Reputation Game and Networking in Academia: Early Career Female Scholars as Organic and Strategic Networkers

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Bits&Bytes of the European Context...

- Different socio-economic-cultural context across countries!
- Strategy for equality between women and men 2010-2015
- Strategic engagement for gender equality 2016-2019
- European Commission (EC) Directives
- EC Communications
- EC Recommendations
- EC Reports
- Council Conclusions
- Policy in the making...
- She Figures 2003/2006/2009/2012 (Eurostat data)
- European Institute for Gender Equality (EU agency)
- EuroGender Network

Bits&Bytes of the European Context...

Figure 1. Proportions of men and women in a typical academic career, students and academic staff, EU-27, 2002/2006

Source: Education Statistics (Eurostat); WiS database (DG Research); Higher Education Authority for Ireland (Grade A)

Definition of grades:
A: The single highest grade/post at which research is normally conducted.
B: Researchers working in positions not as senior as top position (A) but more senior than newly qualified PhD holders.
C: The first grade/post into which a newly qualified PhD graduate would normally be recruited.

ISCED 5A: Tertiary programmes to provide sufficient qualifications to enter into advanced research programmes & professions with high skills requirements.
ISCED 6: Tertiary programmes which lead to an advanced research qualification (PhD).
Figure 1.1. Proportions of men and women in a typical academic career, students and academic staff, EU-27, 2002/2010

Source/More info: She Figures 2012
Bits&Bytes of the European Context...

Figure 2. Proportions of men and women in a typical academic career in natural science and engineering, students and academic staff, EU-27, 2002/2006

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**SET fields of education =** 400 Science, maths and computing + 500 Engineering, manufacturing and construction.

**SET fields of science =** Engineering and Technology + Natural Sciences.

*Source:* Education Statistics (Eurostat); WiS database (DG Research)
Figure 2.1. Proportions of men and women in a typical academic career in natural science and engineering, students and academic staff, EU-27, 2002/2010
Bits & Bytes of the European Context...

Figure 3. Proportion of women in grade A academic positions, 2002/2007

Source: Wi5 database (DG Research); Higher Education Authority for Ireland

Source/More info: She Figures 2009
Figure 3.1. Proportion of women in grade A academic positions, 2002/2010

Source/More info: She Figures 2012
Figure 4. Percentage of grade A staff among all academic staff by sex, 2007

Source: WiS database (DG Research); Higher Education Authority for Ireland (Grade A)

Source/More info: She Figures 2009
Figure 4.1. Percentage of grade A staff among all academic staff by sex, 2010

Source/More info: She Figures 2012
Figure 5. Proportion of female heads of institutions in the Higher Education Sector (HES), 2007

Source: WIS database (DG Research)
Source/More info: She Figures 2009
Figure 5.1. Evolution of the proportion (%) of women heads of institutions in HES, 2010 vs. 2014.
Figure 6. Proportion of women on boards in HES, 2007

Source: WiS database (DG Research)
Figure 6.1. Proportion of women on boards in HES, 2010

Source/More info: She Figures 2012
women are still under-represented in all sectors

no EU country where female wages are equal to men’s?!

gender pay gap - 25% (from 13% in Belgium to 33% in Cyprus)

Treaty of Rome/Article 119 (1957) established the principle of equal pay for equal work in EU

since 1975, a series of European Directives approved by the European Parliament have obliged Member States to transpose the principle of equal pay for equal work or work of equal value into their national legislative frameworks
Bits & Bytes of the European Context...EU-27 average

- 1/3 of European researchers are women (proportion falls to less than 1/5 and 1/6 in some countries)
- Initially women graduates outnumber their male colleagues
- 13% of institutions in the HES are headed by women
- An unbalanced representation of women and men in decision-making bodies - scientific and management boards that have a crucial impact on the orientation of research and funding (22% of women)
- The most important institutions, agencies and boards in the European scientific landscape are dominantly led and managed by men
**Bits & Bytes of the European Context...EU-27 average**

- **45%** of PhD holders are women
- **44%** of grade C academic staff are women
- **36%** of grade B academic staff are women
- **18%** of grade A academic staff are women
- **9%** of all university rectors are women

**Hazardous take-off**
- "sticky floor"
- difficulties in gaining access to the first levels of the academic career

**Hazardous continuity**
- "glass ceiling"
- difficulties in accessing the highest positions in the hierarchy

**“leaky pipeline”**
- the more we advance along the academic ladder, the less women we find
Interest for the study...why?

• three female colleagues and friends – ECW
• joint experience of European collaborative projects
• personal experience of borrowing and creating networks
• joint ‘adventure’ of personal and academic ‘growing-up’
• different educational and career paths that brought us to HE field
• cultural differences (Finland, Switzerland, Croatia)
• institutional “competitive horizons”
• international experience, mobility
• local/national vs. international
• shared interest in work-life balance
Research problem: networking, reputation, and symbolic capital

Networks - more or less durable linkages between academics that allow the flow of social capital

The degree of social capital possessed by an academic affects one’s opportunities to advance in the career trajectory (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 113-114; Burt 2000)

Symbolic capital as a game from which women are excluded (Bourdieu 1996/7)

Women as a minority in academia, networking builds reputation, prestige and symbolic capital (Burri 2008)

Academia is a reputation-based institution (Whitley 2003)

Reputation used under conditions of high uncertainty (Thompson 1967)
Research design and main findings

• exploratory study
• 2 group interviews with international ECW in social sciences (N=12)

Main findings:

• organic and strategic networking
• socialization process creates/influence strategic networking
• network access: work-based // attributed-based // mediated
• logic of instrumentality & logic of appropriateness
• strong differences on how ECW sense their networking in self-comparison to male (EC) researchers
ECW as organic networkers

- positive connotation of networking
- networking with peers and colleagues with whom one shares similar values and interest - peer-based reciprocity
- incremental activity
- networks arise through social means, research groups or collaborations established
- curiosity-driven, socially-driven
- idea of egalitarian
- helps to overcome ‘quiet desperation’, to help and be helped, to feel better, to create own (friendly) working space and platform
ECW as strategic networkers

- less positive conotation of networking
- ambiguity towards networking as a purposeful activity
- deliberate attempts to network with actors holding higher/powerful positions and prestige in order to advance one’s career
- the necessity of establishing networks of researchers in order to apply for (EU) funds appears to nuance the perceived negative features
- funding acquisition provides a sense of common enterprise towards a shared goal, thus liberating strategic networking from its individualistic traits, such as personal career progression, and adding a sense of collective endeavour benefitting a group of colleagues
- the longer in academia the more female scholars comply with the rules of the reputation game (socialization into the field)
- helps ECW to position themselves in the academic field
If I look behind the first year of my PhD, I did a lot of networking with my colleagues, other PhD students. [...] My first step was just to go to seminars and workshops. [...] After two years of my PhD I think I knew more or less all the PhD students in my faculty.

I've networked with my PhD fellows... informally and of course they were friends; but sometimes you also need to know somebody to help out, to advice you or whatever, just for socialization. It’s networking as well.
If you have a very well established supervisor or a very well established institution then you are much better off because when you need anything, partnerships or publishing, then if they see your affiliation or your supervisor you don't have any problems.[...] So if you want to be part of this cutting edge research you simply must be in a very good and very well established and very well-known and very famous network. If you are not there, you are out [...] If you are in a good university, then you somehow automatically become a part of it. It is much easier for you.
Networking is about getting to know useful contacts. It can range from just exchanges of ideas to introducing yourself to a potential employer (...) so, yeah it’s a strategy! I don't know to what extent I can separate how I embody that through my socialization, professional socialization process. So to what extent I am aware of the fact that there is a job insecurity, you don't know where you’re going to be next year and when you go to conferences where you introduce yourself to someone, you open up the possibility that at some point somebody says – well, would you be interested in coming to work with me?
My association with networking is a piece of advice I was given early on in my career that it is very important to network and I remember thinking at the time that it seemed so planned. [...] I think networking actually involves more planned, more directed approach, and it is about identifying people from whom you can benefit in some way. And I often find myself feeling almost awkward at conferences about meeting useful contacts. [...] I think networking for me is quite harsh.
I am not comfortable with that idea of getting to know someone only for specific purposes, to have lunch with someone at a conference or sit near someone just because I want something. I don't like that kind of meaning for networking.

For me [networking] is about making yourself visible. I don't often feel comfortable making myself visible in front of men, seniors academics and researchers. So I think that's something I bear in mind. And I also find as a woman I think about how I dress[...] whether I'll be taken seriously depending on how I look and how I talk. So I am definitely aware of the male gaze more. With women I feel much more comfortable.
I know it's there and I've seen research on young female scholars who are not taken seriously; but I just choose to ignore it, just literally. I mean, I know the evidence is there but I ignore it because I will not let this influence on the type of research I can make. I know if I want to get anywhere I have to produce quality work.
**Organic**

- differentiating or distancing from the mainstream rules
- challenging the notion that women don’t hold enough credibility for more autonomous types of networking
- contesting the rules and trying to establish an alternative set of rules for ‘playing the game’
- creating own rules in order to legitimise themselves and to establish agency for themselves
- “academic rebellion”

**Strategic**

- strategy of compliance with the established rules – women have to ‘borrow’ networks with access mediated by (male) seniors and/or institution
- accepting the dominant rules and strive to follow them by engaging in networking with established seniors in the field - seeking to legitimate their position
- “academic maturity”

To Be Continued...

- EuroAC qualitative data
- secondary data
- 488 interviews
- 8 countries: Austria, Croatia, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Poland, Romania, Switzerland
- around 60 per country