van de man.'

²⁷ 'Nou ja, bijvoorbeeld in Duitsland noemen ze de promotor ook wel de vati-professor, dat is dan toch ook een beetje je intellectuele vader.'

4.5 Long story short.

Findings have indicated the increasing pressure to publish is disadvantaging women in science, because they experience more difficulties dealing with competition on the work floor. This promotes the difference in publication output between men and women, and therefore women have fewer career opportunities than men. Women's position within the home situation is equally detrimental; they experience negative consequences of traditional role patterns. Naturally, women give birth, but also when children grow up, they still account for most of the caring tasks. Not only are men and women presumed to fulfill different tasks, expectations differ when it comes to appearance and future plans as well. Men are presumed to be ambitious and women are often not, which leads individuals to view men as more likely to become professors than women.

Also, when it comes to networking and making oneself visible within the scientific field, I found many differences. Men actively work on their networks and make themselves visible for cooperation with colleagues, whereas women are perceived as pushy when they do so and therefore prefer to remain on the background.

Finally, the outcomes indicate the alleged existence of an old boys' network, is enough to cause displeasure among women which may affect their perception of their opportunity for career advancement

5. Conclusion.

5.1.1 Research question answered.

In the Dutch society, the current idea is that men and women receive equal opportunities and are capable of achieving equal goals. However, when we look at the higher ranks of science, there are hardly any women to be found.

Throughout the interviews I conducted it became clear the productivity puzzle isn't a puzzle of why men publish more than women, but one of career opportunities. I asked for input about publication output, but got input about the gender differences in career advancement. Rather than redirecting the conversations, as a qualitative researcher I chose to let the respondents tell me their personal stories in the way they perceived most appropriate to the research question.

These stories led me to the conclusion that the productivity puzzle is a dual issue. Firstly that the publication quotas placed on academics pressured scientists to publish as much as possible. As a result, not only did the quality of research diminish, but women also fell behind even more because they could not keep up with the demands of publication. Secondly, whether they are successful or not, there are many measures taken to get more women into the higher ranks of science.

5.1.2 Pressure to publish.

The most important finding regarding publication output focuses mainly on the increasing pressure to publish. This development was not expected by any theory, though causes quantity to overshadow the importance of quality, which is especially detrimental for women because they work more part time and have a harder time coping with the competitive character it gives science. This, in turn, causes women to experience more disadvantage from this development than men.

5.1.3 Gendered division of labor and gendered interpretations of one's position in the organization.

Even though men and women are supposedly equal, I still found stereotyping and traditional role patterns play an important role in academic careers. What bothered most women is that ambition is mostly attributed to men, not women. The image of the male respondents is that women are less career minded than they are. As the theory predicted, in reality women still carry most of the care giving tasks and they are disadvantaged by the fact that having children may keep them from being able to publish as much and often as men. Besides that, men seem to find it easier than women to internally attribute success which has a positive influence on the walk of their careers because it helps them to create networks and cooperation.

5.1.4 Gendered interaction and social selection.

One of the findings regarding the Glass Ceiling is that most female respondents believe in the idea of the existence of an old boys' network at the EUR. This perception is strong enough for them to feel discredited. Unclear guidelines on the one hand, equality and discriminatory measures on the other, provide mutual (unspoken) displeasure. Clear guidelines for promotion alone could solve a part of this problem.

Another finding is that women find it harder to manifest themselves in networks and the female respondents sometimes have the idea that their efforts concerning networking are perceived to be pushy. The respondents also point out that having an 'ambassador' is beneficial for one's scientific success because this person can introduce you to certain networks or research groups which would be difficult to access without an introduction. For men this occurrence is more usual because the male research culture is one of creating success and finding a successor to continue that contribution to science. It also seems that male academics have an easier or more natural time making themselves visible in the field than similarly talented women.

5.1.5 Concluding.

Coming back to Prpic (2002), this research can disprove her statement that functionally irrelevant characteristics such as gender, race, nationality or religion have no influence on one's professional position because the in-depth interviews have revealed gender differences still are apparent in academics. Her theory also argues men would spend more time researching and women would spend more time giving education. At the EUR, the division of research, education and administrative tasks are more or less the same for every academic because it is included in their contract. However, women seem to find it harder to say no to any task that is not performance-related.

On the other hand, theoretical predictions about networking, the division of labor, traditional role patterns, visibility in the scientific field and the old boys' network all turned out to influence one's academic career which leads me to conclude that differences in career possibilities between men and women can, for the bigger part, be explained by the gendered organization theory.

5.2 Reflections.

The theory of gendered organizations, combined with a carefully selected range of additional sociological theories to complement it, provided a new and more complete view on the productivity puzzle. This approach shed a light on the different factors that need to be understood in order to understand the complexity of the problem and the division of responsibility for the continuation of the issue. The university is responsible for making it impossible for an old boys' network to exist in the future. Questioning the old boys' network also made evident that misunderstandings appear due to different factors, such as ignorance and lack of communication between male and female employees. Factors such as pressure to publish show that not only the faculty's employees are responsible for gender inequality, quotas are as well. And finally, women are responsible for making themselves visible and to actively create a network in order to be more successful. The theory, in combination with triangulation of methods, provided a possible explanation as to why women publish less than men, as well as why this is so.

5.3 Recommendations.

During the interviews, most of the respondents talked about the measures that are taken to make it easier for women to enter the higher ranks of science. The EUR's year report of 2010 mentions qualifications for the position of professor need to be more transparent and they announced a mentoring program for women with career aspirations in academia. The Erasmus School of Economics has reserved two million euro's to speed up women's PhD tracks, and in 2009-2010, a master class female career development took place for female associate professors. Finally the

steering group diversity has been trying since 2005 to get women into higher scientific positions such as professor or associate professor. One of their efforts is introducing the opportunity for women to give less education for a certain period after maternity leave, to catch up with the loss of time in research.

At this point we can identify large numbers of very talented women in the social sciences faculty. But, for the reasons elaborate in this paper, they seem to get stuck in the lower ranks of science. However talented they are, once they get their PhD, the career progress stagnates due to a lack of networking or relatively low publication output. The respondents wonder if the taken measures are really effective, firstly because they seem to be very general and unactionable. For further research I would recommend to taking a closer look at the reasons why women do not often advance after reaching the PhD level or being an assistant professor. When we are able to clearly explain why this happens, it will become easier to come up with effective policy changes.

Once women do enter the higher ranks in academics, another problem appears; the old boys' network. However complicated this issue seems, a very simple change could bring the FSW closer to a solution. The dialogue on this subject should be opened up between both male and female employees and the management. In addition, it is important to provide clarity about the appointment processes for professors. Complete transparency may not be feasible, but clarity about the guidelines that are used in promotions would at this point provide improvement.

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