Career progression decisions: a life history study of female academics in a Russell Group University

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor of Education by

Carol Costello

August 2019

Acknowledgements

Abstract

Despite the UK's equality legislation meaning that women are entitled to the same chance as men to apply for top jobs, recent data shows that in academia, women do not apply or progress to the top of their career path in the same numbers as men. This qualitative study, based in the University of Liverpool, looked at the data from life history interviews with 19 women working in two subject area groupings – Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics and Medicine (STEMM) and Allied Health/non-clinical Medical Education (AHME). To try and understand the gap in career progression, Bourdieu's theory of practice and its concepts of capital, field, habitus and symbolic violence were used in the analysis to gain an understanding of the cultural norms and conventions of the social spaces the women inhabited, the effect these had on their disposition and outlook, the resources they possessed and were able to develop and use for the benefit of their careers and to examine experiences of inequality.

In the early years, the women's family lives shaped their characters, academic potential, educational achievement and choice and expectations of work. Women encouraged to study STEMM subjects at University built valuable academic capital and the mastery of their subject led them to view a research career as an obvious step. The women who went into allied health profession training were mainly influenced by their backgrounds to seek economic capital by way of a professional job and did well in the NHS. Finding they had a love of teaching, they mainly came into academia, not by choice, but as a consequence of government changes in allied health training.

Once in their academic jobs, the women working in AHME subjects lacked fit with the main field and habitus of a research institution and possessed the 'wrong' capital, affecting their promotion opportunities. Both sets of women were hindered by the gendered expectations visible in the University; taking up more of the teaching, student support and administrative work but more so those in AHME because of the structure of the University. Despite this many of the women were helped in their careers by their self-assured characters and persistent nature. Positive experiences of support and mentoring led to increased social capital and enabled the women to deal with the experiences of patriarchy and sexism they faced.

The value of this research lies in adding to the Bourdieusian body of knowledge on women's experiences in academia and in stimulating University leaders to think about what else they need to take into account in approaching the professoriate gender imbalance.

Key Words: Life history, female academic careers, patriarchy, Bourdieu, capital, habitus, field.

Table of Contents

List of Figures and Tables

List of abbreviations

AHME	Allied Health and non-clinical Medical Education
EdD	Doctor of Education
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
HE	Higher Education
HoD	Head of Department
HESA	Higher Education Statistics Agency
NSS	National Student Survey
PCF	Participant consent form
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PIS	Participant Information Sheet
RCUK	Research Councils UK
REF	Research Excellence Framework
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics
STEMM	Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics and Medicine
UoL	University of Liverpool
VPREC	Virtual Programme Research Ethics Committee

Chapter 1 – Introduction to the research

1.1 The purpose of the study and research questions

This study looked at the life-histories of a number of female academics working at the University of Liverpool (UoL) and the factors from their backgrounds and their life experiences which impacted on and influenced the decisions they made about their careers. The research aimed to consider the bearing which Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital may have had in respect of the women's 'fit' with their work environment. It also examined the effect of habitus on career decisions, considering the norms or ethos of the women's backgrounds (which shapes habitus) and whether these had set personal boundaries or otherwise on their aspirations and in what ways. The study sought to uncover the promotion expectations the participants had and whether assets they acquired in their life (such as academic qualifications) had an impact on those hopes.

Because of the study's location in the field and sub-fields of higher education, consideration of cultural capital as a determinant of academic capital and the relationship to actual or expected economic capital has been examined. The research aimed to establish the doxa of the field of higher education (HE), the unwritten rules of the field that the doxa generates, which may have affected the women's career trajectories

> The doxa refers to the fundamental assumptions and categories that shape intellectual thought in a particular time and place and which are generally not available to conscious awareness of the participants (Swartz, 1997, p. 232).

It has also pursued an understanding of the part the women may have played in reinforcing "existing structures of power" (Savigny, 2014, p. 806) in the field, and their marginalisation or disempowerment as a consequence of symbolic violence. According to Barrett (2015) symbolic violence makes the marginalised "complicit in their own domination by normalizing relations of power" (p. 6). Women may adopt certain dispositions; apply certain approaches; think, feel, speak, and act based on historical and/or cultural contexts in which inequality has appeared/continues to appear as natural. Their habitus is the structure by which their history is embodied in the present, but habitus is also affected by field (Bourdieu, 1977). Participation in a field shapes habitus and habitus has an effect on the behaviours which reinforce the field. A field where masculine models are seen as typical (as in higher

education) may also normalize feminine models, as what may be seen as the natural order of things in society is replicated in the field (Gander, 2019).

In order to gain an understanding of women's career trajectories and the decisions leading there, it is necessary to explore the connection between the personal and professional lives of those women, how they negotiate their way through the various social environments in their lives and the way in which those socialisation experiences affect career outcomes. The following main research question and sub questions were set to enable this exploration and the life-history interview method was chosen to collect the information and data:

How do the life experiences of female academics influence and impact upon their opportunities for career progression?

(i)   What decisions have the women made about their careers in academia; about promotion specifically and, why did they make those decisions?

(ii)   What factors in the lives of female academics influenced them when considering whether to apply for promotion?

(iii)   How and why have those factors impacted on the career progression decisions of those women?

1.2 The setting for the research

As this research is about the careers of female academics, the next few paragraphs refer to the context of the work environment in which the women's life stories were based, in which their work-life and careers have evolved, and describe the systems which underlie career progression. Context is important in life-history research because it helps move a life story from just that, a story, to a life-history. It sets key elements of the story in a time frame and helps create understanding of the story against the backdrop of the environment and climate in which experiences took place. Without this "life stories remain uncoupled from the conditions of their social construction" (Goodson, 2001, p.139), stories become flat and timeless and the identity of the person describing their history can seem shapeless without an understanding of the social relationships and cultural norms which helped form them (Sikes & Everington, 2004).

1.2.1 Women's career paths in general

There is a huge wealth of data on women's career progression: what helps and what hinders it, the choices women make and the things which influence those decisions. UoL's on-line library contains over 1000 journal articles on the subject, for studies carried out in the last 15 years alone. A search of library collections on the subject back to the 1970s, when UK equality legislation began its life, results in a significant increase in journal articles. Despite all of this academic evidence, the position on female careers has hardly changed. Forty years ago, if a woman had a career, she was expected to do the housework as well (Thomas, 1978). Recent studies also report on home-life constraints on women's careers: this is regardless of where the women are from or what their jobs are (see Tahir, Bashir & Kahn's study of female Pakistani dentists [2014] and Sperandio and Devdas's research with school Superintendents in the US [2015]). Another common feature in studies from the UK, Europe, North America and Asia on female careers is the impact that a life decision to have children has on women's work life, irrespective of the sector or qualification levels of the women. Women put the needs of their husbands and children first and are reducing their hours, taking leave, working in jobs they are overqualified for or even leaving their jobs to manage their family life (McKay, Ahmad, Shaw, Rashid, Clancy, David, Figueiredo & Quiñonez, 2016). Regardless of the family-friendly support in many European countries (Guerrina, 2005), the position of inequity in careers is not changing significantly or quickly.

1.2.2 Female academic careers and UK Higher Education

Despite the introduction of the Equal Pay Act 1970[1] and the Sex Discrimination Act 1975[2] (now superseded), which made it unlawful to discriminate between men and women on pay, terms and conditions and in employment (other than where there is a genuine occupational qualification or in respect of certain occupations), data from universities show that, over 40 years later, female academics fare less well than their male colleagues in the promotion stakes. The Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) in 2016/17 produced information which showed that over 40% of the total academic workforce are female yet only 24.6% of professors are women. Women seem well placed to step on the academic promotion ladder according to the President of the Higher Education Policy Institute as "Women get better degrees, they are more likely to get jobs and they are less likely to drop out. Women just do better than men"

---

[1] https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1970/41/enacted
[2] https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1975/65

(Matthews, 2014, n.p.) Women are completing PhDs in the same numbers as men (Rice, 2015) and enter the academic workforce as researchers in greater numbers than men (European Commission, 2012) but when they progress to lecturer, many stay at that level. Similarly, only a few move from professor into academic leadership roles. Burkinshaw (2015) calls this "the missing women conundrum" (p.3).

In 2005, the Athena SWAN charter[3] was launched, initially aimed at encouraging women in science, technology, engineering, mathematics and medicine (STEMM) to progress in their careers. Later it became a requirement for academic departments seeking National Institution of Health Research funding to hold a silver award and in 2015 the charter was expanded to cover gender equality work for non-academic staff, transgender staff and students and non-STEMM academic departments. One might have hoped for a considerable improvement in the picture of female academic careers as a consequence of the charter, but researchers are still commenting on the limited progress in this area for a variety of reasons. Women are being constrained because of child care and other caring responsibilities and are treated less favourably due to their sex or other gender related reasons (Ackers, 2008; Manfredi, Grisoni, Handley, Nestor & Cook, 2014). They also do not progress because they have lower confidence levels (Goodall & Osterloh, 2015). Universities are complacent about dealing with structural barriers to women's careers (Spurling, 1990), because there remains a dominant male view of what makes a successful career, such as no breaks away from the job and being research rather than teaching or student support focused (Knights & Richards, 2003). The work of female academics is assessed differently to that of male academics and women lower their sights in terms of promotion (Maurice, 2018). Clearly, some women are still able to stride over the hurdles that trip others up or we would not see any female professors or vice chancellors. The question remains, why is this the case for some and not for others?

The setting within which female academic careers are built is one that is complex and has not stood still. The move of allied health training from in-hospital training to university degree programmes occurred in the early 1990s (Alexanders & Douglas, 2016). A considerable expansion in HE access came from the Labour Government plans of 1999 (Blanden & Machin 2013). The introduction of the National Student Survey (NSS) in 2005 has affected rankings, reputation and the behaviour of universities (Langan, Scott, & Partington, 2017). The

---

[3] https://www.ecu.ac.uk/equality-charters/athena-swan/

expectations of students arising from the introduction and increase of student fees (Burgess, Senior & Moores, 2018) and the marketization of the sector (Barnett, 2004) has affected the work academics are required to perform and the way they do it. More extensive contact time, the provision of varied teaching and learning opportunities, better pastoral care (Minsky, 2016) and more help to maximise the occupational purchasing power of a degree (Giannakis & Bullivant, 2015) are all expectations that students have of their lecturers.

Success for UK universities has, since the early 1980s, been research focused (Gewirtz & Cribb, 2013), with REF outcomes influencing the allocation of funding, the setting of national research priorities and influencing the benchmarking of universities in various league tables. UK universities operate in an international/global market (Warwick, 2014) and whilst globalisation offers benefits to academic careers in terms of "exposure to international working environments" (Ackers, 2008, p.423), those gaining international dominance are usually those who can show they are leaders in research, science and pedagogy (Altbach, 2007).

1.2.3 Introduction to the University of Liverpool and female academics career progression

UoL is a research intensive institution in the North West of England and one of the founding members of the Russell Group of Universities. Renowned for excellence in research, an aim of the Russell Group[4] is to "continue to make social, economic and cultural impacts through their world-leading research". Research has been in the University's DNA since its inception, according to the report on its history which appears on its website.[5] The experiences which the participants in this study had of progressing their careers, were in the period when the University was led by male VCs who focussed on research excellence, improving research quality and being a global leader in research. The 2009-2014 strategic plan mentioned research ninety-two times with education and teaching references receiving only sixteen mentions. The previous strategy (2006-2009 Academic Strategy) was also limited in its plans to improve the delivery of education and teaching, with only two specific teaching related objectives out of eleven. On the appointment of its first female VC in 2015, Professor Dame Janet Beer attempted to address this research/teaching divide through the development of a new strategy.

---

[4] https://russellgroup.ac.uk/about/
[5] https://alumni.liv.ac.uk/alumni-website/about-us/history-of-the-University

Strategy 2026[6] gives clear prominence to outstanding learning and teaching and a supportive environment for students as well as research. It underpins the expectations that all staff in the University work to and forms the basis upon which the criteria for promotion are set.

The University considers itself to be an equal opportunities employer. Its published policies on equal opportunities, family friendly provision and fair pay arrangements demonstrate its pledge to fairness and equity for all staff and its YouTube[7] videos on diversity and equality evidences this in a public-facing commitment. Professor Beer is personally renowned for her commitment to equality and diversity and was awarded a Damehood for her services to equality in the New Year's Honours list in 2018. Since joining the University, she has been instrumental in UoL achieving the largest improvement in the proportion of female professors in the country, according to the *Times Higher Education* (2017)[8], up from 16.5 percent in 2012-13 to 27.4 percent in 2015-16. Partly this has been achieved by women-only development sessions (Insight into Academic Promotion) which she commissioned and through the commitment to the Athena SWAN charter which she has encouraged. Whilst the increase in female professors in UoL is obviously a positive picture, the organisation still has a considerable way to go to achieve parity between men and women in academic roles other than at lecturer level, as demonstrated in the chart below.

Figure A: Academic staff category/numbers by gender, 2019

---

[6] https://www.liverpool.ac.uk/strategy-2026/#start
[7] https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC9dA9C6cGH9HinhdE9HbA_Q
[8] https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/one-in-three-uk-universities-going-backwards-on-female-professorships

Female

185 Senior Lecturer

330 Lecturer

36 Reader

116 Professor

Male

305 Senior Lecturer

326 Lecturer

58 Reader

329 Professor

Staff Type
- Lecturer
- Professor
- Reader
- Senior Lecturer
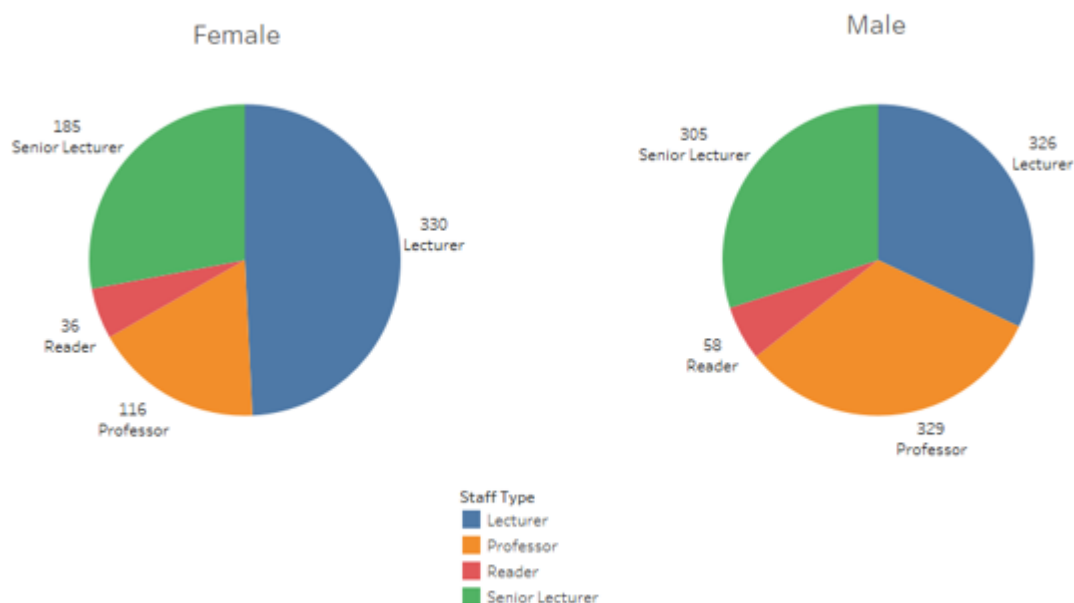
Source: University of Liverpool staff records

1.2.4 The route to promotion in UoL

Academic promotion in UoL can be achieved through two routes: the annual promotion round or through application for a Headship or a Dean post. The promotion process enables academic staff to make an application to move to the next level in the hierarchy (lecturer, senior lecturer, reader or professor). The process and criteria are detailed on the University's Human Resources website with separate criteria being available for those staff on teaching and research or teaching and scholarship career paths and those employed on research only or university teacher contracts. The present system allows staff to put forward a case for promotion without manager support and for a manager to put forward a case on an employee's behalf. In previous processes, staff were discouraged from putting in an application without manager support. Applicants must show how they meet the criteria set for each academic level, but should also bring to the committee's attention any circumstances that need to be taken into account such as periods of maternity, paternity or adoption leave or long term ill health or disability which may have had an impact on them meeting all of the criteria. Each Faculty has a panel which considers applications in their area. Applicants attend the meetings to talk about their

application and answer questions. Feedback is given to applicants who are not successful, to aid discussion on further development that may be needed and for future applications.

Head of Department and Dean vacancies are also filled by application and interview. Posts are advertised widely (inside and outside of the University) and the criteria for the job are carefully considered so as to encourage as wide a range of applicants as possible. The VC plays a key role in the recruitment and aims to seek a gender balance shortlist for all posts (although this is not always possible). Dean roles are permanent and Headships have a five year tenure with the post holders retaining an academic post if the tenure is not renewed. Previously leadership roles were filled internally, with professors in the department being asked to express an interest. This usually resulted in the professors in the department 'taking turns'. With fewer women having reached the professorial level, this restricted the number of women in leadership posts.

1.2.5 The help which women in academic roles may need

The notion of being helped in an academic career is not straightforward. One might expect that academics can progress in their careers, providing they know the rules of promotion and can evidence that they meet them. Whilst an organisation's rules of promotion are likely to be written down in the staff handbook and published during the cyclical promotion round, people may also need help to understand the unwritten rules of the field they are working in. Alongside the formal processes, there may be "silent cues [that] condition one's disposition to practice" (Costa, 2016, p.997), that are assumed but not necessarily spoken about, go unquestioned but are taken for granted and lead to a way of operating in the field which gets rewarded.

Women often struggle with the current rules of academic success (grants and publications) because they apply for less research funding and write less and this picture is made worse because the demands of the Research Excellence Framework (REF). There is increased pressure on academics to contribute quality research outputs and impact (Whitchurch & Gordon, 2010) because of link this has to the reputation of their university and the opportunities it creates to access greater levels of research funding. Women may, therefore, be disadvantaged because of their traditionally lower academic yield (Harley, 2003) and preference for team research and shared outputs (Reay, 2004a). Research is not the only form of capital in the academic field, however. Floyd & Dimmock (2011) and Floyd (2012) highlight the managerial and strategic leadership forms of academic capital needed to run HEIs. This is an area that also tends to be male-dominated (Angervall, Beach & Gustafsson, 2015). Excellence in teaching

and student support is also essential for universities to meet the requirements of the Teaching Excellence Framework[9] (Sander, Stevenson, King, & Coates, 2010), although to date, this has had a lower reputational impact and has not really influenced the level of income available to universities.

The range and volume of capital needed for a successful career can, therefore, be considerable, as well as understanding the weight given to each type of capital in the promotion round (Harter, Schaur & Watts, 2015). Women may need help to become and stay independently research active and in managing their teaching workload so they have more time to research (Gibney, 2017). Support which enables leadership capabilities (Morley, 2013) or to gain teaching awards for the quality of their teaching, such as those offered by the Higher Education Academy,[10] may be needed. Traditionally, staff may get help from meetings with colleagues and managers. This help would appear to be needed even more now with the increasing complexity of expectations and demands on the sector (Bunce, Baird & Jones, 2017; Money, Nixon, Tracy, Hennessy, Ball & Dinning, 2017) yet it may be under challenge. Pressure on delivering outputs in teaching and research may reduce time available for informal staff get-togethers and a much greater level of competition between colleagues (Hoskins, 2015) may reduce the level of support on offer. With academic Heads having a greater monitoring, critiquing and recording role, there may be less time to support employees in discussing career advancement (Drew, 2006).

With the gendered division of tasks that appears to be prevalent in the field (Fox, 1985 in Kwiek, 2018) women may choose to act in ways that develop career capital which has less value in the organisation. Help with career progression based on getting to professor level or beyond is not what everyone wants, however, and women in particular "use a range of internal and intangible criteria… to define career success on their own terms" (Sturges, 1999, p.245.) Career success may mean having social capital from connection or networks and being part of a team (Russo, Kelly & Deacon, 1991) or relate to gaining experience, self-control and confidence (Sturges, 1999).

---

[9] https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/teaching-excellence-framework-factsheet
[10] https://www.heacademy.ac.uk/

1.3 The researcher's personal position and genesis of the study

This research is about women, work and career. The beliefs that I have about these three elements come from my own upbringing (white working class), my job (HR Director in the institution at the centre of this study) and my own experiences (I have worked my way up the hierarchy in a number of organisations, from a clerical trainee to the top job in my profession). My views and ideas are also influenced by the commitment that I have to UoL as my employer, to the values and objectives underpinning its plans and actions and, as one of the most senior people managers in the organisation, to wanting our staff to have a great work experience and the opportunity to progress in their jobs.

My personal biases stem from my upbringing. Born to working class parents who did not have an O-level between them, in a poor seaside town of the North West of England, my career intentions have been heavily influenced by my family's social position. I was intelligent enough to gain entry to the local convent grammar school and my school days were enjoyable but with no other focus than that set by my mother to 'get a good job' so I could 'pay board' for living at home – bringing much-needed cash into the family household. No-one in my family had been to university and this was not an expectation for me or a wish of my own. Instead, in line with my family background conditioning and my educational capital of two A-levels, I got a job with a well-paying public authority and worked my way through the ranks, moving organisations and locations until I eventually reached Director level, in an FE college, at the age of 30. I view myself as coming from relatively humble beginnings and I am very proud of my achievements, seeing myself as a working class success story. I studied for my professional qualifications, part-time, at the start of my career. These qualifications were essential in supporting the rise through the ranks as they provided professional knowledge for my professional practice. My education since (an MA and this doctoral programme) has also been carried out on a part-time basis whilst working. The latter programmes have been for my own personal interest, have had no impact on my career but rather, have been solely to add to the 'working class girl made good' success story.

My own view is that a successful career means achieving a leadership role and being a high earner but this success does not have to rely on having a degree or higher academic qualifications. I acknowledge, however, that having a PhD is usually crucial for an academic role (Leeb, 2004), as it prepares an individual for academic scholarship. The meaning which

the Cambridge Dictionary[11] gives to the word 'career' is that it is a job or series of jobs for which a person is trained and in which they can progress in terms of responsibility and financially. Career success has also been talked about in these terms (i.e. a job with earnings potential and the ability to move into a more senior role) for some time (see Judge, Cable, Boudreau, & Bretz, 1995 and more recently Kraimer, Greco, Seibert & Sargent, 2019). Ng, Eby, Sorensen, & Feldman (2005), in their study of careers more generally, agree that the number of promotions someone has is a fair gauge of career success yet they disagree with my view about academic qualifications not being essential, highlighting that women are more likely to need to produce evidence of their education credentials to assist them in getting promotion. Others describe occupational success/a meaningful career in other more subjective ways, for example having a sense of worth, feelings of competence and confidence (Spinelli-De-Sá, Lemos & Cavazotte, 2017) but this is usually mentioned alongside more seniority and money. Kraimer et al (2019) also indicate that salary increases are an indicator of doing well in an academic profession: however, like their male counterparts, women's academic career success often comes down to research prowess (Leahey, Crockett & Hunter, 2007) and generally, unlike their male colleagues, their careers can be negatively affected by parenthood (Crabb & Eckberg, 2014).

My approach to seeing a career as one which offers opportunities to progress up the hierarchy and earn more money is not, therefore, an unusual one. This is framed, however, by my job not being an academic one and my personal circumstances of not having children. I lack, therefore, a full appreciation of the demands of an academic role and also what is involved in achieving a work and family life balance and how this affects the decisions which women make about their jobs, although I do hypothetically understand both.

In reflecting on the potential assumptions which arise from my institutional role and the way in which the role aligns with the mission of the organisation, I have a number of thoughts. The University's people strategy[12] which stems from the University's main strategy (Strategy 2026)[13] has a number of public commitments about equality and fairness. Initially, as a consequence of the Vice-Chancellor's intent to address the gender imbalance in senior

---

[11] https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/career
[12] https://staff.liverpool.ac.uk/our-university/strategy/people-strategy/
[13] https://staff.liverpool.ac.uk/our-university/strategy/

posts[14], the work of my department was focused on enabling all women to climb the career ladder. What emerged, as a consequence of my work as HRD and throughout this study, is an understanding that a successful career means different things to different women. A view of success can be affected by many things including the opportunity offered to balance family and to undertake aspects of a role that create personal satisfaction (rather than professional kudos).

My position in the institution has given me privileged access to participants for this study. It is appropriate to say that I had more in common with one set of participants than the rest. Having worked myself for the public sector for many years, I felt that I had a greater connection to a number of the participants who have come into academia from practice roles in the NHS. I suspect that I had more of an affinity with their stories (especially as many of them talked about their working class backgrounds) than with the life experiences of those who came through an academic route, a path I am not familiar with. It is possible that my tacit familiarity may have led to a greater reliance on assumption rather than seeking to acquire knowledge through clarification or interpretation (Beckmann & Goode (2014).My antidote to this was to meet with the participants, to share my thoughts with them and to seek their engagement with my findings.

Finally, my position in this research has been affected by the fact that as a senior manager in the institution, I am expected in my job to find solutions to workplace-based problems. As a practitioner researcher, this was also a focus for my research, so I saw myself in both roles whilst undertaking the research. An expression of my intent (Taylor, 2011) can be seen in the question "What might UoL do to assist in addressing the gender imbalance at SL/Reader and Professor level": a research question purely focused on action needed in the University. This shared position should not be seen as unusual as the two roles (problem solving leader and practitioner researcher) are closely related. As Llopis (2013, n.p.) says

> the best leaders are the best problem solvers. They have the patience to step back and see the problem at-hand through broadened observation; circular vision. They see around, beneath and beyond the problem itself. They see well-beyond the obvious. The most effective leaders approach problems through a lens of opportunity.

Similarly, practitioner researchers are expected to "take a deep… approach to learning" and "see matters in a different way" (Taylor, 2007, p.163); "develop[ing] new ways of

---

[14] https://www.liverpool.ac.uk/hr/diversityandequality/pay-gaps/

seeing/theorizing the world" (Reason & Bradbury, 2002, p. 155). The use of life history in this study offered the opportunity to see the problem of fewer female academics in senior positions differently: to view "the link between an individual life and the… economic structures that shape that life" (Watson, 1993, p.415). University economic structures which shape working life include the position of funding for teaching which is relatively fixed and of research funding which is neither static in level nor easy to obtain. As such, possible solutions to the differential in male and female progression have to bear in mind the inherent differential in the academic funding system and the life experiences that impact on access to this system.

The genesis of the study came from the work I am involved in in my normal daily activity as the HR Director for UoL. For the eight years I have held the post, I have reported to the University's Remuneration Committee on the annual outcomes of the academic promotion round and have provided an analysis of how the University compares with other HEIs in terms of the numbers of women at each academic job level and their pay rates. This has stimulated discussion on the reasons why there are fewer females in the job levels above that of lecturer. In attempting to respond to the Committee's queries, I have reported on the actions taken by the University in seeking equality and tackling discrimination. These include offering entitlement to flexible working, carers leave, training and development and providing coaching and mentoring. In view of the findings of research mentioned above, one might expect that these actions would make a difference in supporting the careers of women by tackling the obstacles so often referred to. However, although in more recent promotion rounds there has been an increase in the number of women applying to get promoted, this has not been in the numbers needed to make a difference. I have discussed the position of there being fewer female professors with a number of female networks across the University and have been given much support for the issue being the focus of a research project.

In my work, I also came across some research published by the academic union, UCU (2012). In this research the union were seeking to ascertain the size of the gender and race pay gap within the professoriate. They described the figures they uncovered as "quite shocking" (p.1), with very few women reaching the highest level despite the number of women in the academic workforce and those that had reached the level of professor earning on average 6% less than their male colleagues. They reported on the work being done by individual universities to tackle female and race/ethnicity under-representation but commented that, because there appeared to be no obvious reason for women not to get to the top academic level, "Something else must be going on". (p. 4). In UoL, policies and practices aimed at supporting the progression of female

academics also appear to have had limited impact, so understanding what that *something else* might be became the crux of this research. Taking a joint working approach with the participants in this study I have sought to expose those things in women's lives that might be 'blockers'. If, as Bourdieu suggests, a person's habitus can lead to them imposing constraints on themselves, then exposing such things may help other individuals to assess if the same applies to them. It is important for UoL to consider what might be done to help female academics to overcome the obstacles that appear to be getting in the way of them reaching the professoriate, if they aspire to do so.

1.4 The significance of the study

The problem at the heart of the study suggests two reasons for undertaking such research. The first is the concern for social justice and the second is the economic benefit achieved through having a diverse workforce.   In terms of economic benefit, much has been made by the private sector of the benefits of having gender diversity at a senior level. Hunt, Layton, & Prince (2015) reported that for every ten percent increase in gender diversity, earnings before interest, tax, depreciation and amortization, known as EBITDA, which is a measure of a company's operating performance, rose by 3.5%. Forbes Insights (2011) commented that "among companies with more than $10 billion in annual revenues, 56% strongly agreed that diversity helps drive innovation." A Director of one of the UK's largest financial and consultancy companies and major audit partner to the HE sector said "because of the enormous motivational impact of seeing people make it to the top irrespective of gender or any other difference" diversity is powerful (Bush**,** 2013). Gender imbalance in senior posts in HE suggests that the sector is missing out on some significant benefits, so identifying what might be needed to address this is a useful contribution.

The worth of this research comes from its difference to other studies. Unlike others that have focused on experiences of senior women in their academic roles (Burkinshaw, 2015; Manfredi et al., 2014), this study has engaged a cross section of participants at different levels. Instead of projects that have focused on more recent experiences in women's careers (Angervall, 2018; Penney et al., 2015), the women in this study were asked to think and talk about their lives, from early childhood to the current day, to identify what has helped or hindered their career decisions. In doing so, the research has captured information on background, family, social, and educational experiences from women at different levels in the institution and in different subject areas, not just workplace experiences. An attempt has been made to understand the

complex, varied and sometimes historic reasons why women may not apply for or achieve promotion so that a different perspective on gender inequality in the academic workplace may be offered and practical workplace actions developed to address the impact of early life experiences on later life careers.

Although not a novel result for a piece of life history research, the significance of "empathic intimacy between the interviewer and the informant" (Nite, 2014, p.123) in this study has enabled a joint effort of getting a shared understanding of the meaning of certain events and how these have affected a women's job path. In describing elements of those lives and their consequences, this might allow other female academics to look at their own experiences, identify the impact this may have for them and what they might change to influence the next steps in their job plan. The research also contributes to knowledge in the field of higher education in that it looks at the lives of women at different levels of the academic hierarchy in one research-based HEI. This may prompt researchers in different types of Universities here in the UK or elsewhere to think about the usefulness of a similar study in teaching-led organisations. Whilst Manfredi et al. (2014) point to a lack of role models as a barrier to reaching the pinnacle of an academic career, this research has involved interviewing those in senior roles who are the role models for others, as well as those in lower level posts. The descriptive presentation of the interviews means that features that have helped senior women can be easily identified, enabling the use of success factors in the positive encouragement of other women. This is in contrast to those studies which have focused mainly on the hindrances to female academic careers (Bingham & Nix, 2010; Bonawitz & Andel, 2009).

There are two final points to be noted. The first is that the problem explored in this research is not just a UoL problem. Despite all of the opportunities in the sector, fewer women work in senior academic positions and, when they do, they earn less pay than their male counterparts. The 2015/16 gender pay gap data for professors was reported by UCU as 5.9% for the Russell Group and 6.5% for other pre-1992 universities[15]. The second is that whilst this study is one that focuses on gender, the use of Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977) as the theoretical framework for this research also helps to uncover whether the disparity in the career performance of women in academia is due to difference in class, or class-based habits and capital, and how these are viewed in the HE workplace. The information gleaned from this

---

[15] https://www.ucu.org.uk/genderpay

study could, therefore, be used by other organisations to prompt questions about the impact of early and ongoing life experiences on careers for the women in their institution.

1.5 An introduction to the participants in this study

This study looked at the lives of nineteen women. To aid the reading of this thesis and the ability to follow their stories, using Hoskins' (2013) model as a basis, Table A provides a brief vignette of each of the participants. What this shows is that the participants were mixed in terms of background, age and ethnic origin. It is noted that all but three of the female academics in this study were white. Two STEMM participants came to the UK from the Middle East and one AHME came from a mixed Asian/White family in the UK. The dominant socio-economic group of the women's families was AB – managerial/professional, although a number in the interview reported their parents as coming from a working class background but aspiring middle class. There were more on teaching and research contract types which is not unexpected in a research institution and a larger number of longer serving women (over 15 years) in the group. In contrast to the supposition that fewer female academics apply for promotion, it can be seen from the table that in this group of participants, this was not the case. Only 3 women had never applied for promotion as academics, with a quarter of the group apparently willing to keep applying (4 or more times).

Table A: A brief vignette of each participant

Respondent pseudonym	Brief vignette including academic post, employment background. STEMM/AHME, career path, number of years as an academic, number of times applied for promotion	Social classification of family[16] and class description (if given)	Ethnic group[17]
Pat	Reader. Joined UoL after a post doc in the US following a PhD in the UK. STEMM. Teacher and Research career path. 10 years as an academic. Applied twice for promotion, successful on both occasions.	Higher and Intermediate Managerial/ Administrative/Professional Occupations (AB).	White: English/Scottish/ Northern Irish (NI)/Irish
Lisa	Reader. PhD and post doc in US followed by a move to UK with partner, short term work in UoL before further post doc and then academic role. STEMM. Teaching and research career path. 15 years as an academic. Applied four times for promotion, successful on three occasions.	Managerial/Professional (AB). Mother described as upper middle class.	White: Other
Keitha	Senior Lecturer (SL). Came into academia in UoL after a career as an allied health professional, teaching and leadership of NHS college. AHME. Teaching and Scholarship career path. 25 years as an academic. Has not applied for an academic promotion (came in as an SL)	Skilled manual occupations (C2). Working class family.	White: English/Scottish/NI/Irish
Trish	Senior Lecturer. Came into academia in UoL after a career as an allied health professional and teaching in NHS college. AHME. Teaching and Scholarship career path. 25 years as an academic. Applied once and promoted to SL.	Skilled manual occupations (C2). Working class family.	White: English/Scottish/NI/Irish
Chris	Professor. PhD and post doc at UoL. Academic roles in another university before returning to UoL. AHME. Teaching and Scholarship. 23 years as an academic. Applied five times for promotion (across the two universities), unsuccessful once.	Skilled manual occupations (C2). Working class family.	White: English/Scottish/NI/Irish

---

[16] http://www.nrs.co.uk/nrs-print/lifestyle-and-classification-data/social-grade/

[17] https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/ethnic-groups

(Continued)

Respondent pseudonym	Brief vignette including academic post, employment background. STEMM/AHME, career path, number of years as an academic, number of times applied for promotion	Social classification of family[12] and class description (if given)	Ethnic group[13]
Jamie	Lecturer. PhD and post doc in UoL. Returned to UoL after period in private sector. STEMM. Teaching and Research career path. 22 months as an academic. Has not applied for promotion.	Supervisor, Clerical and junior managerial/administrative/professional occupations (C1). Working class	White: English/Scottish/NI/Irish
Julie	Professor. Became an academic after studying part time for a PhD as a Technician at UoL, followed by post doc. STEMM. Teaching and Research career path. 18 years as an academic. Applied five times for promotion, successful on four occasions.	Managerial/Professional (AB). Working class family.	White: English/Scottish/NI/Irish
Frances	Reader. Adult Education and OU Tutor before first Lecturing post. UoL second academic post. AHME. Teaching and Research career path. 25 years as an academic. Applied twice for promotion, successful both times.	Managerial/Professional (AB). Working class but became middle.	White: English/Scottish/NI/Irish
Amy	Senior Lecturer. Nursing career, supported to gain a degree and Masters, leading to opportunity to research and then lecture at UoL. AHME. Teaching and Research career path. 19 years as an academic. Applied once for promotion.	Managerial/Professional (AB). Working class but became middle.	White: English/Scottish/NI/Irish
Mary	Senior Lecturer. Allied Health career and leadership of an NHS CPD centre before entering academia. UoL second academic post. AHME. Teaching and Scholarship career path. 8 years as an academic. Has not applied for promotion (came in as an SL).	Managerial/Professional (AB). Middle class.	White: English/Scottish/NI/Irish
Stevie	Lecturer. PhD into private research, post doc into lecturing. Worked in three other Universities. AHME. Teaching and Scholarship.25 years as an academic. Has not applied for promotion.	Managerial/Professional (AB). Working class but became middle.	White: English/Scottish/NI/Irish

_____

[12] http://www.nrs.co.uk/nrs-print/lifestyle-and-classification-data/social-grade/
[13] https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/ethnic-groups

Respondent pseudonym	Brief vignette including academic post, employment background. STEMM/AHME, career path, number of years as an academic, number of times applied for promotion	Social classification of family[12] and class description (if given)	Ethnic group[13]
Roberta	Professor. PhD and post doc in another Russell Group University. First lecturing post at UoL. STEMM. Teaching and Research. 25 years as an academic. Applied three times for promotion and was successful on each occasion.	Skilled manual occupations (C2). Working class family.	White: English/Scottish/NI/Irish
Marie	Reader. Medical training, medical practice then clinical academic at UoL. STEMM. Teaching and Scholarship. 8 years. Applied twice for promotion, successful both times.	Managerial/Professional (AB).	Other ethnic group
Candy	Reader. PhD and post doc in Europe. First academic post in UoL. STEMM. Teaching and Research. 10 years as an academic. Applied twice for promotion, successful both times.	Managerial/Professional (AB).	White: other
Cara	Senior Lecturer. PhD, teaching asst. and lecturer at UoL. STEMM. Teaching and Scholarship. 6 years as an academic. Applied twice for promotion, from teaching assistant to lecturer to SL.	Managerial/Professional (AB). 'Higher standing'	Other ethnic group
Sandy	Senior Lecturer. PhD in US, post doc in Europe. First academic post at UoL. STEMM. Teaching and Research. 4 years as an academic. Applied once and promoted from lecturer to SL.	Managerial/Professional (AB).	White: other
Jean	Senior Lecturer. Came into academia in UoL after a career as an allied health professional, part-time research and teaching in University/NHS centre. AHME. Teaching and Scholarship career path. 16 years as an academic. Applied three times for promotion, successful twice.	Semi-skilled and unskilled manual occupations, unemployed and lowest grade occupations (DE). Working class family.	Mixed/multiple ethnic groups.

[12] http://www.nrs.co.uk/nrs-print/lifestyle-and-classification-data/social-grade/

[13] https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/ethnic-groups

Respondent pseudonym	Brief vignette including academic post, employment background. STEMM/AHME, career path, number of years as an academic, number of times applied for promotion	Social classification of family[12] and class description (if given)	Ethnic group[13]
Lou	Professor. PhD and post doc in US, post doc in UK and joined UoL as Lecturer. STEMM. Teaching and Research. 29 years as an academic. Applied three times for promotion.	Supervisory/Clerical (C1). Working class family.	White: English/Scottish/NI/Irish
Angela	Reader. Came into academia in UoL after a career as an allied health professional, part-time research and teaching in University/NHS centre. AHME. Teaching and Research career path. 18 years as an academic. Applied three times for promotion.	Managerial/Professional (AB).	White: English/Scottish/NI/Irish

[12] http://www.nrs.co.uk/nrs-print/lifestyle-and-classification-data/social-grade/

[13] https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/ethnic-groups

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

As this thesis is based on a life-history study of female academics, this literature review looks first at life experiences, situations or circumstances, in and out of work, that contribute to women entering academia. This chapter also covers contextual information on the factors in the academic environment which help or hinder women along the way.

2.1 Early life factors influencing entry into an academic career

There is an expectation if not a requirement in a research institution that an academic career requires a successful research education background (Angervall, 2018), but a young person's academic potential is shaped very early on in life. Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992) report that "inclination" and "ability… are socially and historically constituted"" (p.118.) Reay (2018) argues that universities are the purveyors of higher level education for middle class young people, such that working class people rarely have the cultural capital (the language, understanding, academic approach which translates into the habitus) and the credentials for entry and/or fit, especially in the old established institutions. As such universities reinforce a differential access to education and a differential access to good careers. Academia, which usually requires an extended university education, could therefore be seen as a middle class career only accessible by those from middle class backgrounds.

Mothers, fathers and other relatives can facilitate or restrict the range of roles a women might choose (Greenbank 2009). Careers may be restricted by families controlling financial support (Shumba & Naong, 2013) meaning that those who have families who are unable to give them the economic support necessary for extended academic study are less likely to go to university or undertake courses that are longer than the standard three year degree programme. The socio-economic status and cultural background of parents can influence when their children work (post school or post university) and what they work in (Mathers & Parry, 2009).

Career selection is also reinforced by the social order and structure of a young person's family environment shaping "the individuals we are and the individuals we become" (Reay, 1998, p.259). Career choices arise from the level of cultural and economic capital possessed by a family and the logic of the familial social field which "tends to impose its own logic on the other fields" (Bourdieu, 1985, p.724). Family members are socialised towards certain expectations of what may be possible in terms of work, along the lines of a sense of limits or a range of opportunities (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014). Bloomer & Hodkinson (2000) suggest that

career choices can therefore be predicted on the basis of gender and class and this is particularly the case in science, where middle class young women are encouraged to see a science career as an option and disadvantaged young women "feel science is irrelevant to their lives" (Browne & Burns, 2013, n.p.)

Literature relating to parental influence of women choosing an academic career appears, however, to be limited. This is especially the case in allied health academia. A study by Borges, Navarro & Grover (2012) indicates that parents who are lecturers may encourage children doing medical training to use this in academia, confirming that someone may select an academic career if they know about the role from someone who already works in the area and have an appropriate level of cultural capital and an academic habitus.

Other studies about roles which can lead to or are linked to academia (but not specifically about academia) share insights into family influences on women entering related posts. Ing (2014) studied parental impact on careers in STEM and found that parental support combined with engagement with peers and teachers in schools helps the attainment of careers in STEM. Knowledge about STEM careers suggests a level of familial cultural capital and parental engagement with education as being necessary to support women into STEM careers, but women also need the cultural capital to enter. It is reasonable to conclude that female STEMM academics will have had an early scientific and/or mathematical interest which will have been encouraged and supported at home. Kleanthous & Williams (2013) describe how a mathematical habitus is developed through family 'inculcation'.

I found no studies related to early encouragement into allied health academic careers as the move tends to occur when people have been working as practitioners in a clinic environment (Cabatan, Grajo, Sana, 2019). However, Wu, Low, Tan, Lopez & Liaw (2015) found that entry into health professions such as nursing occurs on the basis of encouragement from a relative already working in the profession rather than on the basis of academic study. Those moving from working as a health professional into health academia, without prior extended academic study, may therefore be at a disadvantage because they are likely to have limited knowledge about academic careers and may not have the preparatory training through a research degree.

2.2 Factors that hinder an academic career for women

In early career

In the run up to becoming an academic, moving from PhD through post-doctoral work and gaining tenure, there appear to be many barriers for women. Reay (2004a, 2000) talks about the ranks of contract researchers (hitherto referred to as post docs) being densely populated with women and being exploited by principal investigators (PIs) who get them to do the "legwork and the footwork' (2000, p.15) but give them little credit for the final output from the research, limiting their development of academic capital of value to their future career. This experience and effect on capital development is then exacerbated if women are later encouraged to move into work in subject areas where they do less research (Angervall, Beach & Gustafsson, 2015). Women may, therefore, be excluded from a successful academic career, by the actions of others.

However, evidence provided by the Russell Group (2013) to the House of Commons Science and Technology Select Committee Inquiry into Women in STEM careers indicates that women also exclude themselves. According to the Russell Group, women in general find the temporary nature of post doc contracts, the early career competitiveness and long-hours environment of academe a problem. Such roles also usually coincide with starting a family. This means that highly competitive environments such as STEM see fewer women engaging or staying in the subject areas and so fewer women are available as role models for others. The knock-on effect is that there is less woman-to-woman early career support and so fewer women entering and progressing. Walker & Yoon (2017) were not so negative about teaching work and insecure research posts, finding these helpful in developing the academic habitus, but without the right sort of early life and career support to have success in research grant applications and publications as well, in other words, "successful capital conversion" (Ronnie, 2015, p. 270), the academic career is much harder.

Being mobile… or not

There are many benefits to being mobile as an academic and there appears to be an expectation of mobility at the early career stage and beyond (Penney et al., 2015; Russell Group, 2013). The benefits include greater opportunities to secure grants, become research leaders and secure permanent posts (McAlpine, 2016; Penney et al., 2015). Gaining respect as an academic is also viewed as being more easily achieved through mobility (Fox & Faver, 1981) because of the

opportunities it creates for reputation building and greater knowledge production (Azoulay, Ganguli & Zivin, 2017). Bauder, Hannan & Lujan's research supports this (2017). They say that international experience is useful for an academic's standing because it enables capital formation through the perception of enhanced research capability and academic reputation from "brain gain and brain circulation" (p.2). The physical movement of staff across country boundaries benefits academic careers because universities see this as a way in which academics make a contribution to the international standing of the organisation (Finkelstein, Walker & Chen, 2013). Mobility increases academic standing through network forming and exposure to different practices and cultures (Burdușel & Oprean, 2014).

The mobility expectation does not seem to be the same in allied health areas, however. Students in these areas tend to do international placements to gain beneficial skills and placements in their home countries to build networks (Holdaway, Levitt, Fang & Rajaram, 2015; Maas & Ezeobele, 2014). There appears to be no expectation for mobility for research collaborations as these seem to occur in country (Ferris, Hirst, Sanati & Sanati, 2015). These studies suggest that being mobile is more relevant and more regular for research academics where it is important to work with others in the same field and is a feature of building an academic reputation.

There are, of course, issues affecting mobility which are more likely to affect women. Some factors related to mobility are impacted by class and gender, suggesting that some women face multiple disadvantages. The impact of caring/family responsibilities on the mobility of women in academia is a well-trodden research path with many papers referencing this issue. Netz & Jaksztat (2017), for example, found that female scientists who become parents tend not to go abroad, and neither do academics from a lower social economic background. If academic reputation in the science areas is enhanced by international mobility, this factor can result in further inequality in view of there already being fewer women and fewer working class people working in science (Browne & Burns, 2013; Nature, 2016). If part of the academic habitus is mobility, but working class academics struggle to possess the academic habitus (Black, 2005) and working class female academics tend to be in female dominated academic disciplines such as education or nursing which are more locally geographically based (Hoskins, 2010), they are more likely to be negatively affected in their careers. For example, they tend to get paid less (Renzullia, Reynolds, Kelly & Grant, 2013).

Vongalis-Macrow's research concludes that women do not move unless they have a really significant reason to do so (even when treated badly by their organisation): their loyalty being shaped by relationships (with colleagues and students) and by job security (2012). If female academics do not move because of the responsibilities and the relationships they have, they may end up accepting a detrimental impact on their careers.

Gendered expectations and behaviour

Other studies which discuss women's careers in academia highlight the impact of the gender binary in the environment. The traditionally masculine and aggressive environment of higher education (Harley, 2003; Reay, 2004a) may be a reflection of cultural expectations and views about gender appropriate work (Evetts, 2000) but it affects what women do and how well they do in the academic workplace. Women tend to be personally and professionally supportive according to Wright, Cooper & Luff (2017), creating their own caring niches (Mattsson, 2015). In Bourdieu's terms, the social capital the women have functions well in the field where they have a network. It is portrayed as habitus and comes to life in these women's practice (i.e. being considerate of and helpful to others).

Mattsson's research suggests though that caring is not valued in the wider academic setting. Instead, what is valued are (masculine) traits of assertiveness, individualism, competitiveness and self-promotion (Harley, 2003) because of their importance to institutional reputation. Women are less likely to showcase their work to others (Baker, 2016). The more cut-throat habitus of the wider field can lead to women having a more subordinate position in that field unless they are "needy and greedy enough to win" (Harley, 2003, p.387). According to Baker (2016), women also typically do not turn down work which will take up their time away from promotable activities: men typically do or are not even approached to do it. This is not, of course, unequivocal.

Another variation in behaviour between male and female academics comes through in the different aspirations each has and the way they view their job and workplace. The loyalty to an organisation, colleagues and students, described by Vongalis-Macrow (2012), is a gendered response and can, therefore, be a hindering factor in their careers if they chose to stay in an organisation and accept any limitations on their progression rather than move institutions to get promoted. In contrast, men are more likely to move jobs because they have a higher "achievement-aspiration relationship" (Fox & Faver, 1981, p.459). Female academics choose roles that can be combined with engagement with family and which offer less stress (Baker,

2010) and can leave their career to chance (Williams, Soeprapto, Like, Touradji, Hess, & Hill, 1998). The different behaviour exhibited by female academics makes it more probable for the structural, cultural and individual repression of their careers to occur.

Possessing/developing different forms of capital

Capital in the form of research reputation and standing through winning grants and publishing work is seen as a highly valued expectation of the field of academia, with research funding success being dependent upon a publications track record. It is the research productivity form of what Morley (2013, p.8) calls "career capital" that has the "maleness" tag associated with it. Women, therefore, are disadvantaged for not being male and because they are less likely to possess the volume or composition of academic capital expected in the field. Why they have less is commented on by many: because a woman's domestic life means she is more likely to have "a period of 'stillness' and 'pause' in [research] productivity terms" (Harley, 2003 p.389), women have a greater teaching load (Misra, Lundquist, Holmes, & Agiomavritis, 2011) so do not have the time to research or, when they do, they lack sole ownership of intellectual capital because of their propensity to work with rather than lead a research team (Reay, 2004a). This is because women prefer collaboration to competition, have less confidence in their own abilities and more confidence in their team-mates' abilities (Kuhn & Villeval, 2013). As early career academics, women may be further disadvantaged because they are unlikely to have built up a publications and grant awards portfolio as the representation of the value of their academic capital (Archer, 2008).

All of this assumes, however, that academics have gone through some form of post graduate education programme, starting their research careers after their doctoral degrees, when in fact, some parts of the academy may not have done so (practitioner academics for example, in health, business, finance), having instead, entered the career from an earlier professional career.

In leadership posts capital is developed internally through position in the hierarchy, through developing an internal managerial reputation and participation in institutional activities such as formal committees. Floyd & Dimmock (2011) and Floyd (2012) found that academic managers worried about whether, without an opportunity to gain an external reputation based on research, their further promotion may be hindered. As middle management can be populated by women (Angervall, Beach & Gustafsson, 2015), if their ability to gain a research reputation whilst undertaking managerial activities is affected, this may mean that more women

are impacted in their careers. That "Women's absence from senior leadership is a recurrent theme in studies in the global north" (Morley, 2013, p.5) suggests that this could be the case.

Finally, one would hope that expertise in teaching and other support activity are valuable properties in the university market-place because according to the UK government, crucial elements of successful higher education are excellent teaching, widening participation and students being at the centre of the system (Department for Education, 2016). Such activities are, however, seen as problematic to career success, unless they are moderately undertaken, because they prevent lecturers building up academic capital in the form of research (Janger & Nowotny, 2016). In a recent meeting of the Universities and Colleges Employers Association Clinical Academic's Staff Advisory Group, a Council of Dean's representative introduced a new Council report - *Becoming Research Confident – Research in pre-registration curricula for nursing, midwifery & allied health programmes in the UK* (McCormack, Baltruks & Cooke, 2019). The researchers found that "competing curricula demands and time constraints [are] the biggest barrier[s] to integrating research into pre-registration curricula" (p.9). This suggests that those entering allied health academia will be entering without research experience, creating an immediate disadvantage for their careers.

A further issue identified in the research is the number of nursing, midwifery and allied health academics leaving HE and not being replaced. This report proposes ways to encourage students into a future clinical-academic career through engaging them in research as students. With teaching and middle management administration not being valued in the same light as research (Angervall et al, 2015) and lots of studies commenting that teaching, supporting students and departmental administration are tasks which women do more of (Baker, 2016; Bernat & Holschuh, 2015; Weir, Leach, Gamble & Creedy, 2014), the impact on promotion is well documented.

Discrimination through Sexism and Patriarchal practices

The literature shows that there are various forms of discrimination against women in academia. Studies often give examples of discrimination which they class as sexism or patriarchy, those two terms being seen as two sides of the same coin. For example, discrimination has been shown to occur in academic committee processes. All-male committees have been found to approve fewer women for promotion because their contributions are not viewed at the same level as that of the male applicants, whereas men's achievements are viewed in the male panel's

likeness (Bagilhole, 1997). Bevan & Learmouth's research into healthcare science expands this further in that men tend to over-rate their male colleagues and use what they describe as "gold standard" men (2013, p.151) to compare the achievements of women against.

What we see in these examples are current day forms of patriarchy in that there are male dominated power structures (the committee) applying systemic bias against women through the application of male social constructs in terms of assessing performance and experience. Where there are gender balanced promotion panels then it can be the case that women are able to progress in their careers (De Paola & Scoppa, 2015.) Bagilhole & Goode's view is that patriarchy may still exist in the academy even where there are women on the promotion panel. This is because such women may have been selected as "token" women and agree to "play the game" of restricting other women from getting promoted and, maintaining the male values and ideas (2001, p.170).

Dlamini & Adams (2014) carried out a specific study into women's experience of patriarchy in higher education in South Africa and found similar experiences to the other studies. Women were disadvantaged in promotion because they were disempowered and their work was devalued and, because of this, there was a significant effect on their well-being. The disempowerment occurred when male managers restricted the opportunities for their female staff members to participate in career benefiting work. Being categorised as "abnormal or defiant" (p.130) if they challenged the situation, this left them with very negative thoughts about themselves. Name calling such as in this example is a form of bullying, which is something that Baker (2016) found in her study of the position of academic women in universities across the western world.

Similarly, there are many studies describing sexism in the academic sector. Bevan & Learmouth (2013) identified "subtle… sexism… gender schemas" (p.139) in healthcare science. This was reflected in the women taking on the support roles but also in the fact that there was a lack of examination of the differentiated practices taking place. Edwards carried out an autoethnographic study in 2017. She also described an experience of a lack of interrogation of particular operating structures where men and women were treated differently, which she summed up as "everyday sexism" (p.631). Where differentiated practices are not challenged, it is because sexism is "hidden in plain sight" (p.631) and functions like "a well-oiled machine" (p.622). The consequence of this is that experiences of discrimination are seen

as normal, occur constantly and the "drip, drip" (p.622) experience of these can affect the mental health of women.

The stressful impact of having to face oppression in the form of sexism is also reported on by others and Archer (2008) particularly identifies the negative impact on younger academics setting out in their career. Mostly sexism occurs in the stereotypical expectations of the work that female academics will do. Care-givers at home, they are expected to care for colleagues (Wright, Cooper & Luff, 2017) and undertake the caring role for students. Women can respond to sexism in different ways though: challenging, coping or ignoring depending upon how secure they feel in themselves and their relationships (Van Bommel, Sheehy & Ruscher, 2015) indicating that universities need to support women differently in dealing with cases of sexism.

Shepherd (2017) goes further than this in her research into why female academics do not take up leadership roles – with one issue being their experience of "homosociability" or, in other words, selection on the basis of likeness to the existing senior male staff (p.86). She indicates that fixing the women, through such female only programmes like Aurora, needs to be coupled with fixing the organisation – its culture and philosophies which affect behaviour.

2.3 Factors that help a woman's academic career

Fix the organisation and help the women fix themselves

Studies in this area tend to focus on dealing with the culture of unequal treatment or helping women to help themselves. Ginther & Kahn (2004) and Kahn (2012) indicate reviewing organisational and departmental behaviours to identify those that might be causing gender imbalance in promotion and then having a framework of affirmative action to address them, will help women's careers. Shepherd (2017) sums this up as reviewing "the micro-politics and cultural assumptions" causing bias. Changes to organisational behaviour suggested by Bates et al (2016) include being open in terms of starting salaries for men and women, participating in and publishing the results of sector pay surveys and giving leaders training in unconscious bias[18] to make them realise when they are doing things that are detrimental to women's careers. Hart (2014) indicates that when universities identify pay disparities between genders, they should challenge the system, by identifying structural reasons which cause the inequity and

---

[18] https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/search?text=unconscious+bias

make the decisions not to take any further action that exacerbates this position. Having an open culture, such as in the examples above, is a key strand of the Athena SWAN charter mark. This is a useful mechanism for 'fixing' the organisation and demonstrates leader engagement and accountability.

In respect of support for female academics, Bates et al (2016) argue that to help women to tackle discrimination, organisations should put on training programmes which assist them in dealing with "systemic gender norms" in the academic workplace (p.1050). Training women to overcome barriers (such as how to negotiate salaries and starting packages) will make them more confident to get what they need to succeed, they say. Kay & Shipman's view is that organisations should help women to be more confident by pushing them to take on challenges, to fail as well as succeed (2014). Shepherd (2017) has a less positive view of the likely success of development meant to "fix the women" (p.86) without structural issues also being addressed.

Hart (2014) takes a different approach, recommending that organisations should create pipelines for women to progress and an environment that reflects the fact that women have other commitments. Family friendly support to help women with their other commitments is mentioned by numerous researchers (Baker, 2010; Westring et al., 2016). This in itself does not address discrimination, but can help to eradicate it, as part of a package of positive actions meant to counter "greedy organisations [such as] academia... with intensified working hours" (Jarboe, 2013, p13). Forms of positive action, such as confidence building, women only development and women only networks, help employers increase diversity by enabling women to compete on an equal footing in their careers. Positive action is a feature of UK and EU equalities law and so should be something which HEIs do as standard.

Mentoring as a fix

Studies show that mentoring offers significant benefits to women in supporting their careers, building networks and therefore increasing their social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and in improving feelings of self-worth and fulfilment. Dutta, Hawkes, Kuipers, Guest, Fear & Iversen (2011) found that female academics reported being less anxious and feeling better about themselves and what they could achieve through mentoring. DeCastro, Griffith, Ubel, Stewart & Jagsi (2014) say that the "collegiality of the mentor-mentee relationship" improves career satisfaction but not necessarily career performance (p.304). In contrast, Cameron & Blackburn (1981) commented that a career enhancing benefit could be derived from the

mentor-mentee relationship. They found that such support, especially with women in their first posts, helped them achieve grant income, which is a factor which helps in promotion cases. Mentoring was also shown to increase productivity and performance, leading to improved promotion rates in Gardiner, Tiggeman, Kearns & Marshall's research (2007).

Mentoring also helps women to get ready for more senior roles by raising their awareness of the bigger strategic picture (Manfredi, Grisoni, Handley, Nestor & Cook, 2014). Morley (2013) also highlighted mentoring as necessary for women aiming to reach the top academic positions. In departments where there are significantly fewer female role models, mentoring is a way of easing loneliness in the field, building disparately located but still effective communities of interest and/or practice networks (Russell Group, 2013). Bates et al (2016) emphasise that networks can facilitate belonging, can help with motivation and offer opportunities for joint work.

Travis, Doty, & Helitzer (2013) suggest that not just mentoring, but sponsorship is needed to drive an increase in the numbers of senior women leaders in academia, like that which is more visible in male boss/male colleague relationships and in the corporate world. Without mentoring as a minimum and, preferably sponsorship in academic careers, women will be less likely to be able to break the glass ceiling (Sanders, Willemsen & Millar, 2009) which may result in them lowering their aspirations because of the barrier. As such, if fewer women reach the top there will be a further impact in that the number of women coming through to be mentors of other women will be less (Powell and Butterfield, 2003).

Emotional support

The literature on ways in which academic women cope with the difficulties they experience in their working environment and navigate their careers includes numerous studies on emotional support. The main focus for such papers is the support which women get from their female colleagues, whom they also refer to as friends. Friendship either occurs because of working together for long periods or because there are fewer women in certain areas, leading women to band together. The type of help and assistance which female colleagues give to each other has been described as collaborative, caring, encouraging, sharing and helping women to "(wo)manage" through the male traditions (Wright, Cooper & Luff, 2017, p.128).

The significance of friendship in STEM areas where the population of women is small was highlighted by Benckert & Staberg (2001). They found that because of the smaller numbers, women tend to stick together and form close relationships which enables them to get support (for example in research collaborations) rather than competing against each other. There was a slight variance to this in older women: authors questioned whether this was the case because when they entered STEM academia, it may have been "dangerous to clearly express solidarity between women and thereby mark the deviance from the male norm" (p.165).

Emotional support in a number of studies came from women helping others, particularly younger academics, with their writing: with funding applications or promotion cases (Hart, 1996), conference papers, editing books or drafting papers together (Penney et al, 2015). Dealing with the difficulties of the job is also a feature of articles describing emotional support, for example dealing with failures in grant applications or manuscripts being accepted (Hart, 1996), giving time for reflection on how the work impacts on family and relationship time, concerns about working conditions and sharing approaches to dealing with these (Caretta, Drozdzewski, Jokinen & Falconer, 2018). Penney et al's research found that women's writing groups also offered a way in which the stress of working in a competitive environment and trying to balance home and work life can be mediated, just by giving time in the session for general listening and encouragement (2015). They believe that successful emotional support was down to the approach taken in their meetings. Rather than the cut-throat nature of academe, they applied an encouraging style in the meetings, what they called "soft eyes turned to wonder" (p.458).

Finally, the literature reviewed in this chapter situates this study within a body of research that looks at gender inequality in the academy and the impact this has, not only on the women, but on how the work environment and the players within it operate. Some of the career challenges created by the social and economic aspects of women's backgrounds were captured from other studies as well as the effect which negotiating multiple identities has on women's careers. Other studies provided evidence of institutionalized masculine power in universities and the challenges this presents in getting access to career valuable capital and discriminatory behaviour faced by women. Despite those aspects identified by others as supporting female academics with career progress, the fact that there is research into gender inequality in the academy clearly indicates the need for continuing work to address those inequalities.

Chapter 3 - Life History Research Methodology

3.1 An introduction to life history research and its use in this study

As a methodology, life history has waxed and waned in favour over the last 70 years, falling out of favour when positivism philosophy has risen to the fore (Lewis, 2008). It has a long history of being used in anthropological and social science research (McKay, 2000), making it an appropriate methodology for this social science study.

There are many approaches to carrying out life history research. Aside from the commonly-used unstructured and/or semi structured interviews, life-history researchers may use photography to prompt participant recollection, to place experience in the context of photographed events and to facilitate the construction of a life and its understanding (Alu, 2017). Other pictoral methods such as life diagrams and drawing more generally may be used for participants to reflect on experiences and to tell in an insightful way a personal story (Reason, 2010). The life diagram is specifically useful for viewing the path of a phenomenon in someone's life (such as political engagement) and can visibly aid a search for similar life experiences and types (Söderström, 2019). Different narrative approaches may also be used to capture life experiences, such as asking participants to depict their experiences using poetry (see Pithouse-Morgan, Naicker, Pillay, Masinga & Hlao, 2016). It would appear that the complexity of life is matched by the variance in approaches to researching it.

Interpreting life history research is complex. Like the variance in approaches, the process of interpretation can be done in many and varied ways, to meet many different objectives. Life stories can be deciphered to appreciate a specific agenda (e.g. inequality); on the basis of a prior analysis and categorisation of related material (Miles and Huberman, 1994); based on categories that emerge from the data (Charmaz, 2006); using a theoretical lens; or a combination of these. The life history researcher delineates the domain to be explored or the social aspect to be highlighted. For example, a researcher may aim to interpret an individual's lived conditions and experiences to show how that individual makes meaning of their life and the value of lived events. Life stories can be explained in ways that demonstrate the potential and/or limitations of a life and how an individual and the circumstances of their life may have contributed/continue to contribute to that potential or limitation. If life histories are interpreted through a realist lens this may help to place life experiences within a social and historic context such that, for example, patterns linked to social class may be seen (Sealey,

2010). A constructionist focus on life history can help with understanding a person's sense of self and identity and how this arises from their belief systems (Etherington, n.d.)

Goodson highlights a difficulty with the interpretation of life history research, suggesting researchers may simplify, idealise, de-contextualise or romanticise the stories of participants (Cary, 1999). Where interpretation is done in a way that includes participant input, this also raises a number of dilemmas, for example, how reflexive someone is or can be in deciphering their own life experiences (especially when they are not trained to do so) or how well a researcher is able to present their analysis to their participants and they are able to receive and confirm or otherwise the analysis (Clarke, Wilkinson, Watson, Wilcockson, Kinnaird & Williamson, 2018.) Involving participants in this way can lead ultimately to "difficulties with translation and authorship" (Kouritzin, 2000, p.1). The researcher who writes the thesis or the paper, who has been the silent participant in the process, becomes the one who gains privilege from someone else's narrative. Kouritzin talks about the possibility of dishonesty in the writing up of life stories because of the need to heavily edit or present "grammatical inconsistencies" (p.27). Whilst the depth of a participant's language capability can affect the capacity for meaning (Watts, 2007), the authoring of a person's story may therefore be challenged by decisions (and who makes them) of what is included and what is left out; how to address the unexpected or difficult stories; ensuring justice is done to a person's life story and who is seen to own the story (Cary, 1999).

People understand and recount stories of their lives taking into account the range of spaces they inhabit, the biases/preferences they have, how the accumulation of experiences and their nature facilitates how they view/re-view things. This complexity may be particularly an issue when looking at a situation affecting many (such as in this research – the promotion decisions of female academics). A life history researcher tries to make sense of the messiness of life so that memories and explanations recounted by participants can inform and offer understanding of an issue. This can be a time-consuming exercise, especially if there is a sizeable cohort of participants. A researcher needs to be mindful of attempting to reduce interpretation down to those experiences that are common, misrepresenting, conflating or even inflating experiences to fit. Instead, the intricacy of each person's experience needs to be evaluated such that contradictions and conflictions can be elucidated.

Despite all of the potential hazards with the approach, the merits of life history research include the ability it provides to decode the nuances of life. The detail which is yielded through the methodology enables others to judge for themselves the sincerity, genuineness and trustworthiness of those stories when compared with their own experiences and to make better sense of their own lives (Dhunpath & Samuel, 2009).

There are a number of merits in using life history methodology for this research. Offering new insights into experiences and the impact of these experiences can give people something to think about if they want to change the future. This may be particularly important in a social justice scenario such as the issue in this research, where there are many women in academic posts in higher education but not in senior roles. It is useful for researching women's careers because career decisions are grounded in amassed life-events:

> The mechanisms underlying career choices are in fact multifactorial and multidimensional: they arise from a logical whole which cannot be understood unless we objectively place […] people in an environment, in a context, a life, a history or a development path whose multiple aspects are likely, at a given time, to positively or negatively influence their choices (Safta, 2015, p. 342).

In a situation where there may not be fair access to opportunities and wealth, life history is an appropriate approach to uncover the assessment women make of that situation. Geiger (1986) says that it enables "the broader deeper understanding of women's consciousness, historically and in the present" (p. 335) and Goodson (2001) points to feminist writers recommending the approach because it facilitates the articulation of women's hidden lives. Life history research according to Lewis (2008) can "give voice to marginalised sections of the community" (p.562.) The methodology has been used many times in connection with working in the higher education sector (Floyd & Dimmock, 2011; Inman, 2014) and so it is a tested approach to examine a situation where there is a reported differential between groups, where numerous interventions have been applied but have yet to alter that position, perhaps by offering a nuanced view of an established discourse on a historical problem. Through discussion, a rich depiction, detail, granularity and meaning of life experiences can be drawn.

In terms of disadvantages, generalisability is not a strength of social science research (Firestone, 1993) and especially for life history work which is a reflexive process usually done with a smaller number of participants. Individual life histories cannot be representative of a total population, but they can illustrate the ways in which an individual acts within the population and how the social norms of the population influence the actions of an individual.

Another challenge is in the volume of data produced. It is time consuming to carry out, write up the interview transcripts, to thematically organise and to analyse. It relies on the researcher's skill of communication and engagement to build rapport. The volume of data means that a researcher will have to make decisions about what to include and what to leave out in its presentation. As such, the framing of an account may be distorted. This can be helped by checking the faithfulness of the depiction with the participants, hence the need for extended engagement.

Whilst life history has some down sides, Smith (2012) denotes the process of reflection and making sense of life events can be transformative. In this study female academics have been able to voice their life stories including the career decisions they have taken within the context of their family background and education outcomes and how their career experiences have been shaped by the dominant ideas in the academy, their own dispositions and the power dynamics in the institution.

3.2 Research method used: Semi structured interviews

The process of semi structured interviews is one where participants are asked a pre-prepared set of open-ended questions or about a list of topics and are invited to respond to the questions or topics freely. The structure and interaction is usually well-defined (Aleandri & Russo, 2015) in that individual respondents are all asked about the same key issues, which enhances the validity of the research but also helps to ensure important areas are not omitted. Using open ended questions facilitates curiosity and amplification: the interviewer can allow the ongoing conversation to meander down a path and can prompt more detailed commentary on specific questions. The approach facilitates the production of a full narrative about a person's background, the views they have formed about their life and, an understanding of the relationship between life experiences (Nite, 2014; Sikes & Everington, 2004). Having a semi structure for the interview means that there is some flexibility to converse about matters which are important to the participant whilst keeping the interview along the lines of a guiding framework. As such, this allows insights to be drawn about what else has happened in a person's life as well as why it happened, offering a better all-round picture of their life rather than just on a specific area or a time of interest.

The success of the interview is dependent on the skill of the interviewer – in helping a participant to feel comfortable about discussing their life, but also in managing the discussion. Although semi-structured interviews aim to stimulate a response around a particular subject

area, questions may not be interpreted in the same way by every person and a different understanding of a question may result in response on an unrelated or different issue. The ability of the interviewer to bring the participant back to the subject matter without causing offence or embarrassment is most useful. Being able to change the words and not the meaning of a question in order to aid understanding is also very important (Barriball & While, 1994). The amount of detail produced may make it difficult for the researcher to obtain meaning from the scripts. The interviewer-participant relationship is, therefore, important when seeking clarification on transcripts.

3.3 Research design

This thesis is based on research carried out in-house, that has focused on the career progression of women in academic posts but which has included the impact on their careers of decisions made by the women outside of work, in other parts of and at other times in their lives. The research has sought to provide information about why there are fewer female professors and to contribute to intellectual discourse on this issue. An aim of the design has been to aid an institutional policy discussion on what might be done to change this position. The decision to use a life history approach came about because information which shows that women are outnumbered by men in the senior academic stakes does not explain the full cause. Research papers that focus on the reason for the difference in career achievements talk about the barriers that women as a whole face, barriers which appear not to have changed dramatically over time. As Dollard (1949) indicates, when looking at an issue on the whole level "the individual is lost in the crowd and our concepts never lead us back to [her]" (Goodson, 2001, p131). To move away from thinking that encompasses the group requires the examination of individual stories.

Another reason for using the method is that life history "by its nature, asserts and insists that power should listen to the people it claims to serve" (Goodson, 2001, p131). A good employer should listen to its workforce and so, this approach has enabled me as an in-house researcher to hear directly from the female participants about their workplace experience over time and to seek out individual (and so not necessarily typical) views about the problem.

There are pluses and minuses of doing research inside the university in which one works. On the plus side there may be a relationship between the researcher and the participants meaning that the research can get underway fairly swiftly. It can give easy access to participants experiencing the problem being studied. It can make the job of recruiting easier and offer a reasonable likelihood of a good response. Keeping the recruitment for a study in-house can

reduce time needed for other arrangements, such as travelling. On the minus side, the sensitive connection a researcher has to the women (in my case as the HR Director) may give rise to "a lack of objectivity that can influence not only the interview responses but also the analysis of the narratives" (Smith, 2012, p.490). Seniority of the researcher (again as in my case) may lead to more junior participants being deferential.

Another disadvantage is that, because the participants are more easily on hand, both parties may feel less of an urge to make arrangements to meet or to use the time set aside for interviews. There may be a feeling that there is always more time because of the close proximity and ease of contact. Before starting the research, I made sure that the organisation was comfortable with both the concept of, and the arrangements for, the research. Sharing the time plan for the interviews with the vice chancellor and deputy vice-chancellor and getting their agreement to the research and their additional permission to discuss the proposal with two committees of the University governing body (Planning and Resources and Remuneration Committee) created a structure to operate within and a sense of urgency.

3.4 Participant recruitment and response

As HR Director, I have been involved in the creation of two internal networks following feedback from women in our staff surveys that these were needed: (i) the senior women's network which offered female professors and professional services directors an opportunity to meet over lunch and discuss key topics of interest; and (ii) the mentoring network set up to enable more junior staff to meet with more experienced colleagues and seek out career mentoring opportunities. I am also engaged in two sector driven initiatives in which a number of female staff are involved: Athena SWAN Charter Mark - a charter which originally recognised work done by universities to advance the careers of women in STEMM but now looks at addressing equality more broadly; and the Aurora women's leadership programme aimed at developing female future leaders in academia. I used these networks as my recruitment base and sent out an email invitation to seventy two female academics who were engaged in them. I thought that these women would be most likely to respond favourably to the request to be interviewed because I believed that their engagement in the groups demonstrated an interest in gender equality in academia, in gaining skills and confidence to progress in their careers and in networking.

 Although a convenience method was used to recruit the women, I hoped that the slightly different types of networks would enable me to gain access to as wide a range of female

academics as would be possible – younger and older, newer in post and more established post holders, higher and lower in rank and a cross-section of disciplines. I am conscious that there are particular issues with the approach I used to get the participants for the study, including the potential for bias. I appreciate that I was more likely to get a more thoughtful engagement with the subject area from women involved in relevant networks. I could not say that the sample would be totally representative of the whole female academic workforce but in a life-history study, I was seeking individual stories, not seeking to draw inferences about the total population. As the problem identified (fewer women applying for and achieving promotion) affects that whole female academic workforce it seemed likely that, from the two groups of women totalling over 12% of the female academic workforce, I was likely to get a range of experiences which might indicate what affects women's decisions around their career.

The invitation for the study asked those who were interested in taking part to click on a link where they would be taken through to a secure site and asked to leave some details. The details requested included the number of times they had applied for promotion, their length of time as an academic, if they were in a management or leadership role, their career path in the University (academics can be engaged on a teaching and research or teaching and scholarship path), their ethnic group and how they would describe the socio economic classification of their family background. My aim in seeking this information was to be able to assist in selection, so that there was a breadth of participants, not only in posts held but in the type of focus their work had and in their backgrounds. Having agreed with my supervisors that I needed to limit the number of women to be interviewed to twenty because of the time I had available and to avoid being overwhelmed by the volume of data, this additional information was ultimately not needed as only twenty one responses were received by the deadline. I sent the participant information and agreement details to the twenty-one respondents and all agreements came back signed.

On the original email invite list there was a balance of women across levels (lecturer to professor) and faculty. The Faculty of Health and Life Sciences (HLS) is the biggest in the University and so greater numbers of women had participated in the women's network and training sessions, meaning that there were more contacts in this area. As can be seen in Table B, approximately a third of the women approached in HLS and in Science and Engineering (S&E) responded to say they would like to engage, yet only two (10%) of the women in Humanities and Social Sciences (HSS) offered to be interviewed. Most of the respondents came from the two groups STEMM and AHME.

Table B: Make-up of women invited to participate in the study

Faculty	Health & Life Sciences		Science & Engineering		Humanities & Social Sciences	
	Job type	Number	Job type	Number	Job type	Number
Invites	Professor	8	Professor	2	Professor	8
	Reader	7	Reader	3	Reader	1
	SL	11	SL	6	SL	8
	Lecturer	8	Lecturer	6	Lecturer	4
	Totals	34		17		21
Respondents	Professor	3	Professor	0	Professor	1
	Reader	2	Reader	1	Reader	0
	SL	6	SL	3	SL	0
	Lecturer	2	Lecturer	2	Lecturer	1
	Totals	13		6		2
Excluded		0		0		2

Information from the interviews with the two women from HSS was not included in the analysis. My reasons for this were that there were sufficient participant numbers (nineteen) in the other two groups of women. They shared a common work context in that their academic subjects were male dominated and their entry into academia showed common features. The context for the other two women in HSS was sufficiently diverse for me to exclude their stories in that they had different paths into academia (one entered after her Oxbridge DPhil and the other worked in local government before becoming a lecturer) and their academic areas were also not common with each other and the other two groups (a humanities academic in one case and the other working in business and management).

A possible explanation as to why more women from HSS decided that they did not want to engage with this research is that the gender pay analysis of the University (January 2019) shows some positive features for the female academics in the Faculty of Humanities & Social Sciences. For example, there is a higher percentage of female professors in the faculty than the average across the University (32% compared with 25%); average male and female professorial salary levels are comparable (within £2k) and similar numbers of women are applying and being promoted to professor (8 women and 7 men over the two promotion rounds 2017/2018. That said, the number of women in professorial level jobs in the faculty is still below the number of men (72 men and 34 women.)

3.5 The interview process

Despite many of the participants being researchers themselves and, therefore, would understand the role of an interviewer, I was conscious of the potential influence of my employment and my position in the organisation (HR Director on the University's executive board) on the interview process. I was concerned that this might affect what the women felt they could or could not say when interviewed. The participant information sheet addressed my position in the organisation and emphasised that I was undertaking this research as a student and that the process was totally voluntary. It set out the arrangements and options that the participants had and the intention for the information gathered. By doing this, I hoped to create an environment of equality and mutuality for the interview process.

Once the participants had agreed to participate in the research, a convenient appointment to meet was made. The interviews were scheduled usually for one and a half hours: some were completed in one hour and a few lasted longer than the allotted time or had to be completed in a further meeting. I had made the interviewees aware of my intention to record the meeting in the earlier correspondence to them and so re-iterated this at the start of the proceedings and confirmed their agreement.

The guiding open questions encouraged a structured look at stages of the women's lives. Participants were asked to describe the early years of their life (where they lived, went to school/type of school, their decisions about going to university). Further discussions about their university or further education focused on their areas of interest, who helped them decide where to go and what to do, thoughts on post graduate education and aspirations related to using their qualifications. In order to keep the interview flowing, I made sure that I was flexible in facilitating interviewees to focus on important issues that emerged from the discussion (Bryman and Bell, 2003). I was seeking to comprehend the structures underpinning the views and ideas that the women had about their identities as academics.

We discussed their academic career path to date – how they decided to be or came to be an academic, experiences in the post and of promotion processes, including if they had not put themselves forward, why that was. I asked the participants about what or who might have influenced them and factors which they felt enabled them or hindered them. It was important to develop an appreciation of the participant's worlds from their perspective but also to gain an understanding of how those worlds had had an effect on their careers.

In my final question, I asked them to suggest what the organisation could do to address the gender imbalance in academic roles and sought their suggestions on how to improve the career progression processes within the university. This was asked in order to help with policy development, which was one of the aims of this study, important to me as an HR practitioner and to the University's equality objectives.

Using open ended questions to prompt discussion about the stages of the women's lives was very useful. I was aiming to gather vivid and detailed information to facilitate an understanding of experiences affecting decisions about work, such as the culture the women had grown up in, any minor or major incidents affecting their life path and the development of their identities as academics. I followed up on responses to questions where more detail was needed to aid understanding. Although individual lives were being reviewed, it became clear from the interviews that there were some patterns to experiences, to what the women had taken into account in deciding to become an academic and in progressing their careers.

It would appear that my position as a senior manager in the organisation did not get in the way of the interviews, as all of the women engaged fully with the process and answered my questions without hesitation. The interviews were interesting, enlightening and quite relaxed. The women remained engaged in arrangements for reviewing the interview transcripts. Many have attended the presentations I have given on the research and have met with me socially to enquire on progress. No concerns about the interviews were raised with me, my supervisor or the organisation.

The transcripts were written up by me from the recordings. I used the denaturalized transcription approach, removing for example breaks in speech or sounds such as laughter (Davidson, 2009). The writing took a considerable amount of time, but yielded powerful data. This process was really useful in helping me gain a full understanding of the material and to begin to locate themes. I also listened to parts of the tapes again to pick up on nuances of what the women had said, not just the words and sentences.

The transcripts were sent to the individuals and they were asked to approve or amend them to reflect the message they were trying to convey in the response to my questions. Sixteen women confirmed their agreement to the transcripts without change. Five women made tracked changes to the interview scripts and they helpfully added notes to provide further clarification to why they made the change. For example, Angela asked me to make corrections to clumsy phrasing that might have been open to misinterpretation and comment that she subsequently

thought might identify her publicly. Mary added additional information to her statement to expand on her job in the NHS before she came into academia. By enabling the participants to write on the transcripts, this to some effect transferred the power away from me and over to them (Bucholtz, 2000), helping to address any concerns they may have had regarding my position as HR Director.

However, according to Grundy, Pollon, & McGinn (2003), there is a methodological implication of participants amending transcripts. They suggest that because some of the transcripts now contain the written word and not just the spoken word, they are no longer verbatim. My view is that as the additions or changes did not alter the meaning of what was said in the interviews, this should not be an issue and according to Mero-Jaffe (2011) the process of sharing the scripts with the participants actually improves the validity of and enriches the information provided by the interviewees.

3.6 Analysing the data

Data analysis in this research really began at the same time as the data collection. This is because I saw the interview process as a collaborative one which meant that meaning and understanding started to be developed with the participants as the interviews progressed. After the interviews I familiarised myself with the data by listening to the recordings, reading and re-reading the transcripts. I took more of a deductive approach (Burnard et al 2008) to the data analysis, using the research questions and the objectives set out in my initial research proposal as my guide. This was appropriate, as there was a lot already known about the phenomenon of fewer women in academia reaching the top of the career path. I examined the data, highlighting and then grouping responses around key points in life (for example, early life, early career, progressing career).

Having grouped the data in this way I made notes of what was being said in the text for example, in the early life section, this included statements such as – *higher education in family; went to train at a health college; did a PhD*; *went to work at 18*. I allocated the initial codes under the main question areas and objectives. I then grouped the codes to produce a smaller list. I considered the relationship between the codes and the theoretical framework (Bourdieu's theory of practice) to identify the capital the women possessed and where it came from (school, family, social background, university attended, subject specialism) but also how this played out in relation the rules of the field(s) they were engaged in and the influence of their habitus on decisions made about their careers. The approach I took was to consider the conditions faced

by women at a particular point in time, as well as sequences of actions or interactions and the consequences resulting from these. This is a helpful way to scrutinise and appreciate the intricacy of a person's life and bearing it has in the employment arena.

This research was about seeking to identify and explain some of the reasons why there are fewer women in senior academic positions. It has been important, therefore, to look at the nuances of the women's lives in their wider socio-economic contexts, to identify their views and beliefs, incidents and circumstances which might explain what has been important to them in career decision making. I have also tried to identify common aspects, such as experiences of working at the University and of the University's promotion processes.

3.7 Ethical considerations

A narrative approach to research takes on important ethical considerations, especially where it is looking at experiences that may be sensitive. The consideration of the ethical issues in gaining approval to the project were therefore uppermost in my mind and in the minds of the panel considering the proposal. In many research projects, the traditional intention regarding ethics is to ensure that no detriment is caused to the participants. In an environment where the researcher is a senior post-holder in the organisation the participants come from, the ethical issues are potentially greater. The issues of confidentiality, anonymity and minimising any opportunities for identification are all very important considerations (Clandinin & Huber, 2010) and the inherent risks associated with these three points, which arise from insider research, are clearly elucidated by Tolich (2004). I class myself in this research as insider because I am familiar with the environment being researched and I share biographical characteristics with some or all of the participants (Griffith, 1998). This has given me empathy, but I cannot say that I am able to fully understand the experiences of all of these women as I am not an academic; I am not a scientist or health practitioner; and I have achieved a senior position in my field, which some of the participants have not.

In terms of the ethics of qualitative studies, it is expected that researchers will seek to protect the privacy of their participants by using pseudonyms, by summarising and re-phrasing comments and by removing other identifying factors. Tolich (2004) calls this "external confidentiality" (p.101) and this may work well for qualitative research carried out on dispersed sites or with people who may not know each other. However, research studies which work with inter-connected communities or participants with established relationships

can be affected by "internal confidentiality… the ability for research subjects involved in the study to identify [themselves and] each other in the final publication of the research [creating a risk of] potential harm" (p.101). It is the (possibly known) association between participants in insider research that creates a weakness in the protective measures put in place to manage confidentiality. If, for example, someone recognises from a narrative statement in the published thesis the usual language a colleague adopts, there may be the danger of identification for both parties and an exposure which could create vulnerability for the participant and even the reader.

Tolich (2204) and others (Heslop, Burns & Lobo, 2018; Hewitt-Taylor, 2002) advise on the steps researchers should take to address the difficulties of internal confidentiality. Firstly, they report that researchers should warn participants that absolute guarantees of confidentiality cannot be given. I gave such a warning in my participant information sheet (appendix C). Researchers should also take time to think about and discuss with participants what information, if released, could cause them problems. My approach to these and other ethical matters is set out below.

There is a political dimension to this project in that participants may have been critical of the organisation and so the management of this information has required much thought. researchers who hold power in their organisations and are researching in that internal space are reminded that they are as much responsible for what they do as for what they do not do when the outcomes of their project offers the possibility of making a difference to the participants (Hilsen, 2006 as cited in Holian & Coghlan, 2013).

On the advice of the ethics committee and my supervisor, I took a lot of care over the ethics protocol which went to the participants and made sure that the women retained a copy so that if they had any doubts over the approach I was taking or concerns over their experience of the interview, they knew who to contact for advice. My supervisor's details were clearly denoted and I had engaged a senior female professor (the Director of Athena SWAN) to take a separate independent support role should the women feel a need to discuss any worries outside of the administrative processes. The Director of Athena SWAN's crucial experience in helping the University with planning and actions to address gender inequality   issues made her an ideal and knowledgeable candidate for such a role. I believe that my approach to the participants, the interviewing and the transcript review (making this a joint enterprise) made the need for

an independent intermediary redundant, but I am glad she agreed to act as one as it offered me, as well as the women, greater security and moral support.

Aside from being made aware in the paperwork, the participants were familiar with research and/or ethical protocols from their work and so understood that they could choose whether to engage with the study, could opt-out at any stage in the process, that their contribution would be anonymised and that any identifying factors would be discussed with them and an approach agreed. Prior to the interviews commencing, I sought the permission of the participants to record the session. They all agreed and only once was I asked to turn the recorder off when a participant did not want me to capture the name of a colleague she had had a difficult relationship with. The participants were invited to comment, clarify and correct information I had written up from the interviews (as a few of them did) and invited to a workshop to see what had come from my analysis and how it was to be reported (Costello, 2019).

What I have found, as I expected might happen when thinking about the project, was that anonymization is a challenge when working with some women in certain fields. Many of my volunteers came from STEM subjects where female academics are in a minority. The small number of women from some ethnic groups working in science makes it harder to take away identifying factors. The participants were open about their day to day lives and so, where I have used data from the interviews and where statements or descriptions could be potential identifiers, I have agreed with the individuals how this should be dealt with and have amended the content (for example, names, locations, countries and dates have been changed). The relationships built with the women involved, and maintained in the period since the initial engagement, I believe confirms the appropriateness of my conduct as researcher and the genuine and decent way in which I have carried out the research.

Chapter 4 – Theoretical Framework

4.1 An introduction to Bourdieu's theory of practice

Women are not void of agency, or a voice, and legislation to address gender inequality has not stood still, so the problem women face in progressing in academe has to involve some other contextual issues that require greater understanding to produce a change. This chapter gives an initial introduction to Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977), the lens I have used to examine the problem of gender inequality in academia. I explain the ideas of capital, habitus, field and symbolic violence as I interpret them, as well as how other notable scholars have used Bourdieu's work. The chapter comments on how Bourdieu's concepts might enable the examination of an individual's social position and how this leads to them interacting with the social context they are in, hopefully demonstrating how this complex social theory is a good match for the "messiness" of "life-history material" (Barrett, 2015, p.8).

Bourdieu (1984) identifies an interrelationship and interdependence between concepts of capital, habitus and field. He expresses the linkage, in his theory of practice, as [(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice (p.101). In other words, action occurs when a person's disposition (or habitus) together with the resources (or capital) they possess connect with the forces at work in a particular social space (or field) (Swartz, 1997.) A Bourdieusian framework allows consideration to be given to the relationship between "objective systems of *positions* and subjective bundles of *dispositions* deposited in agents" (Waquant, 2005, p.3 original emphasis). According to Bourdieu, to understand the hierarchy of positions within a field and where people are in that hierarchy, one should look at the capital they have and the struggles that take place over forms of capital in that field. A field is defined by the capital in it and the position someone has in the field is defined by the volume of capital they possess, which also shapes their habitus. Individuals are socialised to think and respond in particular ways and to understand the relationship between the positions they and others hold in the field. In this research, it is important to look at the resources that define and are valued in the field, the resources possessed by the female participants, the way they are able to use them and the sense they make of the environment.

Experiences in the workplace are also affected by women's engagement with the other fields in their lives. Bourdieu acknowledges the multi-dimensional nature of an individual's social world and how this impacts on the volume and types of capital they accrue (which may or may not be transferrable to their workplace) as well as their disposition. He says "the body is in the

social world, but the social world is also in the body" (Bourdieu, 1990, p.190). It is engagement with the social world that leads to the generation of "meaning-giving perceptions" (Bourdieu, 1984, p.170). It seems appropriate, therefore, to reflect upon how these perceptions flow from one field to another and how these impact on the way women in academe may operate.

Finally, Bourdieu's theory of practice introduces the concept of symbolic violence. Symbolic violence is a consequence of an individual's habitus coinciding with the habituses of others in the same field, leading to the reproduction of social inequalities. Such inequalities are often hidden in dominant relationships and accepted through the acquiescence of those being dominated. This research aims to identify covert forms of discrimination which may be in operation in the institution, which lead to a difference in male and female career success and how these are reinforced. The four concepts of capital, habitus, field and symbolic violence may help to explain the process of stratification or social reproduction in the field of higher education which leads to inequality.

4.2 An outline of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts

4.2.1 Habitus

Bourdieu (1980) details the concept of habitus, "as a subjective but non-individual system of internalised structures, common schemes of perception, conception and action" (p. 60). Habitus guides what individuals do and the way they do it, the way they think and how they express the way they think about things. Habitus shapes a person's tastes, ambitions and expectations. As individuals experience their lives, they pick up, grow and apply an accepted and recognised suite of dispositions that mould the philosophical and the practical approach that they (alone and together with others) take within a field. Bourdieu's idea of the "causality of the probable" (Swartz, 1997, p.105) suggests that individuals are not free to act but, instead, their habitus which is formed by the social structures they are in also makes them conform to the rules of those social structures.

The development of a person's habitus begins in the family environment and is further reinforced through schooling. The relationship between habitus developed in the family and in school is differentiated by social class (Reay, 2005). Discussing her own and other's work (Rubin, 1976; Sennett & Cobb, 1972 and Kuhn, 1995), Reay (2005) identifies that working class and middle class families have different mind-sets (habituses) and that this is carried by children into education, influencing what they believe they can do and achieve at school. This

habitus is then reinforced by the school through the expectations that teachers have of them as "structural limits" placed on individuals by teachers lead to self-applied "agential limits" (Watts, 2009, p. 19). Schools can affect career decisions in a number of ways, for example, they can play a key part in social class reinforcement, affecting both qualification and career achievement (Lareau, 1987). According to Bourdieu (1990) this is because schools provide more help to those whose family background, standpoint and disposition matches the system and see those who do not do well to be at fault rather than the school system (Clycq, Nouwen & Vandenbroucke, 2014).

Habitus and its suggested inherent characteristics (i.e., a socially assigned, inbuilt disposition influencing life decisions) is, however, a contested concept. Researchers cannot agree over whether the concept actually exists; if it does, on its value; on the extent of its influence; and for how long and in what ways that influence works. Sayer (2005) suggests that habitus is over-emphasised, that people are not automatons understanding what they must do in any given circumstances according to predetermined inbuilt instructions; rather, it is action and the review of that action and its outcomes that develops an understanding on the 'feel for' a particular game. Reay (2004b) comments that the influence which habitus is purported to have on the lives of individuals can be overstated. She highlights that there is a "tension between the social order and psychological processes" (p.440) which allows an individual to challenge expected norms of what might be possible, leading to greater flexibility in an individual's present state and expected future. King (2000) makes a number of similar criticisms, making the points that actions are not inherently performed but instead are "learnt from others and performed in reference to others" (p.431) and that if dispositions are unknowingly embodied, flexibility and creativity would not exist and social change would not be possible (p.427).

Despite these challenges to the concept, there are many researchers who believe in the value of the concept of habitus: in the internalisation of external influences which become internal influences on external experience or as Bourdieu describes it, "history turned into nature… which become the basis of perception and appreciation of all subsequent experience" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 78).

For example, Mallman (2017) identifies the higher education culture as one dominated by young people who because of their significant cultural capital assume it is their right to be there, regardless of their credentials. In contrast to the middle class student's assumed right, he points out the ongoing habitus-related difficulties that working class students face through their

university education. Referring to Bourdieu's work on "habitus clivé, or a divided habitus" (p.246), he talks about a "perceived inherent vice" (p.242), a belief that working class students have of a "hidden flaw" (p.238) which when they experience social mobility arising from being able to access educational capital can lead to feelings of "illegitimacy" (p.240), being "intellectually flawed" (p.237) and feeling anxious and without confidence (p.244) because of their background.

Lehmann's work contrasts with this somewhat in that he found that working class students (and their parents) who saw the reason for going to university as a way to escape a working class background played a full part in university life. Their focus was to secure the best employment opportunities their higher education qualifications could get them (2014). Finnegan and Merrill's research of adult university students from Ireland and England identified that feelings of alienation and not fitting in, because of a working class background, was in some ways compensated for by "becoming educated" (2017, p.320) and the sense of achievement of being able to enter the middle-class employment world (with all of its barriers) was worth the risk of putting oneself into that environment.

4.2.2 The habitus of academia

The characteristics of the academic habitus, according to Bourdieu (1984), are a "fairly stable and homogeneous" set of "social and academic characteristics" (Bourdieu, 1984/1988, in Di Leo, 2016, p. 158). They regulate the way in which an academic lives in, experiences, performs in and perceives the world of academia. Commentary has shown, though, the dispositions of being a 'good' academic are sometimes schizophrenic. For example, an academic is expected to be someone who "contribute[s] to [the] well-being, the healthy environment of the department in terms of its research income and outputs" emphasising the collegial nature of the academic role, but also possess the characteristic of individual competitiveness for achieving economic capital and delivering outputs which raise their academic and possibly symbolic capital levels (Holligan, 2011, p. 64).

Contrast the driven world of academic research with the expected habitus of a good university teacher and we find the commentary of Bhatti (2012) who implies that there is no one way to describe good teaching (which questions Bourdieu's suggestion of homogeneity in the academic character). The expected dispositions of a teacher can be seen to be contradictory. Academics are socialised to grow the knowledge of others and be student centric, have concern

for students, a commitment to their support and motivation (Silva, Hernández, Silva, & González, 2010). Yet, according to Leibowitz, van Schalkwyk, Ruiters, Farmer & Adendorff (2012), good teachers should be passionate and intrinsically motivated: elements of a disposition which seem personally rather than collectively focused.

Whatever the elements that make up the academic habitus there are two underpinning features. The first is that highlighted by Di Leo (2016), that the "structuring structures of academe" (p. 166) have been the same for years and are difficult to change. This is considered to be because those studying and reporting on the structures are academics themselves, imbued in the social conditioning of the profession, making it harder "to reject or resist their habitus" (p.166). Research therefore tends to reinforce the traditions and the logic behind internalised systems of behaviour and thought processes and laments any attempt to suggest change. The second point to note is the majorly masculine shape of the academic habitus such as working "around the clock" (Holligan, 2011, p. 64), having a "devotion to the occupation" (Ackers, 2017, p.638) or demonstrating "heroic individualism" (Women in Academic Medicine, 2008, p.12). According to Morley (2013, 2014), there is an assumption that academics have no other responsibilities and are married to their profession and Coey (2013) identifies the valorisation of international mobility as part of the academic habitus.

There is no doubt in my mind that individuals with any sort of outside of work responsibilities may find it impossible to adhere to such exacting standards, regardless of their acceptance of the "modus operandi" of academe (Di Leo, 2016, p.165). The different elements of academic work described above suggest a conflict in the type of individuals suited to the academic role. On the one hand, the masculine, research specific elements appearing to suit a "rugged individual and lone aspirant working" (Walker & Yoon, 2017) and the teaching elements of academe suiting individuals interested in "things being relational and coactive" (Wright, Cooper & Luff, 2017, p.128).

4.2.3 Capital

Capital can be defined as the resource that helps individuals position themselves and move within the field. Forms of capital define the field and are valued within it. Capital influences the position individuals have within their field and therefore their habitus. The main forms of capital that Bourdieu (1977) identifies are

(1) Cultural: particular tastes, such as being consumers or owners of art or preferences usually associated with being middle-class (or higher). Cultural capital is typically considered a disguised form of economic capital, although it also takes on different forms. For example, cultural capital can incorporate academic capital but given the field of this study, academic capital can also be considered a distinct type of capital.

(2) Economic: wealth, access to money, resources

(3) Social: such as useful contacts; and

(4) Symbolic: being recognised for holding other forms of capital such as status, notability, esteem (Bourdieu, 1989)

Although all of these forms of capital may feature at some point in the lives of the women participants in this study and in their stories, it is cultural and academic capital that have the greatest impact in the initial establishment and the progression of their careers.

4.2.4 Cultural Capital including its educational form

During early socialisation knowledge that is gleaned from family, friends, the home, school and social environments is the first form of cultural capital. This knowledge becomes a resource which helps individuals find a way through their social world and can influence the type and range of opportunities available to them as they navigate their life course. Edgerton & Roberts (2014) refer to this as capital in an embodied state, which includes such things as knowledge an individual might get from books or from the language used in the family. Embodied cultural capital may also take the form of cultural competences such as thinking and reasoning skills (intellectual activity), unconscious aptitudes such as confidence or personal agency or specific preferences, which guide an individual in their behaviour and in selecting action that may have a greater impact on their success.

Middle class parents also have economic capital which can enable them to invest in the development of their children's cultural and educational capital through giving more time and resource in supporting them. Children who know what standards they need to attain at school and are helped to achieve these by their parents will more likely achieve educational success, setting them on a path to accessing occupational accomplishment and the accrual of economic capital. Middle class parents can, therefore, be viewed as cultivating their children's success. In contrast, however, working class parents may have a more restrictive work environment and earnings requirements which curtail the flexibility and time to engage with their children's

schooling. This more 'hands-off' approach can lead to the character and ability of working class children being left to grow more organically and their acquisition of valuable capital being more open to chance.

One can see from this that it is the possession of capital which situates the frame through which an individual engages with their world. Yet the ability to gain capital is affected by the world to which an individual is born. The cultural tool-kit of middle class parents which is passed down to their family provides children with the techniques to analyse, understand and control their environment such that they adopt skills and behaviours which are more likely to lead to educational success and attainment beyond (Nash, 2002). Working class parents who themselves did not develop the necessary cognitive skills to be successful at school may have a limited repertoire of cultural capital to pass down. The established practices of their (working class) social group may have influenced the dispositions adopted by them in their educational setting such that academic and career aspirations are less prevalent and attitude and behaviours required to be successful (and secure academic capital) may be lacking (Reay, 2004b). As such, they may influence their children to follow instruction and respect rules (similar to that followed in their own family or required in their workplaces) rather than foster an awareness of or an ability to negotiate advantage for themselves whilst playing within the rules. A lack of economic capital may, therefore, restrict the choices that working class young people make about their careers (Greenbank & Hepworth, 2008).

Edgerton and Roberts (2014) highlight the hierarchical way in which cultural capital is valued. In respect of education, this is demonstrated through society's view that a PhD is worth more than a Masters qualification, for example, when used to assess an individual's intellectual capability for a highly skilled job. When educational capital is in an institutionalised state this means that the capital is officially recognised and ranked by society. There is an assumption here, however, that everyone in society knows what a PhD is (and cares what it is), when in fact, people may not.

As such, when reference is made to society, what is actually meant is those who possess the cultural capital (that is, the qualifications and the knowledge) to have a discourse on the matter of value. Parents with qualifications are more likely to have expectations for their children regarding their education. They will convey to their family their understanding of the worth of various levels of qualification, the necessary actions which will lead to their acquisition and

the relationship to the economic capital one might expect to get as a consequence of possessing qualifications.

This is not to say that parents without qualifications are not aware that they have a value, rather their view of the value may be shaped by their own experiences. For example, if the experience parents have of their post school education comes from them having been an apprentice, this may lead them to encourage their children to do the same. This is because their understanding of being an apprentice is that it can lead to having a trade or work experience in a specific field, which is more likely to lead to securing regular work and longer term employment in that field (Quinn, Thomas, Slack, Casey, Thexton & Noble, 2006).

4.2.5 Academic Capital

Similar to the varied commentary that there is on cultural capital (and in its educational form), an investigation into writings on academic capital has shown that descriptions are diverse. St. John, Hu, and Fisher (2011) define academic capital as "social processes that build family knowledge of educational and career options and support navigation through educational systems and professional organizations" (p. 1). Personally, I think this is more the development of an academic habitus or cultural competency that aids the acquisition of academic capital rather than the capital itself.

Bourdieu (1988) refers to the appearance of two forms of academic capital within a university (in its workplace form rather than its educator configuration) which are independent of the other. Academic capital refers to a dominant position held within the management hierarchy of the institution, and intellectual capital derives from a scholarly reputation achieved primarily on the basis of research (Kloot 2009 in Rowlands, 2013). The development of intellectual capital begins with the possession of a PhD and a PhD can help in securing an academic position, depending on the intensity and quality of publishing that comes from the research (Mangematin, 2000).

Floyd & Dimmock (2011, p390) expand on forms of academic capital in higher education from their research into academics who have taken on the role of Head of Department (HoD) and have assumed managerial responsibility for the staff working in their department. The dominant managerial form of academic capital (as described in Bourdieu's 1988 writings) they class as *internal* capital [authors' italics] gained from the acknowledged position a HoD holds and from their relationships and networks developed as being part of a managerial community.

This could be seen as a form of symbolic capital because it is status-related. Floyd & Dimmock (2011) place this form of academic capital as second in value to intellectual capital for individuals seeking to secure an academic promotion. They indicate that to get promoted to professor, HoDs need to make time to research and carry out conference speaking so that they can acquire an external valuation of their outputs and reputation (develop their *external* capital as they put it). The managerial position of a HoD is not enough for someone to progress up the academic hierarchy.

Individuals with *external* capital may be able to influence the decisions made in an institution because of their recognised intellectual status. Those with *internal* capital may be able to do the same because, as managers, they control some of the decisions about how the institution is run. Those who have the intellectual status can use their economic capital (research money) to make decisions on the allocation of resources or the area of research which can either restrain or facilitate others in the development of their own intellectual capital. Those in managerial positions are able to set the criteria for promotion in the institution and can decide if an individual can put themselves forward. Both sets of individuals may sit on academic promotion panels, applying their view of the capital and habitus of value to the institution. The sway which people holding either form of capital can have on the careers of other staff is, therefore, considerable.

4.2.6 Field

Field is a social construction that is defined by the particular forms of capital within it and is built "around principles of difference or distribution and further organized by stakeholders' historical and objective relative positions among each other" (Bourdieu, 1985 in Watt-Malcom & Barabasch, 2010, p.290.). It has a set of logical characteristics and is something people belong to and invest in (Bourdieu, 1990). How people act in a field is reflective of the process of socialisation in it. Whilst Calhoun (1993) and Naidoo (2004) talk about field in more solid/fixed terms (social *structure*), Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992) emphasise more fluidity in the workings of the field (through the term social *setting*). In this research, the University, its departments and the areas of academic activity (STEMM/AHME) are instances of field (main and sub-fields).

Where more than one field exists, there is a hierarchy and a struggle for domination takes place between agents within the field and across sub-fields. People are positioned, dependent on the amount and type of capital they have. Movement is secured by those with the capital seen as

essential to reproduce the field. Characteristics of the field are maintained and reproduced through a collection of customs or belief systems which may be unwritten or unacknowledged but are usually obvious to those in the field (known as doxa). Doxa give legitimacy to social order and are held in place by those who hold the power in the field and, as such, may be changed by them if there is an imperative to do so. The traditions of a research based university field and its academic department sub-fields leads to the conjecture that entry into the field is by PhD and promotion depends upon high levels of intellectual capital. The doxa does not preclude entry to or progression in the field by another means but the affirmation of particular forms of capital can lead those without to tend to exclude themselves from competing rather than look for other ways to play in the field.

Activity in the field is "dependent on 'habitus', which as a result of socialisation engenders in individuals a 'disposition' below the level of consciousness to act or think in certain ways" (Naidoo, Gosling, Bolden, O'Brien & Hawkins, 2014, p.147). Individuals may respond, therefore, not in line with what the field rules actually are, but what they tell themselves they are (Naidoo 2004). The field of academia appears to be one where the historically unequal distribution of promotion success appears immovable (Acker, 1992). This is despite the many interventions that have been applied in universities to address the problem (UCU, 2012), emphasising the power of the field and its doxa.

An example of the formal organisational rules of the field can be seen in the extract of the University's academic promotion criteria from around 15 years ago, covering the period when many of the participants were thinking about applying for promotion. This comes from Section 8 of the 2004 Guidance manual. It does demonstrate that there was a lack of definition in the criteria on research - for example, there were no targets on research income expected or how many papers were needed. As such, this could have been open to interpretation by a person, their manager and/or the assessing panel, potentially resulting in discrimination or bias. Whilst the openness made the criteria available to challenge the entrenchment of research activities in the institution (as demonstrated in the organisation's strategies) made any challenge less likely, and the need to meet all of the criteria in order to get promoted more likely, to be accepted as fact.

Field as an analytic tool can help to uncover the edicts and customs of the social structures/settings experienced by the participants in a study. Because those edicts may not be obvious but can be far reaching, field analysis can bring the shared assumptions into sharp view and the effects of these assumptions on behaviour. It may highlight the relationships between agents of the field such as the individual and the group they work in and the effect these relationships have on the actions taken by the individual. In exposing the struggles occurring within the field, this should bring the field to life.

4.2.7 Symbolic Violence

This concept is the one that Bourdieu developed as a way to explain social inequality. He describes symbolic violence as "disguised under the veil of enchanted relationships" (1977, p.191) and being hard to detect because it is softly applied by those in power and is accepted as legitimate by those subjected to it. It may hinder certain groups, not necessarily because of malevolent actions but because those in power act as guardians of the social structure and continue to ensure that the social structure operates in a particular way. The guardians are able to take this position because they have legitimacy, achieved through

> Peers consum[ing] her products and the more they consume her products, the more legitimate she becomes. The accumulation of this symbolic capital makes it possible to secure a more or less complete monopoly over the definition of the forms of legitimacy prevailing in the field (Hilgers & Mangez, 2015, p.11)

The violence continues because those in power amass capital in the field which strengthens their dominant position. It can be argued that in the academy, individuals may be excluded from the field because they do not have the capital (in the form of research) that those who dominate the field have. They are subjected to violence because the dominant group know the routes to gain more capital and can sustain the boundaries necessary to keep others out of those access routes. Those in power may rarely be challenged because of the dependence others have on them but also because the habitus possessed by the dominated restricts their awareness that a social order is being maintained by others (Swartz 1997).

4.3 Reasons to use a Bourdieusian theoretical framework

My reasons for choosing Bourdieu's work rather than other frameworks to guide the analysis of this research are as follows. I share the same philosophical stance that the concepts of capital, field and habitus influence and impact on a woman's life, place limits or create possibilities for career choice and chances. For example, my own experiences of coming from a working class (and later on a single parent) family background, where no-one had been to university, led to what one might term as an enduring pattern of focussing on securing economic capital (for the benefit of the family in my case) rather than seeking to extend my academic capital by doing a degree. In contrast, I saw from my grammar school education the advantages offered by a middle-class upbringing, such as the financial support for, and the expected rite of passage to, a university education that my fellow female students had and their view of what being a graduate would lead to in the future.

My interest in gender equality issues came from my experiences of challenging the macho work culture in which I spent many years. I did, therefore, contemplate using feminist theory as the framework to understand the social worlds of the women in this study and its explanatory potential when examining personal experiences of inequality. My reason for not doing so was that, in many respects, I felt that the search for equality that feminist researchers hold dearly has been met. The moral argument has been won and the legal structures are in place. In practice, of course, discrimination still takes place and inequity between women and men (as is seen in my own study) still remains. Knowledge from a feminist perspective has, I believe, been societally effective, but locally (i.e. within social institutions) less so.

Feminist research continues to be very good at shining a light on the continuing inequity in the academic field including attitudes and practices in the workplace that lead to differential treatment on the grounds of sex. Feminist researchers also report on corporate programmes that

are meant to address the problem; "fix the organisation" or collectively "fix the women" (Morley, 2013, p.10). Fixing the women when incidents of inequality are often personal (Bates, 2015) is more of a challenge. My own life experience has led me to conclude that gender inequality is not a homogenized experience, nor is it always obvious. Being able to capture information on diverse experiences (of field) and the implications of socialisation to that field on action (the impact of habitus on practice in Bourdieu's terms), as well as how the dominant structures of the field are reinforced and women may knowingly or otherwise comply with them, might add further knowledge on the inequity in women's experiences in academe.

The category of gender when found attached to the term discrimination, is often intertwined with other categories such as class, race, age, orientation (Acker, 2006; Burke, Cropper & Harrison, 2000). Floyd (2012) comments that "macro belief systems relating to gender, as well as class, constrain career aspirations and individual choice for females" and, as such, are a "double disadvantage" (p.276). Bourdieu's focus on class as a limiting factor (in terms of possession of resources, personal expectations and so on) offers the opportunity to understand the influence of this, and other intersectional characteristics, on thought processes and actions related to a women's career. Augustine (2009) describes "a sense of fatalism", an "illusion of cultural destiny" which can be "misleading" "debilitating" and lead to "resignation among people who are unfavourably placed" (p.81), for example because of their background. Bourdieu's work similarly seeks to identify what engenders "illusions of destiny" (Watts, 2007, p.7.) Using his concepts to uncover the 'what' in the personal experiences of the female academics in this study has led them to apply barriers or restrictions to their own career expectations, might give organisations greater understanding about why regimented practices aimed at improving female academics' promotion successes may not be the best (or at least the only) approach.

For example, if some women do not believe a senior post is part of their future, giving them case studies of successful promotion applicants to look at may not make any difference to them. In contrast though, discovering how female academics who have had a successful career navigated challenges in their lives may help other women to understand their own situations. The helpers and hindrances in women's career decisions can therefore be better understood through enquiring into their background, the social institutions they have engaged with and the conditioning impact of both of these things on their learned behaviour.

Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital and habitus help in analysing the interplay between a person's background and mind-set and the access to, the creation of and the exploitation of assets to benefit them in the various social structures of their lives. In a similar vein to feminist researchers, Bourdieu (1993,1996) has been particularly successful in highlighting systems of cultural and social control and disadvantage (in the education sphere for example) which also has applicability in studying controls affecting women in the world of the academic workplace.

The following chapters set out the stories of the participants: stories of their early lives and later experiences and incidences within them which have shaped the way in which they have viewed their academic careers, expectations of and opportunities for promotion.

Chapter 5- Career decisions

This chapter is the first of four data, analysis and discussion chapters focused on the main and sub research questions. This chapter on career decisions shows contrasting perspectives on career between the two groups of STEMM and AHME participants and the influence that their family backgrounds and own family lives have had on decision making. It is important for institutions to understand the decisions that female academics may make about their working lives if they are to really address the differential in careers between men and women in the academy.

5.1 Career decisions in summary

From entering the academic environment, there were four types of career decisions made by the women in this study. Table C sets out those decision types, the decisions within them and identifies which set of women those decisions were taken by. In some cases, the decisions were made by the women in only one of the groups. Not all of the decisions applied to every participant in the same way, as every woman's life experiences, arising from their socio-cultural background, have been different. Each of the women's individual decisions do, however, relate to the collection of decisions in some way.

Table C: Career Decisions

Decision Number	Decision Description	Taken By Individuals In Which Groups
Entering Academia		
1	To come into academia after a PhD	STEMM
2	To come into academia as a consequence of a decision by others	AHME
Mobility		
3	To move countries	STEMM
4	To move universities for better jobs	Both groups
5	To stay working at the University of Liverpool	Both groups
Seeking Promotion		
6	To apply for promotion in UoL	Both groups
7	Not to apply for promotion in UoL	Both groups
Leadership		
8	To take up a leadership role	Both groups
9	To give up a leadership post	Majority STEMM

5.2 Career decisions in detail

5.2.1 Decisions 1 & 2: To come into academia after a PhD or as a consequence of a decision by others

After a PhD

The standard route for entering a research based institution (certainly in a STEM academic role) is to come through a post doc research route which follows a PhD (Gemme & Gingras 2012). There were twelve women who studied for a STEM PhD. Seven of them shared similar early life experiences in that they came from families that were university educated, some with family members educated to PhD level and as a consequence, going to university was a normal expectation. The formation of a disposition suited to entry into higher education happened as a consequence of the capital many of them had from their family, as demonstrated in Lisa's story:

> Dad was the middle child of 13 and mum one of 2. Both sets of grandparents were University educated (unusually for the late 1800s/early 1900s). My grandfather had an agricultural engineering degree and was very ahead of his time. He encouraged all of his kids to go to University; the boys did engineering and the girls did biology. Grandma had a degree also… they were a wonderful influence. Mum's family was upper middle class. Grandfather was a research chemist and some of his patented products are still in use.

In some cases it was enhanced by parental involvement in education, as seen in Candy's comments "my parents moved me to a school specialising in maths and physics."

Some women recreated the structures that were common in their family background:

> My dad has a PhD… and my mum became a professional Librarian after graduating from the University of Liverpool (Pat).

> Mum and dad did their PhD and Masters in the UK… I wanted to do a PhD because of dad (Marie).

These examples demonstrate that a person's path to a PhD is influenced by having a social background in which the possession of familial cultural capital gives legitimacy to the perception that they have sufficient academic ability to achieve the same qualification level.

Those in this group (PhD to post doc) that did not come from families with cultural capital in the form of a university education had an ability in science and were fortunate to be encouraged by family and friends to make use of their interest and educational opportunities. The emphasis

for them was on learning, as can be seen in Lou's and Roberta's stories, both of whom were keen on science and had fathers who encouraged them to get a degree.

> I wanted to be a scientist. I was internally driven by science. Dad was happy, partly because of his own missed opportunities and he recognized the reason I wanted to do science… He saw the investment in education: to learn more; it's not about getting a job; it sets you up for life (Lou).

Roberta described her parents as working class but they were influential because they encouraged her to go to university. This encouragement was enhanced by her engaging with other people for whom university was the norm.

> Mum was an advocate for education because she had to leave school at 15… I was reasonably clever...and did A levels in sciences…I was encouraged by dad to go to university… I had a boyfriend from a middle class and academic background [and he and his family] applied to Cambridge. It was an automatic expectation [for them]

In these two examples we see women being able to negotiate opportunities to change the social trajectory that might have been expected of them. Being encouraged to enter university helped them to recognise the capital they held and to gain confidence from that. It helped them create a mental disposition more suited to the environment of academe. The HE opportunity allowed their habitus to evolve (Wacquant 2005) as a consequence of having a different experience to their parents such that it was "capable of transcending the social conditions in which it was [initially] produced" (Reay, 2004b, p.435.) This is depicted nicely in Chris's story about her background and the development of an academic disposition.

> My parents came from poor working class but did different things to what was expected… [They] would have liked me to be a doctor… [but] I was interested in science, biology, cells and molecules from comprehensive school. There were some good teachers who took interest in people that worked hard… [they] helped with decisions about university. They told me about molecular biology… I got really interested in my subject and my final year project. I got a 2:1 degree and in some ways, the same as at school it seemed natural to go to university, it seemed appropriate to do a PhD

The women who went into academia after a PhD also shared a passion for their discipline from a very early age and were encouraged by influential people to progress that passion. According to Bourdieu (1989), people's personal interests are usually shaped by the social settings of their background and shared with those around them. Although there was a mix of backgrounds in this group of women, many were encouraged in science or mathematics as children. Those who

came from middle class families tended to have support which was paid for such as extra tuition (Pat), through membership of clubs (Candy and Sandy): their family's economic capital benefiting them. Those from working class families were given (non-financial) support such as encouragement by important family members (Lou and Julie); friends (Roberta) or teachers (Jamie). Such encouragement is normally associated with the habitus and cultural capital traits of the middle classes (Lareau, 1987), however, whilst the women may have reported that they came from a working class background, their stories indicate that their parents had an academic habitus which was not allowed to flourish because of family pressures. The parents passed their ability, interest and motivation on to their children and used the cultural capital that they did possess (books, intellectual conversation) to reinforce an academic habitus in their daughters.

The participants who chose academia as a career did so whilst studying at university. The women were encouraged into the academic career by working alongside doctoral students and researchers whilst doing their degree, which fed their interest in research, as can be seen in the examples below:

> I saw PhD students and post docs, in year 3 [of my degree]. I was lab based and decided research might be a good thing to do. They were friendly and talked about options with me (Julie).

Jamie talked about how she met post docs whilst doing her PhD and found out what she needed to do to be competitive for a post doc post

> I published 3 papers whilst doing the PhD (which wasn't typical). This set me up to get a post doc. I got this before I was viva'd. I am very driven and am good at finding out what is needed to get what I want… I saw post docs and what they did and I decided I wanted to be one of them.

Stevie commented that choosing a post doc role enabled her to pursue her passion in science and Pat spoke about how her interest in mathematics drove her to want a job where this would be her focus

> I decided to do Chemistry [because] I wanted to be a scientist and save the world. [After the PhD] I got a post doc at [a university in the Midlands], it was part of my plan to be a proper scientist (Stevie).

> I knew I enjoyed maths so wanted to stay doing it, so I decided to do a PhD. During the PhD I had a few thoughts about what I might do. These included lecturing and a post doc (Pat).

The experiences of these women as PhD students shows how they were socialised into the role by others just beginning their own academic career journey (Thornton & Nardi, 1975 in Gopaul, 2011). The post docs helped them to understand the capital necessary to do the job, were the main structure through which the rules and requirements to play the game were made clear and the encounters enabled these women to generate a sense of what they could expect if they stayed in academia. Forming the habitus of academe early on, this framed the decisions they took such that they positioned their futures to align with an environment they already felt at home with.

As a consequence of a decision by others

The first roles of the women in this group were in allied health or in adult education. Five of the seven women came into academia because they were teaching their profession in a hospital environment. They moved because of the change of allied health education to degrees or because of a change in the way continuing professional development (CPD) was funded. Their passion for training others meant that if they wanted to continue with this work, they had to leave the NHS and become university employees. The sixth participant working in temporary part-time teaching roles in adult and higher education applied to cover a role for someone going on maternity leave. The final participant in this group entered academia as a student, on a government funded place to undertake a Master's degree, whilst on sabbatical from nursing. Her education led her into part-time academic work and concurrently, a part-time PhD. Unlike the women who followed the PhD-post doc route, these women entered the workforce as lecturers (two of them as senior lecturers because of their seniority in the NHS) but without the usual capital required to be offered an academic post, as Keitha's statement shows: "[w]e were teaching at degree level when most staff didn't have degrees."

The features of the early social environments of the seven women in this group were different to many of the women in the other group, in that that they did not have parents with degrees, and they did not have any encouragement to pursue an academic interest. As a consequence, only two went to university to study for a degree (Frances, after exam re-sits, and Mary). Mary was the only one to enter the academic workplace with a doctoral level qualification which she undertook part-time whilst working in the NHS. Frances and Mary described their parents as 'becoming' middle class because of their jobs. Frances's parents gained professional jobs as a chartered surveyor and town planner; Mary's dad became a chartered accountant by undertaking his qualifications whilst working and her mum studied for a social work

qualification. Being 'not quite' middle class meant that these women did not have accrued capital from their background which would influence their identity and their perception of what they could expect in life. Nor did they have parents who would cultivate their schooling and expectation towards higher education. It was left up to them to decide if they wanted to go to university and what to study, as is indicated by their comments below:

> The group I hung around with didn't go to university, but I suppose that at the back of my mind it was an option. Not everyone [in my school] went to university and people could have a good job without. My parents didn't really mind what I did... [they] were laissez-faire. Probably too much... I left with 1 O' level and went to work in Sainsbury's. I decided I didn't want to do this forever, so then went to an FE College (Frances)

> She [mum] said it was up to me...I did [my choice of degree] because a friend of my mother's had done a degree in it....I didn't have any aspirations (Mary)

The other five did not go to University but went into nurse or allied health training immediately from school. The socio-economic status of their parents impacted on their views of and achievement levels in education. There were examples that, because of their own restricted experience and knowledge of what was possible, some of the women's parents applied a "taste for necessity" approach to education (Bourdieu, 1984, p.374). That is, they acknowledged the legal requirement that children go to school and that they need to be educated before they go to work but, in respect of education after schooling, "that's not for the likes of us" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 77). As Keitha described, even doing homework was questioned, never mind going to university.

> All relatives worked in the same [Mill] business... all lived within 3 or 4 miles of where they were born... No-one had ever been to grammar school. Mum, dad and my sister couldn't understand why I had to do homework... university... was just a step too far

Others talked about being left to their own devices regarding education:

> I came from a working class family .... I didn't have any sense that it [not doing further education] would have an impact on me (Amy)

> We were poor materially ....My parents really valued education but couldn't help us other than life education.... I didn't have any aspiration, I just knew I had to get a job. I was frightened of not getting a job because I didn't want to end up on the dole. I saw how people in the area were, who didn't have an education, and I didn't want to end up like that (Jean)

The major capital in the field in which most of this group started their first careers was practice-based, a form of technical education and training. This moved across with them and they started their academic careers on the same basis:

> When we came in we were teacher-practitioners (Keitha)
>
> My job was a practice role, the students needed to know how to do things (Trish)
>
> Training people…supervising students (Mary)

The majority of these women entered academia with limited understanding of what they were coming into. They were lacking in the resources (PhD/research) needed to participate on an equal footing and were placed in an area of academia where they were restricted from gaining those resources because of the emphasis on practice-based rather than research-led academic work. They were, therefore, put in a position of deficit by being excluded immediately from participation in activities that could lead to promotion.

5.2.2 Decisions 3, 4 & 5: To move countries, jobs or to stay working at UoL

International mobility

Twelve of the nineteen female participants in this study moved universities and of those, six moved countries. The international movers were all STEMM participants and moved to study for a PhD in preparation for an academic career, to carry out post doc work and/or to gain their first lecturer post. Initial international moves were mainly to or from the US or the UK. These are not surprising findings, as numerous studies highlight mobility as part of the early academic career (Russell Group, 2013; Penney et al, 2015), that English speaking countries exert the greatest mobility influence (Bauder, Hannan & Lujan, 2017) and that mobility is a catalyst of early science academic career success (Netz & Jaksztat, 2017; McAlpine, 2016).

Marie talked about how she came to the UK to do a PhD because she was advised by her parents (one an academic and both with PhDs) that she would need this if she also wanted to research alongside being a clinician. Candy commented that in Western Europe, where she did her PhD, it was normal to go abroad because of the nature of post doc roles and the time it would take to get a lecturing role in the country she was working in

> The job is a sort of post doc for 3 plus 3 years… but it's not permanent. Then you might spend more time abroad. Often first positions aren't achieved until age 40.

Sandy, an Eastern-European born academic, says that she went to the US first to do a PhD because of the lack of opportunities in her own country. Conference speaking as a student led to a post doc role in Europe. Her decision to be mobile for studies created further opportunities for her. She moved to another university in Europe with the research team that had initially engaged her. With five years' experience as a post doc she secured her first lecturer role in Liverpool having built her own credibility through mobility (Fox & Faver, 1981).

Others participants indicated that they understood the possibilities of securing improved knowledge production through having access to the right contacts in different countries (Azoulay, Ganguli & Zivin, 2017). Pat says she knew she needed to do research where she could produce papers and get some lecturing experience and approached researchers in the USA that were known to her PhD tutors but she only appreciated the benefits of working for a renowned academic when she went for a permanent academic post:

> Only later when being recruited as a lecturer did I appreciate the importance of connections and referees. I believe that an FRS professor [supervisor]… helped in securing the post.

Lou decided she wanted to go to North America and sought help to identify who she might work for, "I asked one of the Profs who the good people were". The move benefited her because being part of a leading professor's team in the US, she was able to move with that team when the professor moved to the UK to work. The experience enabled her to secure job offers for her first lecturing post at Liverpool and Cambridge.

Having an understanding of the impact that mobility has on personal reputation was also demonstrated by Lisa. She talked about the impact of leaving her post doc in a well -respected US institution to come to the UK to get married, as "career suicide", because she left without completing her research and so had no publications to show on her CV for the time she had worked in a prestigious university. The impact of doing this was that she was only able to secure lab experiment work until she secured a fellowship.

These women (excluding Lisa) used their resources of cultural capital, converting that into social capital, to enable them to secure opportunities for further cultural capital development for use in their academic careers. This supports the idea that cultural capital is a resource that individuals can invest in in order to enhance their chances of upward career mobility (Bourdieu, 1985).

In-country mobility

In contrast to the women who were internationally mobile, few of those who moved universities in the UK did this for capital development, rather they did so with their environs at the heart of their decisions. They moved later in life, with more academic experience, but with family commitments part of their life outside work. The decision to move was, therefore, discussed with their family before being taken. Mary and Roberta moved to improve their working environments, having being subjected to unacceptable behaviour from colleagues or managers. Mary commented how her family and friends helped her with the decision to move and Roberta, how she had discussed and agreed the work situation and a job move with her husband, who also moved jobs at the same time. Chris moved within the Liverpool area, for a permanent role, and then a more senior job, because of family ties to the area. Stevie left her science academic job to join UoL in a non-clinical medical education role because it was what was on offer near to her husband. Angela moved sideways as a lecturer to live with her new partner. There is nothing unusual about these findings which are similar reasons to those described in other studies (see Allen, Drevs & Ruhe, 1999). Whilst none of the women expressed views about their decisions being affected by their gender, there was a sense of duty to domestic and family responsibilities in their decision making. This took the forms of seeking greater financial stability for the family, discussing decisions with their families or making choices that were on the basis of family/partner. A Bourdieusian perspective on these findings might suggest that this is the realisation of the habitus shaped by the social order of society, such that the conditions the women placed on their mobility were pre-reflexive of their conditioning to care for others before (or alongside) themselves.

A decision not to be mobile

Some participants who did not move from UoL did so for family/caring reasons which is a similar finding to other academic studies (Kahn, 2012; Women in Academic Medicine, 2008). Lisa, Trish, Frances, Amy, Marie, Candy and Cara all talked about having to have a job where they could also care for young children, which placed limitations on them moving. Other more positive reasons for staying in a job included being contented with their circumstances:

> I love the work with students (Amy)
>
> I set up all the student support services …real pleasure out of doing this (Trish)
>
> I like supervising students (Mary)

I love teaching (Cara).

The contentment expressed by the women with certain areas of the academic role emphasises Bourdieu's thinking on the gender division of tasks. The resilience of the social order of women doing the caring is reflected in the 'softer' duties described above and which lead women to not make changes in their careers.

Finally, some women described staying at UoL through loyalty to the organisation. Julie talked about it being where she built her reputation and Lisa because of the people that had given her support when she came to the UK. Lou talked about loyalty being part of her upbringing leading to "it not being right to promote myself and being committed to the organisation that appointed me". For Lou and Julie, the loyal disposition demonstrated in their stories could be as a consequence of their habitus; that is, working class girls 'done good', affecting their agency to move.

5.2.3 Decision 6 & 7: To apply or not apply for promotion in UoL

Sixteen of the nineteen participants said they had applied for promotion in Liverpool, although there were significant differences between the STEMM and AHME groups in the time taken to apply for and achieve promotion. The findings show a number of factors affecting decisions to apply for promotion. These include understanding the criteria for promotion, having a personal view that the criteria for promotion were met and, having someone to discuss the promotion criteria and their application with.

Those applying under the long-established Teaching and Research (T&R) criteria were able to apply more easily and more often. For example Roberta talked about her quick succession of promotion applications "SL in 91, Reader in 94 and Chair in 96." The example below show the ease of decision making when the criteria are clear, where the traits of the academic habitus are possessed (confidence and self-promotion) and a contribution to academic capital valued in the field can be demonstrated. Pat, a T&R academic, knew she needed research papers for her application and prompted the discussion with her manager about promotion:

> I found out I hadn't been put forward by the department (this was the process at the time). I spoke to my Head of Department [and], once I advised him of my papers, he told me to put in a case. He fully supported me and I got it. Had I not had the confidence to raise this, no-one would have thought of me…. I put in in 2011 [as well]. There had been a change in the process and the paperwork was horrendous. The criteria was clear though, and I felt I did well at interview (Pat)

The embeddedness of the route to promotion based on research meant that the women in STEMM had good support from their managers. Sandy's manager was very supportive of her career, guiding her when to apply even though she was unsure herself:

> The Head of School told me to go for SL [after 3 years]…I got SL in 2014 and then Reader in 2015. I thought I was pushed to go for Reader. I wasn't sure I was ready (Sandy)

Without a track record in research and an alternative set of criteria enabling a promotion on the basis of teaching and scholarship activity, the women in AHME did not apply for promotion for many years. Trish reported that she commenced her career as an allied health academic in 1992 but "It wasn't until 2013, 21 years later that I got my SL." Even when the Teaching and Scholarship (T&S) promotion criteria were introduced in 2009, the lack of clarity about what could lead to promotion created problems for those considering whether to apply. The women in AHME and their managers continued to accept, apply and comply with what they understood was the "natural academic order of things" (Reay, 2004a, p.36), subjecting themselves/being subjected to symbolic violence, as indicated by the extracts below:

> It was difficult because no-one could tell me about the criteria, I was first in the department through T&S. The Head of Department and Head of School said they would support me to go for it, but it was something new… My line manager asked me to send the application and he said he would give me feedback… he didn't call me so I contacted him and he said 'I don't think you have got what is needed'. I lost my confidence (Cara)

> I didn't have any experience of the process but my Head said I couldn't apply because she said she had been told I couldn't apply [so I didn't apply] (Angela).

> She told me I should know my place, to get used to it and to get over it as I was not doing the right sort of stuff…she didn't want me to be disappointed…I was stopped at the first hurdle but this meant that I had time to build up my case so that going forward, promotion [would be] a productive experience (Chris)

5.2.4 Decisions 8 & 9: To take up a leadership role and to give it up

Until a few years ago, the appointment process for leadership roles was less formal and individuals tended to be asked or encouraged to put themselves forward to manage a department or area. In the last few years, the process has moved over to a competitive external recruitment process. Nine of the participants decided to take up leadership roles (six AHME

and three STEMM) and the reasons they gave for taking up academic leadership roles are set out below.

The women in STEMM who took up leadership positions had different reasons for doing so. Roberta talked about the job being a way to have some control but also because she liked to do new things. She recalls being "always up for a challenge" and, having been offered the headship of a smaller medical department earlier in her career, liking "the nurturing... the power [and] influence".

Marie saw undertaking a leadership role as helping her progress her career:

> I need leadership roles to be a professor. I was appointed as Deputy Head of School a year ago with the possibility of progressing to Head of School. I am not sure I want to do it at this stage of my life as the kids need my time, although I do like certain things in the role

Julie's initial reasons for taking on a HoD role was to gain an understanding of the role, but once gaining that understanding, she decided to give it up because of the impact on her research:

> The HoD role has taken me away from research… If I get this [research centre leader role] I will step down as HoD, as this seems better for me in terms of my research. The HoD role has taken me away from my research… You need experience to be a Head but things get in the way of the academic role. I think I have gained from it but it's not a forever role for me

Roberta also described how her research "took a bit of a hit" when doing the job. She stepped down because she felt that the job had lost the status that had drawn her to the role "The role changed because of the [faculty] restructure – it had less influence."

The view that being a HoD can impact on research and on the academic identity is supported by Floyd & Dimmock (2011). This is perhaps the reason why only a few STEMM participants decided to take on the job. With fewer women taking up leadership roles in the sector (Manfredi et al, 2014; Shepherd, 2017), this is an important issue that needs further examination if we are to have a pipeline of women for the top jobs.

In respect of the AHME participants, two of the six applied for leadership positions when they joined the sector from the NHS, as a consequence of the senior positions they held in the NHS.

The other four AHME participants described how they saw the leadership position as a way to help them further their careers as leaders or as academics. Chris was initially asked to cover a Deputy Head role whilst a colleague was on maternity leave. She said that this helped her refocus on what she wanted in her career: a job in academic management rather than as an academic

> I then started to apply for other jobs as I didn't want to go back. I saw the big picture, I didn't just want to be an academic.

This initial foray into leadership enabled Chris to secure a series of academic leadership roles as Acting Head, Head of Department and beyond.

Trish and Jean both thought that a management post might be a way to gain an academic promotion. This strategy did not work for them and it was 9 years after Trish first took up her Headship role that she got promotion. She says "I became Head of Department in 2004 [but] I didn't get SL even though other Heads of Department were." She was eventually promoted to SL on the T&S path in 2013. When Jean's decision to pursue a leadership role in order to gain academic promotion did not have the desired effect, she was left feeling very disappointed and without clarity on what she needed to do to get promoted. Amy applied for an interim managerial post because she did not want to be managed by "another awful" stand-in manager whilst her HoD was on a further secondment. Her experience in the interim role made her apply for the job permanently when her manager left the role "because it was easier".

It is unsurprising that some of the women in AHME saw leadership as a route to academic promotion because the University's promotion criteria require evidence of leadership activity for progression. These women were, therefore, simply complying with the documented rules of the game. Without their ability to comply with the unwritten doxa though (that only research gets you promoted), their decision to take on a HoD position was insufficient to get them over the line in promotion terms.

Despite this, most of the women in AHME who took up leadership roles have remained in them. Their reasons for doing so were to do with liking the position and what it enabled them to do and, in a case similar to Amy's, not wanting to work for a poor manager. Mary and Keitha sum this up nicely:

> I like to do different things... training people… supervising students. I am looking at the impact of reflective spaces for people to consider the emotion impact of their work. I have a lovely hard working experienced team and have links to the NHS (Mary)

> A poor appointment … drove me... I thought I don't want to work for a rubbish manager again. I have managed working relationships with poor leaders so that I have been given the freedom and support to make decisions. (Keitha)

The only AHME participant who stepped down from her leadership role was Amy. She did so because of an opportunity to get involved in research, which has led to her developing a research profile and has enabled her to get promoted on the T&R path rather than possessing the status of leader.

Chapter 6 - Career Hindrances

6.1 Introduction

This chapter concentrates on the experiences which the participants in this study said had hampered them with their careers. To understand why this might be, the women's stories are looked at in more detail. The literature on what hinders female academics tends not to differentiate between groups but instead identifies common features. Morley (2011) and Lipton (2017) note that female academics have more hurdles to climb than their male counterparts because the environment is male dominated, misogynistic and patriarchal. As such, women may start their careers doing supportive roles for more senior male academics - Reay calls this "the spade work" (2000, p.15) - and may continue this by moving onto doing the 'housekeeping' (DiNitto, Aguilar, Franklin & Jordan, 1995; Misra et al, 2011). Women tend to be more collegial than competitive (Wright, Cooper & Luff, 2017) which results in them having a smaller amount of the capital valued in the field, because they do less "productive" and more "emotional work" and have time out of the job for caring (Harley, 2003, p.389).

In this chapter the experiences of both sets of participants (STEMM and AHME) are detailed and a comparison is made of the differences and similarities. This chapter shows that, whilst most of the women in this study have had some obstacles to overcome in their careers, it is the women in the AHME areas that have faced greater challenges. Certainly it has taken them much longer to progress in their academic careers. Five of the nine AHME women progressed in an average of eighteen years to senior lecturer (SL) – three times as long as their STEMM counterparts and the men in their Faculty. Two AHME participants came in from the NHS on an SL grade and remained on that grade (one has now retired and another is still on the grade eight years into her career) and another woman, who started her career as a lecturer in non-clinical medical education twenty years ago, came in with a PhD in bio-chemistry but has not progressed at all. Only one of the nine has had success at the highest level, more recently achieving a leadership role on the senior management team of another university.

6.2 Hindrance number one: More teaching; more administration

6.2.1 Experiences of the women in AHME

Many women in AHME explained how they had commenced work on T&R contracts, with the premise that their job involved both teaching and research. At some point early in their

academic career, their roles became teaching and support focused, meaning their time for research was marginalised. Some stopped researching completely and others did it in their own time. Angela identified that time for research was restricted for those teaching on NHS courses, referring to her work being "policed" by managers, resulting in her doing her research at home at weekends:

> When I came in, the only contract was T&R. This was the right thing as far as I was concerned. There wasn't T&S…At some point… research almost became a dirty word… then it became tougher for those teaching NHS courses… in my core working hours I did teaching and marking etc…but other stuff [research] at home.

Jean described a similar experience when appointed to her role:

> I was appointed in 1999/2000 as a lecturer in [an allied health area] on a teaching and research contract. As an academic it became apparent when I started, that the job wasn't research. I did this outside work.

Those engaged in the non-clinical medical education area of AHME also experienced excessive teaching and administrative commitments but for different reasons to those working in allied health. A few of them talked about being lone workers having no-one to share the work with:

> I had no time to do research, because I was doing all of the ethics and masters on my own; lots of teaching and student facing activity (Frances)

> [The interim Programme Director] went off sick, so I had to do his job and my own (Amy).

Others talked about resource constraints and a lack of support for research:

> [The] job was mainly teaching and a half-baked attempt to do research. My lab-based research died off because there weren't any resources and no support (Chris).

> Research is up to me and there is no mechanism to include it (Mary)

> I wrote some papers but the unit became directionless… There were no drivers to do research because… everyone has left, so I am doing T&S type work (Stevie).

From my position as the HR Director in the organisation, I am able to say that this situation has been exacerbated by the structure of their faculty (Health & Life Sciences) which, on the appointment of a new University senior team in 2009, was reorganised on the basis of separating out the teaching from the research activity. The aim of the re-structure was to improve research

performance in the organisation, but what this has resulted in is an unequal distribution of men and women by contract type across the faculty – with fewer female clinicians and more women in teaching focused roles.

Table D: Gender breakdown by contract type Faculty of Health & Life Sciences, 2018

CONTRACT TYPE	FEMALE	MALE
CLINICAL ACADEMIC	94	124
TEACHING & RESEARCH	127	194
TEACHING & SCHOLARSHIP	200	121

The interviews with the women in AHME showed the awareness they had of the stratification of the social world they inhabit, the order of importance given to the different types of academic work and the lack of weight given to teaching and student support activities, despite such activities being important to key stakeholders such as the NHS. For example Trish shared her frustration about the differing value she felt the organisation gave to teaching. "There appear[s] to be no recognition that teaching is very important". This was echoed in Jean's comments:

> Because I am teaching an allied to health subject, the timetables are packed. We work all year round. Professional teaching is not valued… I raised [promotion] with [the] HoD…she said I didn't have any research… all colleagues understood this [no research, no promotion].

The women in AHME were aware of the importance of research to academic promotion but being assigned to a specific area of the academic space (the field of teaching) and excluded from scholarly practice (from the field of research), they were denied access to the forms of capital that influence the habitus of the field, the field itself and the ability to compete within it. They understood the importance to the reputation of the institution of economic capital in the form of research grants, and prestige resulting from international/world leading research outputs, but could not engage in activities to support or build that reputation. They felt unable to align with the disposition of the doxa. This is an example of the hierarchy of sub-fields in a main field and the battle between them which Bourdieu refers to as the symbolic struggles

> of which the different fields are the site, where what is at stake is the very representation of the social world and, in particular, the hierarchy within each of the fields and among the different fields" (1985, p.723).

Mostly the women struggled to see how to change their position. A couple who were determined to keep their research going had to make personal sacrifices to do so. Frances reported taking unpaid leave to carry out research and Angela had to move away from teaching and her support network in order to undertake research:

> I went for fellowship funding and got an NIHR fellowship. I transferred out of teaching completely in January and started on that project… I have no colleagues around me related to my research… They [her former managers] would not allow a member of research staff to stay with her peers in teaching... I am losing contact with those I was working with. Most of the research is with external contacts but I am remote from peers.

Frances also identified that as she got older, she felt more able to challenge the position she was in and her manager, in order to be able to do what was necessary to get promoted. The phrases she used were:

> I learned to keep pushing [my] reticent… HoD

> The year I turned 50, I sort of became a bit more stereotypical male. No-one is going to give it to me without me pushing

> I have become a bit more authoritative.

It was Frances's and Angela's disposition (their habituses) that enabled them to acquire more capital which acted as currency in the field.

6.2.2. Experiences of the women in STEMM

From the stories of the women working in STEMM subjects, it can be seen that, although employed on teaching and research contracts, they were expected to take on more of the teaching and service duties:

> I do more teaching than my male colleagues. I have taken over more course module leadership roles (Cara)

> My situation was not comparable: I was doing lots of teaching, co-ordinating modules, working on teaching awards (Lisa)

The action of taking on more work and not arguing about the inequity in workload or allocation could be described as acquiescing to unequal structures. According to Chow (2018), women acquiesce in the working environment, where decision makers are more likely to be male (as in the case of HE), and when they have concerns about losing a job or a job opportunity. In this

study, there were a few women who were concerned about securing permanent roles which adds a slight twist to Chow's work. These women also had personal circumstances that they were looking to resolve and which seemed to underpin their decision to accept an inequitable work allocation. For example, Lisa had left a post doc role in another country to marry a UK academic who had been offered a job at UoL and she needed to seek out new work. She was willing to take the chance of uncertain work and a heavy workload to be in the UK and near her husband, demonstrating the subordination of her career to her husband's.

> The Head of Department… told me he would give me a contract for 4 years but I had to cover 3 people's teaching…plus teaching on the Master's programme, two new programmes to develop and do research…. I felt lucky to be at the University where my husband worked across the road.

Candy moved from another European city, from a temporary post doc role into a lecturing position in Liverpool, bringing her young daughter with her. She recounts that there were very few jobs at the European university at which she was working and as a consequence her options were limited.

> I would have had 2 or 3 years of uncertainty or moving around the world and constantly applying for jobs [to try and secure a permanent role but] I had a 5 year old child to provide for.

Having applied for jobs for several years without success, she received an offer of a lecturer post in Liverpool and started on a probation period of three and a half years. As with anyone on a probationary period, it is not unreasonable to expect that a person may feel insecure or that they have less control over their workload. However, in Candy's case, she recalls accepting a heavy teaching load that impacted on her grants because of the added pressure of being a single parent, she needed the security.

> Grants [were] affected because of the teaching load. There were not many women with kids doing this as it was difficult to manage a family situation as well as a career without security.

Cara described how she initially accompanied her husband to Liverpool from another country so that he could do his PhD as he needed it for his academic role. She left a highly skilled chemical engineering post, intending to go back, but could not return because of the political situation in their home country. This led to her undertaking a range of lower skilled work and a period she describes as "very hard" because of financial hardship and personal illness.

Eventually, she commenced a PhD herself and whilst doing this she undertook demonstrating work that later worked as a University teacher. In 2011 she secured a lecturer post on a T&S contract. Despite the University having promotion criteria for academics on a T&S career path, her manager told her she would never progress: "I was told I could have the job but no promotion". She says she accepted this because "I love teaching."

There are two ways in which the experiences of these participants can be interpreted. The first is that they were prepared to undertake an academic job with a heavier teaching load because of gratitude (Fehr, Fuller, Awtrey & Miller (2017). The second is that because the women needed work which was then also capable of meeting their social relationship needs, they were vulnerable to being exploited in their work situation (Hirsch 2014) and that these examples are in fact examples of people in power taking advantage of them. Fehr et al. (2017) refer to "episodic gratitude" (p.364) occurring as a response to a benefit someone receives (i.e. getting a job.) The way in which some women expressed their appreciation for being offered their post indicates that they were grateful to have a job which also met their needs outside work:

> I was just happy to be settled (Cara)
>
> I felt lucky to be at the University where my husband worked across the road (Lisa)

Fehr et al. also suggest that "attentiveness to alternative outcomes" (2017, p.368) can lead to gratitude. Jamie made reference to the limited academic roles available in her field "my subject specialism means that there are only a small number of institutions in the UK, so there are not a lot of places to go". In addition, whilst working in another part of the country, she had become engaged to a person in Liverpool and wanted to be near them. The alternative outcomes that may have resulted in feelings of gratitude in Jamie's case were that she may not have been able to secure an academic post near to her partner and her family life would have been disturbed.

It is possible to see from these examples how being grateful for roles which allowed the women to be near to loved ones or gain work security in an insecure academic market could have led them to being prepared to do whatever was asked of them in the workplace. It is also possible to view their experiences in the initial appointment phase of their career as exploitation on the grounds of their gender (Reay, 2000). However, as only Lisa mentioned having an excessive teaching load as her career progressed, I have concluded that although the expectation that they

would do a lot of teaching and admin was a problem at the start for these women, this did not continue and instead, other 'hindrances' came into play later in their careers.

6.3 Hindrance number two: Experiences of Patriarchy and Sexism

6.3.1 Patriarchy in AHME - The clinician's handmaiden

Women working in allied health education came to academia after teaching their profession to others in former NHS training centres, having become involved in research whilst working in the NHS and attending university to further their qualifications for health practice or to teach doctors non-clinical subjects. Those coming in from the NHS entered the academic world as professionals in their own field, understanding the logic of the NHS, how it operated, their position in it as an allied health professional in comparison to the medical profession, how they should behave and the value of their capital in that setting.

The habitus of the field of the NHS is reported in a range of studies. Nettleton, Burrows & Watt (2008) refer to the established medical habitus involving doctor solidarity, recognition of hierarchy and macho customs. Miller (2007) talks about the "masculine organizational context and leadership style" (p.432). Parry (1995) refers to the historical mind set of physiotherapists as serving "the medical model" (p. 310), of subordination rather than independence, a suitable profession for women. She also mentions the view of Wood (1989) that physiotherapists are seen as the 'physician's handmaiden' (p314). Taken together, these reports of roles in the NHS demonstrate a hierarchy of importance for the professions and women as subordinate in the field. Despite this, the allied health professionals came into academia having progressed in their first careers. For example Keitha had reached Deputy Superintendent level, Trish was a Senior in charge of intensive care, Amy was a Senior Staff Nurse and Jean was a Superintendent. At the point of entry to academia though, their careers in terms of promotion stalled.

The term 'handmaiden' (Wood, 1989) is normally seen in relation to the power relationships in the NHS. The term was, however, used by a number of the AHME participants in this study to describe their treatment by senior male clinical academic colleagues. Keitha explained "Some people were great to work with and others treated us like the handmaidens". When asked to expand on her experiences, she talked about "the old boys' network [and] digging [those old boys] out of messes they got in." Her role in academia was a similarly supportive

position to that she had played in the NHS. She acknowledged the established hierarchy in her faculty, calling it "the male world of medicine", and that her position was one of assistance.

Angela talked about the lack of endorsement and encouragement she received from male clinical academic colleagues when she was doing a part-time PhD. She commented that although young in age, "they were old fashioned in the extreme". Their view of her role as being less important to theirs is indicated by her further comment: "They just seemed to think that a young female [allied health lecturer], the… hand-maiden, didn't need a higher degree".

Although Frances had joined the medical school from another university where she had taught a non-medical subject to trainee doctors, her experiences were similar to Keitha's and Angela's. She described receiving little assistance from her clinical academic colleagues: "There was not a lot of support because I wasn't a doctor. It wasn't a supportive culture. I was the doctor's hand-maiden!"

Whilst not using the term 'clinician's handmaiden', Amy described similar experiences of having a subordinate position. She reported how she was expected to cover for colleagues on research leave and stop her own personal development. She recalled:

> I was told to put my PhD on the backburner because of my responsibilities ... I carried on doing the PhD but it took the full 7 years because of the job

These examples seem to show a pervasive gatekeeping mechanism aimed at maintaining the differential between those with medical qualifications and those without. They also show deep-rooted attitudes shaping the women's contributions, demonstrating how those with power produce and reproduce the dominant habitus of a sub-field, reinforcing a subordinate/support position for those who are not clinical academics and controlling access to the acquisition of cultural capital with value for career progression.

6.3.2 Patriarchy in STEMM

The experiences of patriarchy in the stories of the women working in STEMM have common features to those of the women in AHME. They demonstrate a gendered culture and practices (Reay, 2004a) in that they illustrate systems where power is held by men, priority is given to men, and the 'worth' of the work or achievements of the women is considered to be subordinate to that of their male colleagues. Yet, where the experiences differ is that the examples of patriarchy have occurred in an environment where the women have the same type of (and in

some cases level of) capital, are subject to the same conditions of the field, have similar interests and share the same habitus as their male colleagues. This is unlike the setting of the women in AHME.

Roberta talked about an experience she had whilst working at another Russell Group university, before she was appointed to UoL Following ten years in a series of post doc roles, which had resulted in a significant track record in grant application success and publications, she was turned down for a lecturing post on three separate occasions by her male head of department. She was advised by a male colleague of the reason she was less likely to be promoted. She was told that, as her husband also worked for the same university, her career was seen as less important than his and she was unlikely to leave the institution if her husband was there. She was viewed by her manager as a chattel of her husband and her ability and track record in the shape of intellectual capital was secondary to his. She recounts:

> One of the other SLs in the department who I got on well with said 'they are not going to give you a job as [Sid] has a job and you keep getting funding for your own post so you won't be going anywhere, so why should they waste the money on you'

Here we see an example of Ortner's view of patriarchy, which is "grounded in an assumption of male superiority and female inferiority" (2014, p.545) combined with a demonstration of Bourdieu's "symbolic violence" (1972, 1980), "the disregard of women's oral and written scientific contributions" (Krais & William, 2000, p.59). The patriarchy experienced by Roberta was successful only in so long as she allowed the prevailing order of domination applied by her manager to continue. It was becoming aware of this manager's use of her personal circumstances (being married to another male colleague) to make his decisions about her promotion that enabled her to rid herself of the social conditions where she could be controlled. She and her husband left that university and secured different roles and, in her case, a promotion.

A further example of power being held by men and the worth of work being done by women being seen as secondary is seen in the experiences of Lisa. Firstly she was not given pay equity when appointed at a similar time as her male colleagues and although there was no reason for this, she was made to wait to address the differential:

> I was appointed at the bottom of the then *lecturer A* pay scale on an academic contract. The department was hiring more staff – males- who were all appointed on *lecturer B*…when the new Head took over I talked to him about it. His view was

that it wasn't personal but that the men had been appointed at a different time [a few months later]. I asked him to move my salary up but had to wait until the following year which I felt was unfair

As pay rates in academe (and elsewhere) are often linked to previous pay rates, this could explain the differential treatment. However, Lisa's HoD made no mention of the male employees joining the University on higher salaries and so her experiences could be viewed as being symptomatic of gender-based pay discrepancies seen more widely in the academic sector.

As in the case of Roberta, Lisa also worked in the same university as her husband and had a child, which made it difficult for her to move jobs. When she applied for promotion she was told she did not meet certain criteria, criteria which were not actually part of the academic promotion criteria of the time (see Table E). She recalled:

> The Head of Department wouldn't put me forward because he said although I had more grant money, the men had more papers and he had a track record of getting everyone through that he put forward and wanted to maintain this

The distinction which comes from having published papers cited by others can add a layer of credibility to the individual and to the institution they come from. In contrast, the winning of grants, although notable, does not deliver on status until the research gets published. Both grants and publications are, of course, important to the University, however, the prioritisation of papers over grants appears to be an example of an unwritten rule applied by someone in power to preserve the structure preferred by him.

The actions highlighted in this section could be seen as forms of "patriarchal resistance": actions aimed at denying women the opportunity to gain more senior positions in the academy (Bagilhole & Goode, 2001, p166). Cara gave an example of requirements regarding promotion applications laid down by her manager which were not applied in the same way to her male colleague: "you have to wait till top of grade 7 to apply". Then, in planning for her next step, Cara sought out opportunities to enhance her leadership skills, so that she could demonstrate her ability to meet the requirements set out in the institution's promotion criteria. She was told that there was a limit on the number of module leadership roles she could do, but the same rule was not applied to her male colleague.

> I was told that I couldn't do more than 4. My manager then gave more [than 4 module leadership roles] to my male colleague. When I raised this with him, he just smiled.

What these examples appear to be are depictions of patriarchal customs which demonstrate an encouragement of men and support for their development (possibly in exchange for some reciprocal supportive behaviour) but a lack of support for women, placing women's careers as subordinate to men's (Bagilhole, 1993). Rather than directly denying women the chance to get promoted, Cara's example shows a more subversive approach to maintaining male power.

6.3.3 Sexism – experiences of women in AHME and STEMM

The women in this study have faced many different types of sexist behaviour in trying to progress their careers. Whilst the individual examples in themselves are clearly unpleasant, it is the accumulation of sexist behaviour which serves to reinforce a view that women were seen as inferior and the action was aimed at putting women in their place. Frances, an AHME participant, talked about how early in her career, the male dominated environment in the medical school had a culture of sexual harassment. Here we see an example of sexism in the form of treating women as sex objects:

> The medical school has a different culture for non-medics – men in waistcoats, hierarchical, who pinched my bum

Another AHME participant (Angela) referred to a lecture given by an eminent consultant from a leading research institution at a national conference who she says, probably without recognising it, denigrated AHME professions with his opening slide. It read "What is an Orthoptist? Well, she is that sort of 'gal' … the sort of career an educated young woman goes into".

If viewed as a form of paternalistic comment, the consultant's presentation slide could be an example of "benevolent sexism" (Bosson, Pinel and Vandello, 2010, p.520). However, the fact that he talked about an orthoptist as an 'educated young woman' could suggest that this is an example of a form of sexism that infantilizes adult women (Huot, 2013). Calling a woman a 'gal' has connotations of a woman in a western film set in Texas that is a play-thing for a leading cowboy character (Costello, 2018, 2019). The consultant's statement may have been meant as a joke, a "we're not seriously sexist" example along the lines of Benwell's "new sexism" in the form of "irony" (2007, p.541), but Angela saw this comment as discriminatory.

One instance of sexism does not illustrate a pattern but it can commence an awareness that there is a problem. Denzin (2001) calls this a *major* epiphany but *cumulative* epiphanies can result in a change of how individuals view themselves, their situation/environment and others.

This can be seen in the reporting of another incident by Angela. She recounted how, when she started her PhD early on in her academic career, she was advised not to do a PhD related to her allied health profession but, instead, to retrain as a medical doctor: "I recall one of the [medics] saying 'oh, you don't want to do that. If you are that keen on academia, you should go back and train as a doctor.'" Angela's examples show how those with more cultural capital feel able to talk about another health care profession in a subordinated way and the prejudice inherent in at least parts of the academic field (medicine and health science), based on gender.

Lisa, a STEMM participant, talked about her recruitment process. The interview involved her competing against six male candidates but the Dean had also arranged for all candidates to attend a dinner and then drinks in the pub with the all-male members of the department. Whilst it is unlikely that the suitability for the job was decided by an individual's participation in the session down the pub, there was the potential for the decision to be influenced by this, which is clearly inappropriate. Arranging a process which includes an evening event could be classed as being indirectly biased against women because they are traditionally more likely to have caring responsibilities after work. What appeared to be at stake in this example was the fit of this female academic within the sub-field, not in respect of her capital, but rather her habitus, whether she accepted that the inculcated practice of 'boozing down the pub' was a normal part of the environment and expectation of those within the place she hoped to progress her career in.

Other subtle, sexist behaviour was experienced by the same participant. Here she talked about being interviewed for a promotion to SL, where a male professor on the panel winked at her whilst she was making her presentation. Whilst it is possible to consider that the wink was meant as a supportive gesture, when this is viewed alongside the drinking incident above, it is difficult not infer a type of "pack mentality" or "group-think" which is offensive or disrespectful towards women(Phipps & Young, 2015, p.316).

Examples such as the ones above create the picture of an embodied "lad culture" (Phipps & Young, 2015). Where the make-up of a team is mainly men, it is possible that adopting what might be considered the more traditionally male pastime of drinking down the pub is likely to result in reinforcement of the same, to the exclusion of what is different in that team. Further, in not considering the impact of mild 'laddish' culture of "extra-curricular" activity involving alcohol and the other example given of misogynistic behaviour linked to the "objectification of women" (Phipps & Young, 2015, p.462), this is likely to lead women to perceive that the

organisation they want to work and progress in believes it is alright to treat women in this way. It is the fact that these incidents occurred in "a situation in which it is effectively out of place" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992 in Dick, 2008, p.331) that makes it an example of sexism. Examples which show a misperception of the social space and which negatively characterise those in dominant positions and the powerlessness of those who are dominated can also be classed as symbolic violence (Weininger, 2005). While senior male academics may see their behaviour as normal or acceptable in the historically male fields of academic science and medicine, the result of this is an environment which is likely to be less helpful to women's careers. The men in these extracts of the women's stories appear to have assumed that there is a "common world" with a shared "set of beliefs" and do not appreciate that other people in the field have "a unique individual history and experience[s] the "common" world from this unique position. The common world is thus never identical for everyone" (Eelen, 2001, in Mills, 2003, p.93).

6.3.4 How the women responded to patriarchy and sexism

Similarly to the different ways in which the women in the two groups experienced patriarchy and sexism, they also responded differently to such experiences.

For the women in AHME, the culture of sexism increased their feelings of insecurity about their performance. They expressed feelings of not being good enough, playing it safe or being without hope:

> I thought I would need to be able to fly before I can get an SL (Trish)

> I haven't been through the promotion processes [because the] contract restricted me (Stevie)

> I had written myself off (Amy)

Self-doubt is a common reaction to sexism according to Bosson, Pinel and Vandello (2010). Chaing, Low & Collins (2013) suggest that this reaction is a "quiet acceptance of their fate" (p.77), which is along the same lines of the findings by Savigny (2014): that women start to believe certain assumptions about themselves and drop their expectations. These women exhibited what Reay describes as an "insubstantial academic habitus [and] a position of subservience" (2004a, p.36). As a consequence of facing sexism and patriarchy in the workplace, they bought into the natural order of male dominance in the academic workplace and sanctioning symbolic violence on themselves (Reay, 2004a).

For the women in STEMM, the culture of patriarchy and sexism brought about an extra challenge: they felt the need to prove their worth by working long hours

> I do 50 hours a week and then more at home (Jamie)

> Whilst my career has been successful, I have had to work all hours and most evenings (Julie)

Women who have experienced patriarchy and sexism can feel that they have work overload (West, 2014). The findings of this research suggest that this is because women take on more work. Whether they do more work or feel they are over-worked, this is an added burden: making it harder for women trying to develop the capital which supports their promotion applications.

Chapter 7 - Career Helpers

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I explain what the participants in this study said were most helpful to them in their careers. The literature on what helps female academics in their careers identifies a number of beneficial practices. Manager and mentor support is frequently featured in helping female academics to be successful (European Commission, 2008; Weir, Leach, Gamble & Creedy, 2014). For academics who may not have experience in research, colleague support in grant and journal writing is seen as useful for helping women to meet criteria for tenure and promotion (Penney et al, 2015). Moral support from colleagues is also seen as useful to help deal with a masculine environment (Wright, Cooper & Luff, 2017). In acknowledging that women often have the responsibility for caring for their family alongside their work, employment policies supporting work-life balance are seen as important in assisting women with their careers (Levine, Lin, Kern, Wright & Carrese, 2011). Lipton (2017) suggests, however, that this results in "a form of 'cruel optimism'" (p.495), meant to enable women to participate and achieve along the lines of male norms rather than in a way appropriate to their gender and different circumstances.

The women in this study gave lots of examples of things they felt had helped them: things which were shared across the two groups of STEMM and AHME. This help took three forms: engagement with helpful others, development/networking opportunities and the women's own resilient natures. The first two forms could be viewed as organisational career help. The third form could be described as having a habitus of resilience (Hernandez-Martinez & Williams, 2013). I start with findings related to this aspect first.

7.2 Helper number one: The habitus of resilience

Resilience occurs where an individual feels able to exercise agency and where there is friction between a person's habitus and the field resulting in them being able to challenge or cope with the circumstances they face (Hernandez-Martinez & Williams, 2013). Although both groups of women faced different sorts of challenges in their careers, many showed natures that were resilient and which helped them overcome problems, as indicated in the extracts below:

The women in AHME:

Amy, who had been advised but had refused to put her PhD on hold in order to cover the work of a colleague, spoke about being "driven personally and never thinking that I couldn't do it".

Chris, who was told by her manager that she did not meet the requirements to progress in her career, did not give up building up her case for promotion, describing her nature as "to solve problems."

The women in STEMM:

When Lisa followed her fiancé to Liverpool, giving up a post doc role in the US and with no job in the UK to come to, she contacted senior academics in her field and asked them if they had any work to do. She was confident enough to "just go for it" because "I had nothing to lose".

Julie did not have the level of academic capital needed to secure an academic role. Instead, she became a technician and with "drive and determination" worked on securing that capital until she was taken on as a post doc

The women used language which showed self-assurance and belief in themselves and gave examples of enabling character traits and behaviours. According to Bourdieu, enabling character traits are usually found in the middle classes and can be viewed as either forms of cultural capital or habitus (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014). The traits are referred to as being "active, engaged, and assertive" (Lareau & Weininger, 2003, p.590) and "impulses that push toward [a] self-investment" (Bourdieu, 1999, p.512). In individuals from a working class background, such traits might be seen as a willingness and intent to grow (Lehmann, 2014).

How the habitus of resilience is enabled

The confidence the participants described came from their early lives and was enabled by their different backgrounds. The women from middle class families, where there were high expectations of their daughters, had life encounters which were supportive and in which they could develop their self-assurance. For these women, embodied familial cultural capital and an expectant family ideology guided their beliefs. The women from working class backgrounds appeared to have a recognition of their lack of cultural and social capital or a family ideology that they wanted to move away from. This created motivated women who wanted to gain access to work that would enable them to develop resources more suited to their vision. Examples of both sets of family experiences which led to the building of confidence are set out in the

vignettes below. Keitha and Amy, AHME academics describe their working class backgrounds and Pat and Sandy, STEMM academics, their middle class upbringing.

The women in AHME:

Keitha talked about making her first career step as an allied health professional. She explained that all of her family had only ever worked in manual roles, locally, and so had no understanding of any other type of work. She believed that she was brighter than her parents and relatives and this, together with meeting different people through a grammar school education, led her to want to improve her own life chances:

> they [my parents] weren't averse to me having a career, just going away, because moving apart from the extended family was 'foreign'….I didn't want to stay at home as I felt I wouldn't get anywhere…I believed that I was more intelligent than my family, so I would have been stifled.

Apart from her faith in her own abilities, it was wanting something better for herself that drove her on. The drive, in some respects, came from mixing with different people.

> My best friend's parents had a business in Old Trafford. They lived in a big house in [Cheshire]. I used to go there for tea and stayed the weekend sometime. It was a totally different life. I wanted to be independent at the start and then I saw the potential

Through her best friend, Keitha was able to meet business people, move in different circles and access different activities (such as going to cricket matches). She talked about meeting other younger, more successful adults "I could see what they had achieved". Through her contact with a middle class family she began to cultivate different norms, values and expectations, cultural capital traits, which influenced her habitus.

Another example of personal drive arising because of dissatisfaction with a family environment came from Amy. She reported that her mum stayed at home to look after her and her sisters but her father, "thought of himself and not really about us making anything of ourselves …and ruled with an iron rod". This made her determined to "go travelling with an unsuitable boyfriend" but in order to do this she had to get a "decent job" so that she had the money to do so. She describes herself as being a "difficult" child; "rebellious", having "an attitude", characteristics associated with being bold and assertive and full of pride. She left home at 16 with "9 O- levels on no work" to be a cadet nurse, which gave her access to financial resources to go travelling and gain her independence. This early self-reliance led to increased confidence

in her own abilities as she got older and resulted in her taking a year out of her nursing job to do a top-up degree; to seek a grant to do her Master's degree and eventually to do a part-time PhD, all to better her career opportunities and "in some ways to spite dad".

The women in AHME roles generally showed how they developed more of a positive view of themselves than perhaps would have been expected because of their backgrounds. When given or having created opportunities for themselves, they moreover had the conviction to act on it. To some extent, Keitha's disposition was helped by engaging with different people. She was motivated and confident because of the interventions of others. However, Keitha and Amy had early "attributes of the person" (Bloomer & Hodkinson, 2000, p.583) which they developed and utilised to their advantage.

The women in STEMM:

The following extracts of stories from Pat and Sandy, who described themselves as coming from successful middle class families, illustrate different types and levels of cultural and social capital leading to the possession of confidence.

Pat talked about her dad having a PhD and being an academic in another HEI and her mother becoming a professional librarian after graduating from university. She described them as "encouraging but never pushed me – they helped me when I asked ….I was an independent child and wanted to do things for myself as well as believing I could." At school she considered various career options open to her because she was academically able – "I thought about doing medicine at University because that's what bright students did". Having grades good enough to get into Oxbridge meant that she mixed with different people – "lots of public school kids" and tutorial arrangements that added to her confidence "My Tutor said I could get a first, so I thought I could". Her career expectations were enhanced by her qualifications "with an Oxbridge degree… I would probably be able to do well at any job."

The confidence to ask for something at an early age that she believed would benefit her and to argue against something she did not want to do is evidenced in Sandy's case. She says

> My parents are intellectual. My mum is a professor of literature and my dad is a
> psychiatrist…. [At age 13] I was good at maths but not brilliant and so I asked my
> dad to help me and get me an extra tutor…When I was 14 I passed the entrance for
> a top maths and physic school… I had the motivation…. aged 16 I decided I wanted

> to do maths [at University]. I convinced dad but mum wanted me to go to medical school…I went against her wishes

Her ability to argue her point, to know her own mind at a very early age, was cultivated by her parents, being socialised to operating in such a way (Swartz, 1997)

These women had conviction in and anticipation of their own success because of what had gone before them. Knowing that support was available within the wider family network (their social capital) made success expected and more easily realisable (Johnson & Honnold, 2011). In contrast, the examples of the participants whose family backgrounds were working class did not have inter-generationally transferred aptitudes or knowledge that created confidence that academic capital achievement would occur in adult life (Tzanakis, 2011). They also did not have the kind of relationships from whom they could seek assistance. It was as a consequence of this lack of capital that led them to develop a disposition which would support them in later life to achieve something better for themselves.

7.2.1 Confidence that comes from knowing and building one's place in the field/sub-field

The self-efficacy that some women demonstrated earlier in life seemed to develop further as they got older. They developed their self-esteem in different ways, within themselves, based on their personal belief, rather than what someone else told them they were good at or what they could or could not do. The individual extracts from the stories below paint that picture.

Amy, a non-clinical medical educator in AHME, had looked at the levels of colleagues in comparable roles in order to present a case for promotion:

> I told [the former HR Director] that I had been a lecturer for 11 years, that I was still dedicated to teaching but that UoL was asking me to pull out the stops, work 24 hours a day with no benefit to my career and, looking around, all other Programme Directors are SL. …I got SL within 3 weeks

Her confidence about her place in and value to the sub field came from her extensive experience as a lecturer, self-belief that would enable her to do the job of Programme Director that the University so urgently needed her to do.

Julie, a health scientist in STEMM, lacked academic capital to enter academia and so she took a roundabout route to her chosen career, starting as a technician. She put this down to her passion and willpower and she wanted to share this with other women.

> This shows that you don't have to move [universities] to get to be a professor. I say that to other females now, as well as not having to get the best class degree… My personal drive and in a subtle way [I had an] eye on the end game of getting into academia and then getting to professor and haven't been diverted.

She says that she did not have a scholarly nature and so building academic capital "was tough". With persistence she built confidence in her abilities whilst doing a part-time PhD. She recalled

> I had two papers [as first author] before I submitted and one or two after… Based on that I applied for a personal fellowship… I was awarded lecturer at the end… because research has been so successful.

What can most likely be seen in this example of confidence is a sense of expectation to achieve, stemming from Julie's academic success (Swartz, 1997).

Reflected in this research is the view that age and experience feature in the development of moral fibre (Sturges, 1999). This research conflicts with the research of Zeldin & Pajares (2000), however, who found that in order for women to be confident in their own abilities, it was essential that others had confidence in them and told them so.

The convictions of some participants in this research appeared to get stronger when they found themselves pitched against the odds in their careers, as evidenced in the following examples.

Coming into academia from the NHS, Keitha reported the adversity she faced but also how the view she held of her own abilities led to success:

> I don't have a doctorate and I don't have any research, so some people perceived me as being thick… I had lots of managerial abilities and teaching experience and progressed my career by having a voice, proving that I was good, earning respect and evidencing that I was worth investing in…. I got [an award from the Dean] for being the best person he had ever worked with.

When Cara, an academic working in pure science, wanted to progress her career, she was stopped from gaining leadership experience (a pre-requisite for promotion) by her manager, so she took control herself:

> I started to look for every opportunity, like working on committees… I got funding from the HEA and educational research projects. I changed year 1 [curriculum], helped with internationalisation, I set up a peer review project, I published things. Because they didn't give me things in the department, I built relationships with other universities. It helped make me stronger.

These examples show how individuals look for ways to demonstrate how the capital they possess aligns with the expectations of the field, where it may not recognisably do so, or to build up capital, when restricted from doing so. These women did this by picking out certain elements of the environment they were working in that were relevant to them and then constructing opportunities to show their worth. These examples reflect findings that confidence breeds resourcefulness (Nafei, 2015) and show how a habitus of resilience is linked to an entrepreneurial habitus (Hill, 2018). The women in the two cases above were not only from different subject areas but also came from totally different backgrounds – Keitha from a white working class, northern UK town and Cara, from a "higher standing" (in her own words) Middle Eastern family. In discussing with them their early lives it was clear that they both were self-assured at a young age – one because of the self-belief that came as a consequence of wanting to address the lack of opportunity that came from her family environment and the other because of her habitus generated by the cultural and social capital of her family. What was interesting though was that when they both faced barriers at work, they were united in personally recognising and using the capital, valued by themselves and in the field.

7.3. Helper number two: Interaction with helpful others

In respect of what else the women felt had helped them with their careers, respondents highlighted the importance of being able to share professional concerns and being able to seek, be offered and gain practical advice from interactions with helpful colleagues and leaders. Receiving care and reassurance from friends and family about their work was also a theme that featured for the women. Social capital in its various forms appeared then to be of utmost importance to the participants in developing their academic careers with only two of the nineteen participants not mentioning receiving support from others around them.

7.3.1 Help in the workplace

Practical help, which came in the form of advice on resource building, applications and interviews, were considered to be measures of positive career support for many women. The women gained ideas from promotion panel members and recently promoted peers on what

might be useful information to put in their applications for promotion in specifically organised promotion guidance events and other help from managers and peers in creating and or evidencing capital. They also had personal support from senior staff in the organisation

The women in AHME:

Two women identified guidance they received about not being fazed when seeking promotion, if at first they did not succeed. This appears to be useful advice on the basis that the research found that it takes AHME academics longer to get promoted. Frances reported that she had gone along to one of the organised sessions on promotions and heard from a male colleague that had applied for promotion four times before he was successful which made her appreciate the need "to keep pushing" if she wanted to get promoted:

> Women have to overcome that fear. They don't feel that pushy is good. Women are hesitant on the whole…no-one is going to give it to me without pushing forward.

Angela gave an example of promotion advice she received from her manager about the timing of her application and the need for persistence:

> [My HoD] advised me I couldn't go for Reader in my first year [after having moved into a research department] because I am unknown so go next year. I did that and got Reader….. It felt easier to get than SL

Chris described advice she had received about building resources necessary to achieve the next rung on the career ladder. She wanted to eventually become a PVC and had been advised by a male colleague that she needed to be a professor first. She made contact with a female HoD in the University and asked for help:

> She really helped shape tactics and helped me focus on what to target. She said 'it's not about what you have done but what you can do for UoL. This is a financial investment. My CV wasn't right for that. She asked me what problems there are in the University that I can solve. I talked about [a problem] and she suggested I saw [a PVC]. I saw him, told him and said what I could do to solve the problem and he let me do it. I applied once for Prof, but didn't get through the [department] filter process…it was probably the best thing to happen because it made me more determined and it gave me 18 months to do more stuff

Here we see an example of the difference between the formal and informal rules of the field. PVC posts in UoL do not specify membership of the professoriate as an essential criterion for appointment. However, a male colleague made the assumption that this would be needed. This is possibly because, at that time, the PVCs were all male professors. Alternatively, he could have advised her she needed to be a professor because of the perception that HE leaders need to be productive in research, competitive, from the top of the hierarchy or in other words have masculine traits (Morley, 2013).

Other women commented on the personal support for their careers that they got from their managers, rather than the targeted promotion sessions run by the institution:

> She was supportive of us all (Trish),
>
> He was really supportive (Amy)
>
> [She] encouraged me (Jean).

All three also highlighted how one HoD used her position to help the institution improve the clarity of promotion criteria for those in the field of teaching.

The women in STEMM:

Candy mentioned learning about how she might positively demonstrate in an application for promotion what she saw as a gap in her CV. She says the promotion advice session "helped me think about what to say about my engagement with grants…not be defensive because of no [sole subject area] grants but how [these] relate to other grants".

Although Candy referred to a problem she saw with her CV as a lack of grants, the failure to secure economic benefit (in the form of grants) is more likely to be a failure to secure cultural/academic capital. This is because she is operating (and trying to secure economic benefit) in the field of academe which is internally defined by cultural capital. Cultural – and therefore academic – capital is a disguised form of economic capital. Put another way, the money itself does not count. It is what it represents (i.e. the disguised form of cultural capital) that counts.

Julie talked about how she was helped to prepare a funding bid, and for the subsequent interview, by more senior colleagues in the same field as her. She recounts

> I was helped by mentors, PIs, who had experience of grant writing and was well-prepared by the group. They helped with interview practice.

As an example of the habitus embedding process described by Bourdieu, she learned "things to do or not to do, things to say or not to say" (1990, p. 53) to fit with the academic research environment. This contributed to success in the achievement of grant income. The monetarised form of academic capital she secured facilitated the development of intellectual capital (Kloot, 2009) which she exploited in her further promotion applications.

In conclusion, it can be argued that women learn promotion tactics from others in the field, but what they learn relates to the area they come from. In STEMM this appears to be research related. In AHME, the learning concentrates on having persistence because of gaps in their capital and academic habitus. Being able to mirror behaviour which they heard about in promotion guidance sessions enabled some of the participants to develop their cultural capital and hone their habitus. These findings show social capital in play in the institution and, through corporately run advice sessions, the beginnings of a breakdown in the power stranglehold of those with the dominant credentials.

A greater level of openness can help women develop a feel for the game of ascendancy (Reay, 2004a) not just knowledge of the rules. Clearly, there are examples of encouragement and support linked to the prevailing doctrines of promotion worthy activities (i.e. research) however the example of Chris showed how she was encouraged to build academic capital in the form of leadership to benefit her career. The statements of Trish, Amy and Jean show a further way in which a change in the power relations in the institution can occur: when someone in a more senior position champions a change to facilitate greater equity (in this case clarity of promotion criteria to give more access to those on teaching and scholarship career paths.)

7.4 Helper number three: Emotional support for the women's careers

One thing that was particularly striking in the findings from the research is the number of women (15) that mentioned how the backing of friends and family added something to their careers. The experiences of help they described were career focused but were not necessarily aimed at or expected to influence the women's career progressions. Instead, some of the support and advice that the women received was concentrated more on getting into or established in a role, to do well in the job, acting as a sounding board, strengthening existing self-esteem and managing their life outside of work. It is not surprising to find such examples

in a study on women's careers, as other research has concluded that women often feel their working lives have been a success if they enjoy their job, perform satisfactorily and if they have achieved balance in the rest of their lives (Sturges, 1999). It is also not surprising that support would be valued, especially as the work of an academic has been described as immense and demanding (Penney et al, 2015). This research contributes to other studies that emphasise help defined as emotional support such as Huffman, Casper, & Payne (2014) who found that more supportive spouses lead to greater career satisfaction and the ability for an individual to take on a more demanding career involving moving locations or working away and the help with balancing career and family described by Penney et al. (2015).

7.4.1 Family support

In terms of family support, there were lots of examples of help with child care. Pat's parents baby sat whilst she wrote applications for jobs and attended interviews. Trish mentioned how family help enabled her to keep on with her career - "being a single parent with two kids…work was the sanity that kept me going" - aided by the help of her "supportive family" and Roberta said that one of the things that enabled her in her career experiences was that her "mum helped with child care." Marie was the only woman to indicate that her husband took on the responsibility of the child care.

Yang (2014) describes social capital arising either from "genealogical kinship" or sharing "characteristics of social formation" (p.1524). These examples of help with caring can be classed as familial social capital which enables the women to enter and remain part of the academic workforce. As it is usually women who take on the load of the child care responsibilities (Hart, 1996; Shafi, 2014) and having children affects the participation level of women in academia (Women in Academic Medicine, 2008; Westring et al, 2016), support like that described above reduces some of the strain so that women can engage with their careers on slightly more of an equal footing.

Family help took more than just the child care route. Chris described how her mother had bought her some new clothes to attend an interview for her first lecturer post after working as a post doc in a laboratory where 'interview clothes' were not the order. The support and pride of family members empowered women to keep going with their chosen career, as indicated by Trish "[m]y parents being thrilled about my career: mum…being proud that I had done better than her boss's kids [and] my brother and sister also supportive". Chris, Jean and Candy all

mentioned encouragement and assistance from their families as being career enablers. Chris commented that her parents encouraged her "to do better than them" and Candy stressed that the thing that was most useful from her family was that "my decisions were not questioned". Encouragement offered from family members could also be challenging, helping the women to make sometimes difficult decisions about their careers as Mary's example shows. She talked about her family being enablers in her leaving "a very stressful environment" in another university, encouraging her to move to a different job.

Six women from the STEMM cohort commented that their partners also worked in academia and so grasped the challenges of building an academic career. Sandy met her husband whilst they were post docs in Europe. Identifying that they would need to move to secure a permanent appointment they agreed "whoever gets the first position, the other would follow". Lisa's husband, a clinical academic working at UoL, helped her with the annual review procedure in the University:

> I didn't receive any support from anyone else from the University with the promotion process but did from my husband.

She stated also that he understood the need for her to work long hours as an academic because of his own clinical and academic schedule.

A number spoke about their experiences of their husbands giving practical help with their careers. For example, Roberta had struggled to get a lectureship in the university she had been a post doc in for ten years. She discussed her experiences of discrimination with her husband who was an academic in the same institution and they both agreed to apply for other posts. They secured posts in the North West of England. She emphasised that her husband was a significant influence in her career because he is "familiar with the system" and because of the "sharing with someone who gets it and is caring and not jealous…and wants me to do well". Another participant (Cara) mentioned that her husband was an academic in UoL and helped her identify a PhD programme, which ultimately led to her securing her first academic post.

It was not just academic husbands though that gave support. Others offered encouragement to progress their career or a non- judgemental listening ear:

> My husband understands what science is about and whilst he hasn't pushed me (he is understated as well) when I asked him he said yes I should apply and that I have deserved one[a promotion] for a long time (Lou)

> When I applied for the job, I only talked to my husband because I thought I was going to make a fool of myself (Chris).

Family and spousal support, be it practical or in the emotional form as shown in the examples in this study, can be classed as a form of "bonding" social capital (Putnam 2000) because there is a level of expected mutuality that arises from the personal connectivity between the parties (Johnson & Honnold & Threlfall, 2011). However, mostly such a form of social capital has a limited direct impact on the careers of women other than perhaps having the emotional support enables women to increase the performance expectations of themselves (Coleman, 1988). What was more evident in the descriptions of the women's experiences was that the type of support offered by parents, siblings and spouses who understood (in some cases), recognised and accepted the environment within which these women worked, enhanced the resilience level of these women. For some, this support may also have helped the women appreciate the value of their cultural capital and therefore, their relative positions in the field. This was obviously noticeable in the examples given of husbands working in the sector who because of their own experiences appreciated what steps these women needed to take to further their career and so provided guidance or solutions which were accepted by the women and they benefited from increasing their knowledge.

There were a couple of examples of family members offering challenge to women about their careers when they were experiencing difficult times. Lisa's mum suggested a career change to a pharmacist and Julie's brothers offered up different perspectives on her experience. In these cases, aside from supporting a resilient habitus, it could be argued that capital is increased through the challenge set by others to think in alternative ways and develop arguments as to why one approach may be better than another. The role of an academic is one where challenge is a core tenet and so support which comes in this form may be a useful helpful addition. Resilience can be seen in the examples of Lisa and Julie. Lisa gained confidence to challenge her managers - "butting up against [the HoD and Dean] until eventually they decided to put me forward" and Julie was able to plan more effectively: "I looked at where I wanted to get to and took the promotion process one step at a time" (Julie).

7.4.2 Support from friends

The participants in this study also counted their friends as a great support. With friends in academia, they were able to share views on their careers: "she has always given me an independent view and support" (Angela), "[she] has been very influential in my career"

(Frances), to have "honest [career] discussions" with (Roberta) and "to talk to about promotion" (Pat). They also acted as recruitment advisers - "pointed jobs out to me" (Jean) and "[she] gave me the job opportunity" (Sandy). Friends have been confidence and performance boosters: "[they] helped me do the job well" (Jean), "[they have] supported me and given me confidence" (Cara), "very good friends have influenced me and shaped who I am and to know who I am" (Sandy) and "[they] gave me motivation because I don't want to be like them" (Jamie). Here we see examples of the informal manifestation of social capital – friends who give various forms of assistance, not always related to the job but having positive outcomes in the work environment.

7.5 Helper number four: Career help out with the University - development/networking opportunities

Four of the participants mentioned engagement with two development networks for women (Aurora and Aspire[19]) and the value they got from their participation in terms of helping them progress in their careers. Programmes for women run by Advance HE (an organisation supporting the development of individuals working in HE) are now a staple for building women's capacity and helping them plan their careers. Their value in encouraging women to put themselves forward for leadership roles is highlighted by Morley (2013). Such programmes aim to give women skills and confidence through workshop sessions and networking with female role models. In some ways they are similar to widening participation programmes for students entering universities from working class backgrounds.

Networking with other women is seen by Wright, Cooper and Luff (2017) as offering "protective enclaves", to help women cope with the "masculinist environment of the University" (p.123). Verdi & Ebsworth (2009) identified that better career experiences occur for underrepresented groups (in this research, that could be taken as women trying to progress), through "collaboration… to include diverse culture and voices" which helps to "change the power relationships" and support women in "re-visioning" their work (p.200). Morley (2013) might describe this as a way to counter-balance "dominant group 'cloning'" (p.7) in the workplace and "maleness" being the only "form of career capital" in academic promotions. Women's career and life choices are, however, affected by many cultural and structural restraints in society, in the home as well as the work place. How women make meaning of the

---

[19] Aurora- https://www.advance-he.ac.uk/programmes-events/aurora
   Aspire- https://www.aspireforequality.co.uk/event/presence-and-impact-2/

defined habitus and rules of each (often overlapping) fields and respond to these influences is very individual, but the impact of the decisions they make can be significantly "mediated …by the processes of social interaction" (Evetts, 2000, p.63). The women talked about networks as helping them gain new knowledge to become more mindful and alter the way in which they conducted themselves at work. It can be seen that a more targeted and tailored support intervention offered by the two women only programmes mentioned by the participants also led to increased self-reflection, personal development and access to resources, as illustrated in the following vignettes:

Jamie talked about a number of things that irritated her about her role. Having been a student at the university and then returned for a post doc role, she was annoyed that more senior colleagues often recalled how they had known her from the age of 18. She also commented about her own impatience to get promoted although she was still in a probation period. The programme she was on helped her to increase her self-awareness and learn to see the positive as well as the negative in her situation. She described how "the Aurora Programme made me think about things. I learned about self-reflecting and when to take things seriously and when not to", skills which have helped her cope with her frustrations.

Sandy highlighted that she had felt bullied by a colleague and how the programme she had been on helped with this situation. "The Aurora programme was good. Action learning helped. I could talk about the problem and I learned not to shy away from conflict. It was good to make new friends outside of the University." The programme gave her the confidence to ask for more help - seeking out support from the HR colleague who had organised for her to attend the programme. She reported that she raised the bullying issue with her manager, which resulted in the colleague who had bullied her moving from the group. Discussing the situation with her coach from the programme also helped: "I now know it's not just me".

When talking about the annual review processes, Amy reflected that she thought promotion was not achievable for her: "I had written myself off because of the teaching and no research [and believing] that being a chair means lots of work and I would have to do even longer hours". Becoming a participant in the development programme changed her behaviour related to promotion applications: "Aurora made me think that I needed a strategy to be a Chair [professor]" and made her look at other women in the institution who had been on the programme and achieved promotion: "I can see from people like [Chris], that I can go for a Chair on my widening participation and leadership work." Finally, Jean talked about the

support that was made available in the Aspire programme. She was given access to a range of more senior women in the development events who helped her plan her career progression. The programme also provided her with a mentor.

Networking added to the capability of women to function in their work environment more effectively through their affiliation with others. They gained what Tzanakis (2011) refers to as in-group cultural capital. Engaging with a wider social circle through external networking also allowed for the creation of new knowledge and access to additional resources which gave some women in this study "bridging social capital" to assist them "get ahead" (Johnson and Honnold & Threlfall, 2011, p.12) but also talking to new people in the same sector assisted them to be better able to comprehend an environment which appears often set against them and create strategies to deal with it (building their resilience habitus).

Chapter 8 – Life experiences and how they impact on and influence career

This chapter considers the main research question – how life has affected the careers of the female participants, specifically, the ways in which experiences have shaped decisions about their careers and prospects for career progression. The chapter observes experiences that were influential or otherwise on the women stepping onto the academic career ladder, climbing up it and how quickly or what kept them fixed to the lower rungs.

In summary, the women in AHME started their working lives in other jobs (mainly the NHS or teaching elsewhere). They had life experiences which resulted in them entering their academic career without the necessary capital. They experienced injustice as their T&S work was not valued in career terms and it was much harder and took much longer for them to get promoted. Many either accepted or believed they could not challenge the power structure of the new social world they had entered. Their inability to question the level of worth given to their work was because their habitus led them to assume that being in a position below others was legitimate. This view may have come from their experiences of the hierarchy in medicine where doctors are at the apex and other healthcare professionals are lower down (Lockett, Currie, Finn, Martin &Waring, 2014). I would argue that for most, their move to careers in academia has been "a trial" having "low[er] status in an elite field" and fewer opportunities and choices because of a social field (of teaching) imposed on them, they have been excluded from the career opportunities which women in STEMM have had (Reay, 2018, p.537)

In contrast, most of the STEMM group entered academe having progressed from undergraduate into post graduate study and then a post doc post. Their life experiences, although not always positive, were not detrimental to their academic careers. The data illustrates that despite experiencing some discouraging treatment, these women have had successful academic careers in the sense that they have all been promoted. Their cultural capital located them in and was of value to the field. This group had one participant (Cara) who did not follow the route of undergraduate to post graduate, post doc to lecturer, but was not disadvantaged by this. Coming from a family of "higher standing", having gone to private school and entered engineering as her first career, she had significant reserves of cultural capital which benefitted her when she later entered academia.

8.1 Impact and influences for the AHME Academics

Habitus

For most AHME academics there was an initial and ongoing impact of a working-class habitus on their academic careers. The possibility of an academic career was not visible to these women in the context of their families or schools, nor viable in respect of their academic capital or habitus. Instead, they had early aspirations for work, shaped by their family backgrounds.

Jean's story indicates this:

> I was born in [a poor district of a North West UK city]. My mum was a housewife and looked after us and the house…my dad was an orphan and worked from age 7 [in Asia]…we were poor materially. Dad was paid less for the same jobs because he was black…This was the 1960s and 1970s…My parents really valued education but couldn't help us other than life education…I went to the local primary school. Kids were poor, shoes falling off, kids fainting because of no food…I didn't have any aspiration... I just knew I had to get a job.

The inter-relationship between a working class socio-economic context, capital, habitus and higher education can also be seen in Keitha's representation of her background. She described being from a "back to back terraced house with a toilet outside" and a family of mill workers who left education at the end of compulsory schooling. The disposition she had towards her post school trajectory, despite what was on offer to her in her grammar school education, was as a consequence of social reproduction. Her family did not need qualifications to do their jobs and, as a consequence, Keitha did not see the need to do more than necessary - "I didn't need my A levels so I didn't work for them", as going to University "was just a step too far". Similarly, Amy talked about the influence of her working class Liverpool roots and how she left sixth form after a couple of weeks because she "hated it", instead choosing to become a trainee nurse so she could earn money. These examples of self-deselection from continuing education are a common feature of working class students (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

Engagement with apprenticeships, however, (one might see former allied health and nurse training programmes as this because of the 'on the job' nature), is seen as a traditional occupation for a working class person (Stahl & Baars, 2016.) Those with aspirations described their education helping them achieve a professional career such as physiotherapy (Trish) or "work with children" (Mary), through which they could develop competencies in the form of

technical skills rather than cultural capital in the form of high level educational qualifications (Lareau & Weininger, 2003).

When they entered a male dominated middle class environment (Angervall et al 2013) from female dominated, working class professions (Arnold et al, 2003), they were, therefore, disadvantaged. Partly this was because of the enduring and transferable nature of the working class habitus of these women. For example Stevie talked about academia requiring a desire for seeking answers which she did not think she had: "I didn't really feel I could become an academic because I didn't have the drive to solve a problem, I was more practical". Keitha identified the culture as being at odds with her background, highlighting what she saw as the "snobbishness" and "snobbery" of academia. Frances suggested she did not fit with the environment she came into: "I am not a medical doctor and the medical school has a different culture for non-medics" and Trish did not understand the field she was entering: "not knowing about the University when I moved in and what people do" she had to ask "what is a professor?" Many entered the profession to educate others, having done so in their first careers, and this meant that they came with preconceptions of the role of an academic which influenced their views about what they could achieve. What they saw was a disconnection between their capital, habitus and that of the field that impacted on their view of the likelihood of making it up the career ladder.

Keitha talked about why she felt that coming into the University from the NHS had a negative effect on her future. Although she had worked with medics, she had her own career path in the NHS, which was different from academia.

> I came from being at the top of my profession in a female dominated area to being 'in the gutter' in the male world of [academic] medicine… professors were research based [and male, with only] five female professors in the University and two were in nursing… I think this was the reason why the rest of us were not going to be professors

Trish commented that whilst she got enjoyment from certain parts of the job she convinced herself to be satisfied with this rather than seek career enhancement:

> I loved the work with students, the pastoral role… I thought pension, well paid, got a good job so what's the problem if I don't get to SL.

One might argue that these are examples of a self-fulfilling prophecy based on class (Swartz, 1997). These women entered a "foreign environment" as "cultural outsiders" (Lehmann, 2014,

p.2) with a disadvantage. They were unfamiliar with the capital requirements of the academic field they came into and possessed very different cultural capital than that demanded in their health career field. As such, they were possibly obliged by their working class habitus to deal with the expectations of the future based on their past experience of self-selected exclusion (Reay, 2003). There was a lack of social capital to help them bridge the cultural capital gap.

Mary talked about having "no support from the University" and Trish commented that although she had a caring manager (who also came in from the NHS), there was limited interest in their work from more senior colleagues: "She was very supportive of us all… but she kept saying that people higher up needed to change". I would argue that these women were let down by the institution when they entered their academic careers. They had difficulty establishing a full academic identity (Cabatan, Crajo & Sano, 2019) because they had been brought in to do a particular academic activity (teaching AHME students) but were not encouraged or supported to develop a broader academic habitus and build capital.

Capital

The need for social capital in knowledge creation (research) is emphasised by Gonzalez-Brambila (2014). The value of research to careers in education science (an area which could be viewed as similar to that the AHME participants were working in) and how this is secured through influential contacts and the support of research supervisors is identified by Angervall & Gustafsson (2014). However, despite five of the women obtaining a PhD whilst working, they found that without the support to enable them to continue to research, any capital they might have gained from the qualification soon lost its value. According to Walker & Yoon (2017) "capital begets further capital of the same form" (p.412), but there needs to be access to opportunities to develop that capital (in research terms such as fellowships or grants) and/or support from more senior people. Where this does not exist, there is a restriction on capital creation. For "the process of cultural capital accumulation [to be] dynamic" (Jaeger, 2011, p.296) it needs to be mixed with other forms of social or economic capital. However, the teaching focused AHME department did not require research.

Similar to the findings of the research of Tyndall, Forbes III, Avery & Powell (2019) into nursing scholarship, this study found that where there are a limited number of academics researching in an area, opportunities to create and share new knowledge in the field is much more difficult. If there is not already a local scholarly network to access, individuals are less

likely to have the opportunity to contribute to research (Pyhältö, McAlpine, Peltonen & Castello, 2017).

There was also a lack of research expectation in the AHME sub-field because the structure of the faculty has separated out research activity from teaching delivery. The women in AHME noted how the emphasis of their job was on teaching and student support and that they were positively discouraged or excluded from researching as evidenced in Mary's comments – "because of the structure… because I am on T&S, I am not included in REF – even though I and my team publish". Although not an ideal set of experiences for career progression, this should have been mitigated by the fact that the University had introduced a career path, in 2009, for academics undertaking a mainly teaching and pedagogic scholarship workload. The Faculty strategy written in August 2007 had set out an objective to ensure that staff focused on teaching had the opportunity to progress their careers. Objective 3.4.2 states

> Ensure that there are teaching career paths in the Faculty that start from an assessment of teaching competence as part of recruitment and that recognise teaching quality and thereby raise the status and profile of teaching.

However, in the extract below, from the notes of the new faculty away day, the challenges associated with promotion on this path were noted, with the "criteria" being "difficult to judge" and the need for the Faculty to have delegated authority (from the University system) to decide what the criteria meant.

Table E: Faculty of Health & Life Sciences - Extract from Notes from the Faculty Away-Day, 9 October 2009

- *Discussion took place on the issue of career progression along the teaching and scholarship career path. It was acknowledged that this career path did exist in the University but that promotion via this route has not been easy.*

- *The criteria for promotion on the teaching and scholarship pathway are based around innovative teaching methods and self-improvement. One of the main issues seems to be that these criteria have been difficult to judge.*

- *It was agreed though, that under the new University organisation, the Faculty should have the devolved power to determine how these promotion criteria should be judged in future.*

The women's encounters with the promotion process showed that the Faculty objective had little impact on their opportunities to progress. Instead, those in charge of promotion committees appeared to continue to not understand the new criteria and to place a low value on the capital stocks of the women.

In attempting to understand the experiences which the women in AHME had which affected their promotion chances, it is important to look at the concepts of field, habitus and doxa (1977). According to Swartz (1997) "field is useful for studying the operation of culture at a more institutional level" (p.291). Bourdieu (1989) describes field as the site where competition takes place over "scarce goods" (p.17) and where the possession of power by the occupants of certain positions enables the determination /imposition of the "laws of functioning" of that field (1993, p.162). Field is also the place where "cultural competence… dispositions, embodied habits, patterns of perception/categorization, and emotional resonances of the habitus" (Barrett, 2015, p.2) is shaped. The examples given in this section of the thesis show the operation of academic culture at the institutional level, where the laws of operation for securing the "scarce goods" and the habits necessary to compete for promotion were controlled by those dominant in the field. As such, these women experienced a form of oppression which the University has failed to attend to, resulting in ongoing and embedded symbolic violence.

I do not believe that I have overstated the case of oppression and symbolic violence affecting this group. These women have been prevented from building their careers, taking three times as long as the STEMM group to gain promotion (if at all). This has not been because of their incompetence, lack of talent or hard work. It has instead been down to control of the doxa by those in power.

8.2 Impact and influences for the STEMM Academics

How the inter-relationship between Habitus and Capital influences and impacts on career

In contrast, the biographies of the STEMM participants showed how coming from middle class families made being an academic a possible, and even an anticipated, option. Many had intellectual parents or siblings with PhDs, were given extra tuition and went to good schools, going onto high ranking UK universities. This guided their enthusiasm and pre-disposition for academic training into doctoral study and several interviewees alluded to parents encouraging their academic focus and supporting their academic career. For example Marie commented how she wanted to follow in her father's footsteps as he had a PhD and how the sponsorship to

study at doctoral level came from her father-in-law. These findings resonate with Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction, where the transfer of cultural capital and habitus in middle class families moves from parent to child, with the advantages of parental resources also being reinforced in the education system (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

Some of the STEMM academics had slightly different experiences to the ones described above. Lou, whose parents had lacked academic opportunity, developed her cultural capital because her father was interested in science. She highlighted the discussions she and her father had about science and how happy he was about her interest because of his own missed opportunity due to his family not being able to afford for him to go away to study. Her father's encouragement created an understanding of how to further her love of science. Lou summed this up well; "I realised that university is the place to do science. I made the link…experts do experiments". Being encouraged to access higher education offered the promise of something better than her parents had and improvements to life chances (Brenan & Naidoo, 2008) because it presented a way in which to gather cultural capital (in the shape of academic resources) which then later generated a high return in her chosen field of academia. DiMaggio (1982) would describe this as an example of cultural mobility as Lou's academic potential was enhanced by her exploitation of a small amount of cultural capital (scientific knowledge).

Julie experienced the transfer of cultural capital and habitus, mainly from siblings rather than parents, but did experience the opportunity for further capital development in school. She talked about her parents not going to university but her four brothers had. Whilst she describes her family as working class, her dad was the manager of a local supermarket and her mother did not work. Had they been working class, a more likely outcome for her and her brothers would have been to seek employment rather than go to university. Instead, the expectation to go to university was part of her school environment and was encouraged by her parents. Her level of achievement in science at school added to her stock of cultural capital and her academic habitus was encouraged by her elder brothers – as her comments indicate: "I did A' levels in maths, physics and chemistry. I enjoyed these and not the arts. My brothers helped with the selection of my A' levels. I saw what they did."

Additionally, she had an interest in competitive sport which started at school and continued at university, which is an example of embodied cultural capital and a middle class habitus. Being a talented runner requires an investment in personal time and effort. Competitive sport can be rather a costly pastime with clothing/equipment and travel to competition sites involving a need

for economic resources and family support. Sporting success can be translated into other forms of capital such as fame and reward (Holroyd, 2003) and being part of a sporting network enables the production of social contacts that may be of value in the future or in other circumstances (Bourdieu, 1986). Involvement in sport, whilst placing a call on social, cultural and economic capital, is a means by which forms of capital can be further developed. Julie 'retired' from competition at age 24 to focus on her PhD recounting "I knew sport wouldn't be a career so it then came second to the studies" suggesting how her habitus shaped her notions, motivation and action towards an academic career.

The findings show that it does not matter whether capital is held through social reproduction or achieved through cultural mobility: providing it is in the right form, it can be used to the advantage of the holder, where they have access to the mechanisms or the environment through which cultural capital can be exploited.

The women in STEMM moved into academic careers immediately after gaining their PhDs, their early educational capital and social support facilitating a means to work on the development of their intellectual capital. It was, for a few, the experience of working with PhD students and post docs in their undergraduate years that facilitated their ongoing interest in research, with Jamie, Julie and Lou highlighting that talking to PhD students and post docs helped them shape their futures as academics. For others, their encouragement for the academic role came from supervisors and more senior academics (as mentioned by Roberta, Candy and Sandy). Being socialised to the field of HE and in some cases, for the women who studied at Liverpool, socialised to the institution, learning to understand what the academic profession is all about helped the women to create an image of themselves as an academic. Engaging with helpful others already in the field, networking with other students as well as building a reputation for themselves through getting their PhD material published (referred to by 5 participants) are common socialisation factors influencing individuals to enter the academic workforce (Kim, Benson & Alhaddab, 2018). Mostly the women were able to position themselves as academics because they were enabled to develop capital and form their academic habitus. For Pat, Lisa, Lou, Candy and Sandy, they did this through international experience, seen as a benefit because mobility is viewed as a factor contributing to success in academia (Waaijer, 2018; Ackers 2008).

For Pat, Jamie, Candy and Cara this also included teaching experience. This is an interesting finding in view of other findings in this study which show that teaching can hold women back

in their progression. When applying for jobs at the start of their career though, the teaching experience was useful for these individuals because the University wanted someone to teach. As Jamie indicated in her interview, she was teaching part-time as a PhD student and so "the department had grown their own lecturer" which meant that when she applied for and secured a lectureship where teaching (as well as research) was identified as part of the job "that's probably why I got it". Pat had taught as a post doc in the USA and she considered that this helped her gain her first post "Age 30, a lectureship in a good university, already with lecturing experience". Cara who had done demonstrating work as a PhD student, got a teaching and scholarship position and so her early experience could be seen as definitely applicable. Eddy (2006) suggests that PhD students benefit from identifying and gathering academic capital, which includes teaching; that can be "cashed in" in the job market (p.212).

It is, however, the combination of teaching with research and networking that together offers the academic capital demanded in academia (Eddy, 2006), and these women had all three elements (Pat had published four papers in the States, Jamie three papers whilst doing her PhD, Cara had a paper in Nature at the end of her PhD and Candy published with her professors and on her own after her PhD). Pat, Jamie, Julie, Roberta and Cara all talked about their time as doctoral students enabling them to build networks with influential academics, social capital they exploited for early career opportunities.

The most common positive influences on career expressed by these women was their subject specialism (because of its value in HE), being on a T&R career path or having a successful research track record. Pat called her subject "marketable" and Jamie "my subject specialism means that I am one of a very small number and there are lots of international places to go". Julie commented that "my T&R path has enabled me to be successful and Roberta "being on a T&R path: the way to progress traditionally". Jamie commented on her success in bidding for research money: "my grants have helped me get established and set me up for the future".

There are two ways to look at this success. The first is that the women are competing with men in what are traditionally male dominated fields, but at their own game in the same way as them. I say this because, as mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, most of them have been internationally or at least institutionally mobile in order to progress their scientific research and their careers: a factor which is readily identified as a "'malestream' norm[s] of science" (Mattsson, 2015, p.687). Having experienced mobility at an early age, they have been able to 'bank' this experience and avoid one of the issues that usually causes the 'leaky pipeline' of women from

senior academic science careers i.e. an inability to move because of family ties (Russell Group, 2013.)

The second is that, as women who have been successful in STEMM research, they have secured "position[s] of legitimacy" demonstrating equivalence, and not subordination, to male colleagues (Mattsson, 2015, p.689). This is despite some of them reporting experiences of sexism and patriarchy whilst climbing up the ladder. Through early academic training as PhD students they have acclimatised to the habitus of the environment they were working in and have gathered forms of cultural capital around them that have enabled them to achieve in their careers.

The experiences of one women (Stevie) with a health science PhD, post doc and lecturing experience and numerous published journal articles, who has not progressed from the level of lecturer, show how despite having a valued form of capital on entry to the institution, value can be lost in a different setting, when it is not desired in the field (Swartz, 1997). Stevie entered the University as a health science lecturer from another institution on a side-ways move, but into the area of non-clinical medical education (AHME). She was faced with restrictions on research in her department. Relationships that would normally assist in the opportunities for gathering further cultural capital were missing and she was not expected to continue to build the stocks of academic capital she came in with. As such her "accumulated labour" captured through academic study and early academic experience was no longer "reified" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.241).

This example also shows though, how embodied capital in the form of "dispositions of the mind and body" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.243) can hinder or help overcome disadvantage. Stevie put her lack of progression down to: "no drivers to do research… a lack of focus and clarification in the department… getting lost in the day to day minutiae [and] having kids put a stop on what I could do".

 Certainly the impact of caring responsibilities on a women's career is not seen as unusual in universities, especial in medical schools (BMA, 2008; Hart, 1996; Westring et al, 2016), but other stories in this study show how caring and a lack of research does not have to stop an academic career. For example, Chris (an AHME academic) and Cara (a STEMM academic), both on teaching and scholarship career paths, both with children, talked about barriers to progression, but their determination to get promoted drove them to seek out help in the shape

of advice and mentoring from senior women colleagues. They avoided those who were discouraging and sought out ways to create value to the organisation. These interviews contained language that could be described as 'gritty' such as "wanting to challenge the norm" and "don't give up" (Chris), "a nature that recovers after every knock" and "in the face of adversity, I had faith in my abilities" (Cara). The language showed the habitus of resilience, their determination to deal with problems, to keep going when challenged and to be optimistic about promotion.

In theoretical terms, the cultural capital they possessed, enhanced by the support they sought out, allowed them to define a habitus that challenged the doxa of the institution. This was a doxa that suggested that "acquiring symbolic capital" was the only priority (Costa, 2016, p. 1000) such that reward could only be given to those with grants and publications in specific journals. Stevie's response was conditioned by that doxa, the un-written rules which she had become acclimatised to in her first academic positions, which she carried into this role. Chris's and Cara's response was to challenge the doxa because it was not helpful to their ambitions.

Chapter 9 - Conclusions, limitations and recommendations.

9.1 Introduction

The chapter draws together conclusions from a life history study of nineteen female academics working in the University of Liverpool, a research-led University based in the North West of England: ten working in STEMM areas and nine in AHME subjects. The study focused on factors in these women's lives which influenced them in their careers and in deciding to apply for promotion as academics; in what way the factors influenced their decisions and why that was the case. The study came about because of a sector-wide problem that fewer females in academia apply for promotion and get promoted. This is despite there being legislation governing equal treatment and equal access to careers and universities having put in place lots of measures meant to provide better support for women in academic careers. Literature in the areas of factors which shape career choice, of women's experiences of entering the academic job space and working as academics, has been taken into account to enable a comparison and contrast of these women's encounters with those already written about.

The women's life histories were considered through the lens of Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977; 1984; 1990), which he represents as the formula [capital) (habitus)] + field = practice, or in other words, the action which someone takes in a particular setting is affected by the cultural capital they possess (in those fields internally defined by that capital) augmented by their habitus. The use of the framework enabled the identification of ways of being in the field of academe (which one might determine as habitus), the impact of the cultural capital possessed by an individual and the effect this had on their ambition and action to progress or curb their career.

The chapter also summarises limitations of the study, implications for practice and ideas for future research.

9.2 Conclusions

Bourdieu has presented a schizophrenic view about the value of life history research, suggesting it is an unsafe approach in one breath but praising its ability to help understand an individual's journey through the structures of their lives (Barrett, 2015). I would argue that the whole point of using a Bourdieusian approach with the life history methodology is to expose and look at how socio-cultural traditions shape the behaviour and the resources someone has, which affects the way they operate in their life and career. I have been able to bring to light

and build understanding of the dispositions, preferences, assumptions and capital the participants in this study have, where this came from and how it has helped them (or otherwise). The method of working together with the participants to expose and share some of those factors has also been of value to many of them (as identified by them in later conversations).

Bourdieu (1992) describes habitus as class-based dispositions and behaviour, which "predispose[s] actors to select forms of conduct that are most likely to succeed in light of their resources and past experience" (Swartz, 1997, p. 106). He also suggests that the working class population have an inbuilt respect "for the established order" (Bourdieu, 1984, p.456). I have concluded that the women from working class backgrounds have not been helped in their academic careers by the common traditions, habits, patterns and beliefs of their habitus, but this has also been made worse by structural inequalities and the domination of the field by men. The allied health academics came to academia from another career in the NHS, having entered with a normal working class biography (Mathers & Parry, 2009). In their roles in the NHS they were subservient to the medical dominance (Allsop, 2006) and were accepting of a hierarchy based on a division of labour and medical/scientific knowledge. They carried this over into their academic careers, their habitus being such that they believed that more senior (usually male) colleagues were 'in charge' and their work was not of equivalent status in the organisation, a belief that was reinforced by those men in charge.

The normal pattern of entry for an academic role in a medical faculty is a scholarly skill set gathered through PhD study and a post doc role. Most of the women in AHME did not have academic qualifications, academic knowledge, ideas, behaviours and beliefs. Their roles needed technical/practical knowledge and skills (to teach people to become allied health practitioners or developing practice based learning assessments for trainee doctors). Their entry to academia was not reliant, therefore, on academic capital. The rules of the field, however, suggested the opposite. Their skill and qualifications did not have the same capital value in the field and whilst their experience was recognised in the sub-field in which they are recognised, that sub-field remains subordinate in the wider field. Those in power have also, consciously or unconsciously, contributed to the reproduction of social disadvantage through the reinforcement of the doxa.

The difference in status of the AHME work has been reinforced through the structural form of the Faculty, which separates departments into research or teaching focussed and which has, therefore, conspired to position the AHME academics in 'second class' academic work. The

introduction of the teaching and scholarship career path, designed to improve career opportunities for women without the preferred capital, has served to reinforce the priority given to the teaching and research path, with leaders at best indicating a lack of understanding of the T&S criteria and how to apply it or at worst, panels ignoring it completely and advising those on T&S that they needed research to progress.

This suggests two options for tackling the career hurdles in this area. The institution should focus on ensuring that women entering academia in the AHME area, from another career, are prepared for their academic role, supported to understand the environment and to acquire both the embodied and institutionalised forms of cultural capital (but without also a structure in their Faculty that enables them to engage in acquiring capital valuable to their career, such support would appear futile). Alternatively, the institution should look to maximise the alternative career path that has been in place for ten years by ensuring that managers, panels and academics are fully familiar with the expectations of that path, how such expectations can be met and how performance against those expectations will be measured.

While class backgrounds do make a difference and this can be exacerbated by disciplinary frameworks, it can be seen from this research that working class women in STEMM have more confidence in recognising their worth because the legitimacy of their cultural capital is recognised in the field. This is despite the STEMM areas still being seen as a male preserve and the experiences of patriarchy and sexism faced by the women. The women in STEMM developed their academic habitus as students and in some cases by undertaking academic work as students (e.g. temporary teaching support roles). The engagement they had with communities of practice strengthened and intensified their professional identities which was useful when seeking to compete in the masculine environment. This suggests that an important role is played by more experienced academics in encouraging talented female students to join the profession and in developing a durable academic habitus which will support them in their careers.

The women's stories have included incidents of sexism and patriarchy which show that subtle (and not so subtle) forms of discrimination have been part of their work experience for many years, including in fairly recent times. These have included treating them and their achievements differently to their male colleagues, expecting women to take on greater levels of teaching, administrative or support work and treatment which disrespected them or their area of work. Although noticed by the women, such treatment was rarely challenged by them. A

lack of challenge can reinforce a subordinate position, can remove opportunities for women to earn the awards essential to a productive academic career (Bevan & Learmonth, 2014) but can also damage their confidence levels and well-being, as shown in this study, with women expressing a view that they needed to work significantly more than others to compete. Tackling patriarchy and sexism in the organisation is, of course, crucial but recognising how such experiences can diminish or negatively impact on the development of women's capital stocks is a good first step towards redressing inequality.

The study provides some evidence that positive personal traits demonstrate the use of a person's habitus as a perceptual filter of what is possible. Such traits are an asset that can support well-being and can help individuals approach problems that may get in the way of them achieving their objectives. However, the impact which habitus had on the performance of the women in promotion terms was mixed, because of the priority the institution placed on intellectual capital for career progression. Diminished self-efficacy was viewed in a number of cases in this study arising from the frustration and upset some of the women in AHME felt about the constraints on their career. Personal development provided by the organisation to female academics which helps women build confidence would be a useful aid in women's enjoyment of work, but without addressing the issue of women being able to get the professional development they need so that they can compete in gaining the resources necessary to apply for promotion, such development can only go so far.

The research findings support other studies which demonstrate that women are helped in their careers by engaging with networking opportunities (Morley, 2013), having access to mentors (Baker, 2010) and through colleague and manager support (all forms of social capital). The study adds, therefore, to the literature on the benefits of personal and professional help in boosting career satisfaction and progression for women in academia, adding knowledge that spans a significant academic subject range. What this study has shown is that engagement with more experienced people who understand the workplace and roles that others are working in, and are able to provide guidance on both the written and unwritten rules of the game, can help women tackle career challenges and shape career plans.

Capital in the form of emotional support also has career benefits in that it helps women to flourish because they are supported in identifying and learning how to deal with hurdles. The gap in both STEMM and AHME but especially the latter is in a particular form of social capital i.e. sponsorship: helping women break into research groups and move away from taking on an

unfair teaching, support and admin load. The institution may need to shift its focus on female academics' development away from networking towards patronage in order to help women develop the academic capital necessary to further their careers and ensure that the workload model fairly disperses the whole range of activity in an academic role.

At the time of undertaking this study, the AHME women had benefitted less from the Athena SWAN programme than the STEMM women. I would suggest that this was because this intervention was designed to articulate with the doxa that prioritises cultural capital. Those with cultural capital were therefore able to derive greater benefit from the interventions than those who lacked but clearly needed it. Since the remit of programme has been expanded, this differential is likely to disappear.

As most of the participants in this study had worked for the University for a considerable time, this has led me to draw the same conclusion as Meyers (2013) and Vongalis-Macrow (2012) that women tend to be loyal to an organisation because their out of work commitments tie them to an area or to a particular pattern of work offered by their workplace. This dependability does mean that they can be exploited: being asked, expected or relied on to undertake work in the institution which enables others to work elsewhere in furtherance of the academic research endeavour (and their own careers). The unexpected consequence of a woman's loyalty becoming a career hindrance is something that HEIs should keep a watchful eye over. They should find ways to ensure that inequity in workload is dealt with and consider the impact of a limited ability to travel on access to working with transnational research projects and reputation building events and how these might be addressed.

9.3 Implications and recommendations for practice

As with other studies which show the power of one form of capital over another in academia (Floyd & Dimmock, 2011; Walker & Yoon, 2017) and the disadvantage this may create for women if they lack capital that is career enhancing, it is possible to feel pessimistic that nothing will change. However, according to Reay (2000), in order to put an end to inequality, to challenge and contest circumstances where women in academia are marginalised, the practices and relationships that subordinate or exclude need to be problematized. I hope that I have been able to identify in this study some of the problems that create disadvantage for some female academics, the first one being a lack of acknowledgement of the importance of the sub-field of

education to the institution. The repression of some women on T&S career path is in contrast to the values of the organisation [20] and so, must be dealt with.

The lack of challenge many of these women have shown to their circumstances means that determination, creativity and investment will be needed to change the situation. It is important to recognise that Bourdieu's theory of practice identifies the use of agency to affect the behaviour of social structures. As such, I would recommend that the university should examine in more detail the experiences of promotion applicants, managers and panel members making decisions on promotion on the basis of the T&S criteria. This would be useful to identify the support needed by all parties to improve clarity and ultimately the overall experience. In examining the criteria for academic progression, using the agency of women who have been affected by the existing structures, to develop better and clearer ways to acknowledge the value of the capital they possess, will also be useful.

It is important to highlight the barriers faced by academics who enter the career through non-traditional routes so that the organisation may consider the actions needed to ensure that such academics have a better fit with the world they are entering and to identify barriers which may continue to hinder the chances of progression. This has implications for the organisation's induction processes – ensuring those who join academia from another sector are helped to acclimatize to the norms, values and expectations of HE (Penney et al., 2015). It also reinforces the need for ongoing support, beyond the induction phase, for discussion on the role, workload and development necessary to perform well. Of course, managers making time for one to one regular (termly) meetings should go a long way to ensuring a successful integration of other professionals in the academic environment, but enhancing this with opportunities for new academics to network with more established colleagues would further smooth the transition.

The research indicates that there is a gendered binary between research and teaching in the institution, with teaching and administration being more readily undertaken by the women in this study. In AHME the NHS's requirements for teaching and student support stops all but those prepared and able to work extended hours from having the opportunity to undertake research. A change to the delivery structure of NHS programmes, whilst seeming necessary, would be a considerable undertaking. However, recognising that the way work is organised and allocated can result in women taking on a greater level of education and support work

---

[20] https://www.liverpool.ac.uk/media/livacuk/hr/whyworkhere/values/Values,&,Ethics,Statement.pdf

because they may be more accepting and less challenging, is a start. The institution should, therefore, look at how work is assigned to avoid an unfair allocation of work that does not have equal value for promotion.

The findings of the study suggest that women's career decisions have been made in complex socio-cultural and economic contexts. They may wait for their children to grow up (Stevie) or not be motivated by money and power (Keitha). They move to be with their partners (Lisa and Jamie), stay where they are because of the children (Trish) or battle with a system they believe is unfair (Chris). They do not simply decide to apply for promotion or not, rather considerations relating to location of the role, their family, development or the way they see their career progressing are taken into account. In the case of many of the women in AHME, they excluded themselves from the process of promotion because they did not see people like themselves getting promoted – "fated by [a] lack of power over the present [they] give up on the future" (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 185).

The choice about career steps may not always be theirs or theirs alone (Chris's example of being told she could not apply because she did not meet the criteria highlights this). Having identified the complexity of decision making faced by women in the academy and how this might influence their progression, a practice implication of this finding is that guidance is needed for academic managers so that they are better able to build into appraisals and other meetings time for discussion about the range of decisions women face and to identify assistance to remove barriers. Other studies tend to emphasize career planning being achieved through coaching and mentoring or networking (Manfredi et al, 2014), but this requires some organization to set up. Line managers work in the same location, usually at the same time and are readily accessible in terms of contact (face to face, phone, email etc.). The University's leadership development programme incorporates training on coaching and mentoring. What is missing is the follow up by Deans on the application of such practice by the HoDs in their departments, to assure themselves that local coaching is taking place.

The benefits of international mobility for academic careers identified by others (Azoulay et al, 2017) has also been demonstrated here. This study suggests that women are more likely or able to travel earlier in their academic lives and this can lead to the building of social capital useful for further job moves (including references for jobs and moving to other organisations with a leading academic as part of their team), and the potential for academic capital development from working in groups or with academics who have international renown, which helps to

secure tenure after a post doc role. As such, it is suggested that the university should consider the internationalisation of the provision of its PhDs such that a stint abroad is part of the programme. This could enhance the position of female doctoral student entering their first academic post, getting their careers off to a good start.

In contrast to this, a further practice suggestion relates to the fact that the women in this study showed a real commitment to the organisation (demonstrated by their length of service). The University could conceivably think about the value it gets from having loyal women in its ranks, who wish to remain in the institution and become subject experts, and what could be done to help this. The reputational and international ranking benefits to the organisation of increasing the level of high achieving women and being seen to do so could be significant.

Many of these recommendations were made in a presentation by the researcher to a conference at Lancaster University (Making Professor) on 27th September 2018 and again, in a practice seminar delivered to colleagues in UoL on 30th January 2019.

9.4 Limitations

This study has several limitations including the recruitment of participants which resulted in women from a complete section of the academic workforce excluding themselves from the research. The research, therefore, focused on participants from AHME and STEMM. The very different trajectories they described suggests that other trajectories may have been experienced by women in other disciplinary areas. However, as only two women from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (HSS) signed up to engage with the project, their stories were excluded. One reason why fewer HSS women showed interest in the study has already been explained (the relative competitiveness by female HSS academics in promotion and pay terms).

However, Archibald & Munce (2015) highlight the impact that familiarity with the researcher and existing relationships can have on successful recruitment. As the HR Director in the institution, my role can be viewed positively or negatively depending upon the employee relations climate of the time and the engagement of people with those employment issues. During the research period of this study a challenging sector employee relations environment was in play, with action being taken over pay and threatened over pensions. This may have been a feature of some women choosing not to engage in research being undertaken by the HR Director, although I cannot say that female HSS academics were any more engaged in such matters than their STEMM/AHME colleagues. The academic work which colleagues in HSS are focused on, however, more readily aligns with the work I undertake in my day job (HR,

diversity etc.) and so they may not have wanted to participate in a study that they could have been involved in in their day job.

One academic in the University's management school who I did talk to about the study said that she did not want to engage personally but would be interested in the opportunity to collaborate and for me to speak at one of her sessions with students. In line with the advice of Archibald & Munce (2015), I should perhaps have followed up with the prospective participants on my list, to help them gain more understanding of the project and trust in me as a researcher.

A further limitation arises from my position as both Director of HR and as an EdD student of the institution where the research was based. The potential impact of my dual role was as follows: role confusion in the data collection and analysis exercises; the influence of my position on the interviews and, therefore, the way in which the research may be viewed (lacking in objectivity or shaped by professional practice concerns) and what the women thought may happen as a consequence of the interviews (as HR Director I would immediately put into play actions that should solve any problems or deal with inequity). I aimed to address this through being clear in the participant information sheet (Appendix C) and introduction to the interview (Appendix B) about my different roles and expected outcomes from the research project. I have since attempted to address any misunderstanding of my role through the practice seminar which I delivered in early 2019, at which a number of research participants and other academics were present. In addition, academics involved in the delivery of the on-line EdD programme gave my work rigorous examination in the seminar, a practice suggested as appropriate for addressing limitations in in-house practice based research (Waters-Adams, 2006).

Researcher involvement, control and bias is commented on by many (Smith, 2012; Lewis, 2008) and certainly, my interest in the subject matter as an HR professional was never in doubt. I would argue that there is more of a risk with an independent researcher using life-history, in that they may reconstruct or reframe personal narratives to suit their own ends. The benefit of being an insider researcher using life-history is that the data analysis and interpretation of the stories has been done with the women along the way and has been shared publicly in an in-house seminar. At any point, my work has been up for challenge, thereby addressing the potential limitation caused by my relationship with the participants.

The methodological approach used in this study has produced a narrative reporting of individuals' memories, a collection of interpretations and feelings from which common features have been identified. Life-history research is not meant to be generalizable but it does mean that it cannot be assumed that because some women in this group have shared certain experiences that this applies to the whole organisation or to other organisations. An example of this is in the stories from the women of differential treatment, sexism and patriarchy in the workplace; this does not mean that the whole organisation is sexist and patriarchal. Where I have been able to apply some additional rigour to their stories through combining them, with quantitative data, this has further enabled the substantiation of their claims. An example of this is the analysis that I carried out into the length of time taken for the participants to progress in their academic careers. This provided evidence that the women in AHME did not progress as quickly up the hierarchy as colleagues in STEMM and when associated with the work experiences they described, it showed that differential treatment played a part in their slower career progression.

My final limitation refers to the effect which the economic climate within which English universities function has on the managerial decisions that have to be taken and so, on the promotion chances of individual employees. In the UK, the period between 2009-10 and 2013-14 was characterised by high inflation and a weak economy coupled with public sector austerity. The university sector was not immune to these factors. At the time of writing this thesis, tuition fees in England have not increased and the outcome of a major review of student funding is still awaited and is creating financial uncertainty for universities. The Office for Students (the regulator of English universities) has the securing of value for money within the sector as a main focus[21]. What this means for universities is that, while they do place a high value on their employees, investment in staff has to be balanced with consideration for the funding of the wider university environment and meeting the expectations of students as consumers. What this means is that in many universities, limits may be placed on the numbers of people that can be promoted, leading to constraints on the activities which are seen as leading to promotion.

9.5 Recommendations for further research

The limitations above identify the potential for further research. As the study did not include any women from a complete area of the University (Humanities and Social Sciences) similar

---

[21] https://www.officeforstudents.org.uk/publications/value-for-money-strategy/

but targeted narrative work with academics in HSS subject areas would be useful. This could help to confirm, or otherwise, my supposition regarding why they did not engage with research around female careers, to explore the impact of their personal experiences and life at work on career opportunities and decision making around promotion and to see how these compare with the cohorts covered in this study.

Undoubtedly, the features depicted here regarding female academics' decision making do not determine how women's decision making occurs in all HEIs, nor for women working as post-doctoral researchers, as this study concentrated on females already in lecturing posts and beyond. Two potentially fertile lines of enquiry, therefore, would be to try and understand the impact of the life experiences of women in other universities and those seeking tenure. It would be of interest to see whether other female academics' experiences are similar or different to this University's cohort and, for those in fixed term post doc roles, whether early life and early career experiences compare with those women already established in their careers.

 It would be useful to gather information from the latter group particularly because feedback from UoL's researcher survey (UoL, 2017) identified some career helpers and hindrances: the two themes in this current study. Although the researcher survey covered male (42.9%), female (54.7%) and prefer not to say (2.4%) researchers, the things identified as helping careers (training, manager and colleague support), were also identified as career hindrances (a lack of career development and not knowing who to contact to get help). This was in addition to a lack of time and money to research and insecure contracts being identified as hindrances (similarly reported by Reay [2000, 2004a]; Science & technology Committee [2013-14] and Dear [2010]).

A recommendation of the study is the further clarification of and work on the T&S career path promotion criteria. Should this be satisfactorily achieved (and I have no doubt that it could be) a further longitudinal study could follow this one to analyse the impact over time of the application of revised T&S promotion criteria on the careers of female academics.

Additionally, the majority of the women in this study recorded their ethnic group as White. One of the three women from other/mixed/multiple ethnic groups reported that she had experienced racial discrimination in her working life, although it was not whilst working at the University at the centre of this research. Recent research by UCU (Rollock, 2019) into the experiences of 20 of the 25 UK based black female professors has suggested that a "culture of

explicit and passive bullying persists across higher education along with racial stereotyping and racial microaggressions" (p.4) and that some female white colleagues furthered their feelings of marginalisation. This was not a finding in the current study. However, in this University there are only 98 female black and minority ethnic (BAME) academics and only 13 of those at senior level. A potential further area of research could, therefore, be to examine the life experiences of female BAME academics and the impact on their careers, in comparison to that of white women.

Finally, this research identifies a vital need for professional allied health programmes to be delivered by people with experience from the health sector. This study has, therefore, prompted a wider need to understand the impact on the academic career path and opportunities for progression on men as well as women, of entering academia from a professional environment with technical/professional qualifications rather than academic ones.

References

Aarseth, H. (2016). Eros in the field? Bourdieu's double account of socialized desire. *The Sociological Review*, (1), 93-109

Acker, S. (1992). New Perspectives on an Old Problem: The Position of Women Academics in British Higher Education. *Higher Education, 24*(1), 57-75.

Acker, J. (2006). Inequality Regimes - Gender, Class, and Race in Organizations. Sociologists for Women in Society Feminist Lecture. *Gender & society*, *20*(4), 441-464

Ackers, L. (2003). *Managing Work and Family Life in Peripatetic Careers: The Experiences of Mobile Women Scientists in the EU*. Leeds: Centre for the Study of Law and Policy in Europe, University of Leeds.

Ackers, L. (2008). Internationalisation, Mobility and Metrics: A New Form of Indirect Discrimination? *Minerva* (4), 411–435

Aleandri, G. & Russo, V. (2015). Autobiographical questionnaire and semi-structured interview: comparing two instruments for educational research in difficult contexts. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* (197), 514 – 524

Alexanders, J. & Douglas, C. (2016). The role of psychological skills within physiotherapy: a narrative review of the profession and training. *Physical Therapy Reviews, 21*(3-6), 222-227

Allen, W.R. Drevs, R.A & Ruhe, J.A (1999). Reasons why college-educated women change employment. *Journal of Business and Psychology 14* (1), 77-93

Allsop, J. (2006) Medical dominance in a changing world: the UK case. *Health Sociology Review 15* (5). 444–457

Altbach, P.G. (2007) Globalization and the University: Realities in an Unequal World. In: J. J. F. Forest, & P. G. Altbach (Eds.), *International handbook of higher education* (pp. 121–139). Netherlands: Springer.

Alu, G. (2017). Interpretations of a Loss: Photography and Life History in Carla Cerati's La perdita di Diego (1992). *Italian Studies*, *72*(1), 106–119.

Angervall, P. (2018). The academic career: a study of subjectivity, gender and movement among women university lecturers. *Gender and Education*, *30* (1), 105-118

Angervall, P. & Gustafsson, J. (2014). The Making of Careers in Academia: split career movements in education science. *European Educational Research Journal, 13* (6), 601-615

Angervall, P., Beach, D. & Gustafsson, J. (2015) The unacknowledged value of female academic labour power for male research careers, *Higher Education Research & Development, 34* (5), 815-827

Archer, L. (2008). Younger academics' constructions of 'authenticity', 'success' and professional identity. *Studies in Higher Education, 33* (4), 385–403

Archibald, M. M. & Munce, S.E.P. (2015). Challenges and Strategies in the Recruitment of Participants for Qualitative Research. *University of Alberta Health Sciences Journal, 11* (1), 34-37

Arnold, J., Loan-Clarke, J., Coombs, C., Park, J., Wilkinson, A., Preston, D. (2003). *Looking good? The attractiveness of the NHS as an employer to potential nursing and allied health profession staff*. Report for the Department of Health. Loughborough: Business School, Loughborough University

Athena SWAN. Retrieved from https://www.ecu.ac.uk/equality-charters/athena-swan/

Aurora. Retrieved from https://www.advance-he.ac.uk/programmes-events/aurora

Azoulay, P., Ganguli, I. & Zivin, J. G. (2017). The mobility of elite life scientists: Professional and personal determinants. *Research Policy 46,* 573–590

Bagilhole, B. (1993). How to Keep a Good Woman down: An Investigation of the Role of Institutional Factors in the Process of Discrimination against Women Academics. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *14*(3), 261-274

Bagilhole, B. & Goode, J. (2001). The Contradiction of the Myth of Individual Merit, and the Reality of a Patriarchal Support System in Academic Careers. A Feminist Investigation. *The European Journal of Women's Studies 8*(2), 161–180

Baker, M. (2010). Choices or Constraints? Family Responsibilities, Gender and Academic Career. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies,* 1-18

Baker, M. (2016). Women graduates and the workplace: continuing challenges for academic women. *Studies in Higher Education, 41*(5), 887-900

Barnett, R. (2004). The purposes of higher education and the changing face of academia. *London Review of Education 2*(1), 61-73

Barrett, T. (2015). Storying Bourdieu: Fragments Toward a Bourdieusian Approach to ''Life Histories.'' *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 1–10

Barriball, K. L. & While, A. (1994). Collecting data using a semi-structured interview: a discussion paper. *Journal of Advanced Nursing 19,* 328-335

Bates, C, Gordon, L, Travis, E, Chatterjee, A, Chaudron, L, Fivush, B, Gulati, M, Jagsi, R, Sharma, P, Gillis, M, Ganetzky, R, Grover, A, Lautenberger, D & Moses, A. (2016). Striving for Gender Equity in Academic Medicine Careers: A Call to Action, *Academic Medicine: Journal Of The Association Of American Medical Colleges*, *91*(8) 1050–1052

Bates, L. (2015, February 13) Female academics face huge sexist bias – no wonder there are so few of them. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/womens-blog/2015/feb/13/female-academics-huge-sexist-bias-students

Bauder, H., Hannan, C-A., & Lujan, O. (2017). International Experience in the Academic Field: Knowledge Production, Symbolic Capital, and Mobility Fetishism. *Population, Space and Place 23,* 1-13

Beckmann, J. F & Goode, N. (2014). The benefit of being naïve and knowing it: the unfavourable impact of perceived context familiarity on learning in complex problem solving tasks. *Instructional Science*, *42*(2), 271-290

Benckert, S. & Staberg, E-M. (2001). Women in Science: can they be disturbing elements? *NORA, 3*(9), 162-171

Benwell, B. (2007). NEW SEXISM? Readers' responses to the use of irony in men's magazines. *Journalism Studies, 8*(4), 539-549

Bernat, F. P. & Holschuh, C. S. (2015). Senior Female Faculty in Criminal Justice and Criminology: Professors and Associate Professors Navigating Pathways to Success. *Women & Criminal Justice, 25* (1-2), 11-32,

Bevan, V. & Learmouth, M. (2012). 'I wouldn't say it's sexism, except that … It's all these little subtle things': Healthcare scientists' accounts of gender in healthcare science laboratories. *Social Studies of Science, 43*(1) 136–158

Bhatti, M. T. (2012). Dimensions of Good University Teaching: Faculty and department chairs' perspectives. *Design and Technology Education: An International Journal, 17*(1), 44-53

Bingham, T. & Nix, S.J. (2010). Women Faculty in Higher Education: A Case Study on Gender Bias. *Forum on Public Policy,* 1-12

Black, P. (2005). Class matters in UK higher education. *Women's Studies International Forum 28*, 127– 138

Bleeker, M. M., and J. E. Jacobs. (2004). Achievement in Math and Science: Do Mothers' Beliefs Matter 12 years Later? *Journal of Educational Psychology, 96*(1), 97–109.

Bloomer, M. & Hodkinson, P. (2000). Learning Careers: continuity and change in young people's dispositions to learning. *British Educational Research Journal, 26* (5), 583-597

Bonawitz, M. & Andel, N. (2009). The Glass Ceiling is Made of Concrete: The Barriers to Promotion and Tenure of Women in American Academia. *Forum on Public Policy, 1-16*

Borges, N. J., Navarro, A. M., & Grover, A. C. (2012). Women physicians: choosing a career in academic medicine. *Academic Medicine: Journal of the Association of American Medical Colleges*, *87*(1), 105–114

Bosson, J. K., Pinel, E. C. & Vandello, J. A. (2010). The Emotional Impact of Ambivalent Sexism: Forecasts Versus Real Experiences. *Sex Roles 62,* 520-531

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1978). Sport and social class. *Social Science Information*, *17*(6), 819-840

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* Massachusetts: Harvard University Press

Bourdieu, P. (1985). The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups. *Theory and Society*, *14*(6), 723-744

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital, in Richardson, J.G. (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education,* New York: Greenwood Press. Retrieved from https://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/fr/bourdieu-forms-capital.htm

Bourdieu, P. (1988). *Homo Academicus.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1989). Social Space and Symbolic Power. *Sociological Theory*, *7*(1), 14-25

Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The field of cultural production*. Oxford: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1996). On the Family as a Realized Category. *Theory, Culture & Society, 13*(3), 19-26

Bourdieu, P. (1999). *The weight of the world : social suffering in contemporary society*. Polity. Retrieved from https://search-ebscohost-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat00003a&AN=lvp.b3623854&site=eds-live&scope=site

Bourdieu, P. (2001). *Masculine domination*. Polity. Retrieved from https://search-ebscohost-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat00003a&AN=lvp.b1824205&site=eds-live&scope=site

Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J-C. (1990). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture.* London: Sage

Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L.J.D. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology,* Cambridge: Polity.

Brennan, J. & Naidoo, R. (2008). Higher education and the achievement (and/or prevention) of equity and social justice. *Higher Education, 56,* 287–302

Browne, T. & Burns, C. (2013, April 23). How can we get more working-class women into science? *The Guardian.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/science/2013/apr/23/working-class-women-science

Browne-Yung, K., Ziersch, A. & Baum, F. (2013). Faking til you make it: Social capital accumulation of individuals on low incomes living in contrasting socio-economic neighbourhoods and its implications for health and well-being. *Social Science & Medicine 85,* 9-17

Bryman, A., & Bell, E. (2007). *Business research methods*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved from https://search-ebscohost-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat00003a&AN=lvp.b2074292&site=eds-live&scope=site

Bucholtz, M. (2000). The politics of transcription. *Journal of Pragmatics 32*, 1439-1465

Bunce, L., Baird, A. & Jones, S. E. (2017). The student-as-consumer approach in higher education and its effects on academic performance. *Studies in Higher Education, 42*(11), 1958-1978

Burdușel, E-N. & Oprean, C. (2014). Managing Academic Internationalization: A Culture-Based Approach. *Management of Sustainable Development*, *6*(2), 5-8

Burgess, A., Senior, C., & Moores, E. (2018). A 10-year case study on the changing determinants of university student satisfaction in the UK. *PLoS ONE*, (2). https://doi-org.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0192976

Burke, B., Cropper, A., & Harrison, P. (2000). Real or imagined-Black women's experiences in the Academy. *Community Work and Family*, *3*(3), 297-310

Burkinshaw, P. (2015). *Higher Education, Leadership and Women Vice-Chancellors: Fitting into Communities of Practice of Masculinities*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan

Burnard, P., Gill, P., Stewart, K., Treasure, E. & Chadwick, B. (2008). Analysing and presenting qualitative data. *British Dental Journal, 204*(8), 429-432

Cabatan, M.C.C., Grajo, L. C. & Sana, E. A. (2019). A Scoping Review of Challenges and the Adaptation Process in Academia: Implications for Occupational Therapy Educators. *Open Journal of Occupational Therapy*, *7*(1), https://doi-org.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/10.15453/2168-6408.1523

Calhoun, E. F. (1993). Action Research: Three Approaches. *Educational Leadership, 62-65.*

Cameron, S. W., & Blackburn, R. T. (1981). Sponsorship and academic career success. *Journal of Higher Education, 52,* 369–377

Caretta, M. A., Drozdzewski, D., Jokinen, J. C. & Falconer, E. (2018) "*Who* can play *this* game?" The lived experiences of doctoral candidates and early career women in the neoliberal university, *Journal of Geography in Higher Education, 42*(2), 261-275

Carpenter, C.R., Cone, D. C. &. Sarli, C.C. (2014). Using Publication Metrics to Highlight Academic Productivity and Research Impact Academic Emergency Medicine, *21*(10), 1160–1172

Cary, L. J. (1999). Unexpected Stories: Life History and the Limits of Representation. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *5*(3), 411- 427

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis.* London: Sage.

Chiang, F., Low, A. & Collins, J. (2013). Two Sets of Business Cards: Responses of Chinese Immigrant Women Entrepreneurs in Canada and Australia to Sexism and Racism. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal*, *5*(2), 63-83

Chow, I. (2018). Grace and Scarcity. *Journal of Dance Education, 18*(4), 176-179

Chubb, J., & Watermeyer, R. (2017). Artifice or integrity in the marketization of research impact? Investigating the moral economy of (pathways to) impact statements within research funding proposals in the UK and Australia. *Studies in Higher Education*, *42*(12), 2360–2372

Clandinin, D. J., & Huber, J. (in press). Narrative inquiry. In B. McGaw, E. Baker, & P. P. Peterson (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of education* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Elsevier.

Clarke, C. L., Wilkinson, H., Watson, J., Wilcockson, J., Kinnaird, L., & Williamson, T. (2018.). A Seat Around the Table: Participatory Data Analysis With People Living With Dementia. *Qualitative Health Research*, *28*(9), 1421–1433

Clycq, N., Nouwen, M.A.W & Vandenbroucke, A. (2014). Meritocracy, deficit thinking and the invisibility of the system: Discourses on educational success and failure. *British Educational Research Journal 40*(5), 796–819

Coey, C. (2013). International academics in English higher education : practising and capturing mobile 2013 careers. Retrieved from https://search-ebscohost-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsble&AN=edsble.617480&site=eds-live&scope=site

Crabb, S. & Ekberg, S. (2014). Retaining female postgraduates in academia : the role of gender and prospective parenthood. Retrieved from https://doi-org.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/10.1080/07294360.2014.911251

Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. *American Journal of Sociology 94*, S95-S120

Costa, C. (2016). Double gamers: academics between fields. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 37*(7), 993-1013

Costello, C. (2018, September 27). *Career Progression Decisions: A life-history study of female academics in a Russell Group University - EdD doctoral thesis findings of Carol Costello*. Making Professor Conference. Lancaster University, UK.

Costello, C. (2019, January 24). *Career Progression Decisions: A life-history study of female academics in a Russell Group University - EdD doctoral thesis findings of Carol Costello.* Centre for Higher Education Studies. Research Seminar Series. University of Liverpool, UK.

Croucher, R., Gooderham, P. and Rizov, M. (2017), Research performance and the organizational effectiveness of universities. *Journal of Organizational Effectiveness: People and Performance*, 5(1), 22-38

Davidson, C. (2009). Transcription: Imperatives for qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 8*(2), 35-52.

Dear, D. V. (2010). How much difference can policy make to professional contract researchers? *International Journal for Researcher Development, 1*(4), 257-268

DeCastro, J.R., Griffith K.A., Ubel P.A., Stewart A. & Jagsi R. (2014). A mixed-methods investigation of the motivations, goals, and aspirations of male and female academic medical faculty. *Academic Medicine 91*, 1089–1097

Denzin, N. K. (2001). Interpretive interactionism (Vol. 16). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

De Paola, M. & Scoppa, V. (2015). Gender Discrimination and Evaluators' Gender: Evidence from Italian Academia. *Economica*, *82*(325), 162-188

Department for Business, Innovation and Skills. (2011). *Innovation and Research Strategy for Growth* (Report Number 11-1387) Retrieved from https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/229028/8239.pdf

Department for Business, Innovation and Skills. (2013). *International Education: Global Growth and Prosperity* (Report Number 13-1081) Retrieved from https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/340600/bis-13-1081-international-education-global-growth-and-prosperity-revised.pdf

Department for Business, Innovation and Skills. (2015). *Fulfilling our Potential: Teaching Excellence, Social Mobility and Student Choice*. Retrieved from https://www.timeshighereducation.com/sites/default/files/breaking_news_files/green_paper.pdf

Dhunpath, R. & Samuel, M. Eds. (2009). *Life History Research: Epistemology, Methodology and Representation.* Rotterdam: Sense Publishers

Dick, P. (2008). Resistance, gender, and Bourdieu's notion of field. *Management Communication Quarterly*, *21*(3), 327–343

Digan, S. P., Sahi, G. K., Mantok, S., & Patel, P. C. (2019). Women's Perceived Empowerment in Entrepreneurial Efforts: The Role of Bricolage and Psychological Capital. *Journal of Small Business Management*, (1), 206-229

Di Leo, J. R. (2016). Academe in chains: habitus, reform, and the neoliberal university. *The Comparatist*, 158-169.

DiMaggio, P. (1982). Cultural Capital and School Success: The Impact of Status Culture Participation on the Grades of U.S. High School Students. *American Sociological Review*, *47*(2), 189-201

DiNitto, D., Aguilar, M. A., Franklin, C., & Jordan, C. (1995). Over the Edge? Women and Tenure in Today's Academic Environment. *Afillia, 10*(3), 255-279

Dlamini, E. T. & Adams, J. D. (2014). Patriarchy: A Case of Women in Institutions of Higher Education. *Perspectives in Education*, *32*(4), 121–133

Drew, Glenys M. (2006) Balancing academic advancement with business effectiveness? The dual role for senior university leaders. *International Journal of Knowledge, Culture and Change Management, 6*(4), 117-125.

Dutta, R., Hawkes, S. L., Kuipers, E., Guest, D., Fear, N. T., & Iversen, A. C. (2011). One year outcomes of a mentoring scheme for female academics: a pilot study at the Institute of Psychiatry, King's College London. *BMC Medical Education.* Retrieved from https://search-ebscohost-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsgao&AN=edsgcl.256366840&site=eds-live&scope=site

Eddy, M. D. (2006). Academic Capital, Postgraduate Research and British Universities: a Bourdieu Inspired Reflection. *Discourse: Learning and Teaching in Philosophical and Religious Studies, 6*(1), 211 - 223

Edgerton, J. D., Peter, T. & Roberts, L. W. (2014). Gendered Habitus and Gender Differences in Academic Achievement. *Alberta Journal of Educational Research, 60*(1)*, 182-212*

Edwards, J. (2017) Narrating experiences of sexism in higher education: a critical feminist autoethnography to make meaning of the past, challenge the status quo and consider the future. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 30*(7), 621-634

Etherington, K. (n.d.) Narrative approaches to case studies. Retrieved from http://www.keele.ac.uk/media/keeleuniversity/facnatsci/schpsych/documents/counselling/conference/5thannual/NarrativeApproachestoCaseStudies.pdf

European Commission (2008). *Mapping the maze: Getting more women to the top in research.* Science, economy and society. Scientific culture and gender issues. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu

European Commission (2012). She Figures 2012 – Gender in Research and Innovation. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/research/science-society/document_library/pdf_06/she-figures-2012_en.pdf

Evetts, J. (2000). Analysing Change in Women's Careers: Culture, Structure and Action Dimensions. *Gender, Work and Organization 7*(1), 57-67

Fehr, R., Fulmer, A., Awtrey, E., & Miller, J. A. (2017). The Grateful Workplace: A Multilevel Model of Gratitude in Organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, *42*(2), 361–381

Ferris, M., Hirst, A., Sanati, N. A. & Sanati, K. A. (2015). The international contribution to occupational health research. *Scandinavian Journal of Work, Environment & Health*, *41*(3), 294-298

Finkelstein, M. J., Walker, E. & Chen, R. (2013). The American faculty in an age of globalization: predictors of internationalization of research content and professional networks. *Higher Education 66*, 325-340

Finnegan, F. & Merrill, B. (2017) 'We're as good as anybody else': a comparative study of working-class university students' experiences in England and Ireland, *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 38*(3), 307-324

Firestone W. A. (1993). Alternative Arguments for Generalizing from Data as Applied to Qualitative Research. Educational Researcher, 22(4), 16-23

Floyd, A. (2012). "Turning Points": The Personal and Professional Circumstances That Lead Academics to Become Middle Managers. *Educational Management Administration & Leadership*, *40*(2), 272–284.

Floyd, A., & Dimmock, C. (2011). "Jugglers", "Copers" and "Strugglers": Academics' Perceptions of Being a Head of Department in a Post-1992 UK University and How It Influences Their Future Careers. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, *33*(4), 387–399

Forbes Insights (2011). Global Diversity & Inclusion. Fostering Innovation through a Diverse Workforce. Retrieved from http://images.forbes.com/forbesinsights/StudyPDFs/Innovation_Through_Diversity.pdf

Fox, M. F., & Faver, C. A. (1981). Achievement and Aspiration: Patterns among Male and Female Academic-Career Aspirants. *Sociology of Work & Occupations*, *8*(4), 439-463

Gander, M. (2019). Let the right one in: A Bourdieusian analysis of gender inequality in universities' senior management. *Gender Work and Organization*, *26*(2), 107-123

Gardiner, M., Tiggemann, M., Kearns, H. & Marshal, K. (2007). Show me the money! An empirical analysis of mentoring outcomes for women in academia. *Higher Education Research & Development, 26*(4), 425-442

Geiger, S. N. G. (1986). Women's Life Histories: Method and Content. *Signs, 11*(2), 334-351.

Gemme, B. & Gingras, Y. (2012). Academic careers for graduate students: a strong attractor in a changed environment. *Higher Education*, *63*(6), 667-683

Gewirtz, S. & Cribb, A. (2006). What to do about values in social research: the case for ethical reflexivity in the sociology of education*, British Journal of Sociology of Education, 27*(02), 141-155

Giannakis, M. & Bullivant, N. (2015). The massification of higher education in the UK: Aspects of service quality. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, *40*(5), 630–648

Gibney, E. (2017, April 13). Teaching load could put female scientists at career disadvantage. *Nature International Weekly Journal of Science.* Retrieved from

https://www.nature.com/news/teaching-load-could-put-female-scientists-at-career-disadvantage-1.21839

Ginther, D. K. & Kahn, S. (2004). Women in Economics: Moving up or Falling off the Academic Career Ladder? *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *18*(3), 193-214

Gonzalez-Brambila, C. N. (2014). Social capital in academia. *Scientometrics*, (3), 1609-1625

Goodall, A. & Osterloh, M. (2015, May 14) Room at the top. *Times Higher Education,* 2203, 34-39. Retrieved from https://search-ebscohost-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ehh&AN=102930207&site=eds-live&scope=site

Goodson, I. (1992), 'Introduction', in I. Goodson (ed.), *Studying Teachers' Lives*, London: Routledge

Goodson, I. (2001.) The Story of Life History: Origins of the Life History Method in Sociology, *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research 1*(2), 129-142,

Goodson I and Sikes P (2001) Life History Research in Educational Settings—Learning From Lives. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Gopaul, B. (2011). Distinction in Doctoral Education: Using Bourdieu's Tools to Assess the Socialization of Doctoral Students. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *44*(1), 10–21

Greenbank, P. (2009). Re-evaluating the role of social capital in the career decision-making behaviour of working-class students. *Research in Post-Compulsory Education, 14*(2), 157-170

Greenbank, P. & Hepworth, S. (2008). Improving the career decision-making behaviour of working class students: Do economic barriers stand in the way? *Journal of European Industrial Training, 32(7)*, 492-509

Griffith, A. I. (1998). Insider/Outsider: epistemological privilege and mothering work. *Human Studies, 21*, 361-376

Grundy, A.L., Pollon, D.E., & McGinn, M.K. (2003). The participant as transcriptionist: Methodological advantages of a collaborative and inclusive research practice. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *2*(2), 1-19.

Guerrina, R. (2005). *Mothering the union : gender politics in the EU*. Manchester University Press

Harley, S. (2002). The Impact of Research Selectivity on Academic Work and Identity in UK Universities. *Studies in Higher Education*, *27*(2), 187–205.

Hart, P. (1996). Women in medical research: headaches and hurdles. *Journal of Gastroenterology and Hepatology*, *11*(9), 885–887

Hart, M. (2014). Missing the Forest for the Trees: Gender Pay Discrimination in Academia. *Denver University Law Review*, *91*(4), 873-892.

Harter, C. L., Schaur, G. & Watts, M. (2015). What Do Teaching Weights Tell Us? *Journal of Economic Education*, *46*(3), 310–323

Hernandez-Martinez, P. & Williams, J. (2013). Against the odds: resilience in mathematics students in transition. *British Educational Research Journal, 39* (1), 45–59

Heslop, C., Burns, S. & Lobo, R. (2018.) Managing qualitative research as insider-research in small rural communities. *Rural and Remote Health 18,* 4576. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.22605/RRH4576

Hewitt-Taylor, J. (2002.). Inside knowledge: issues in insider research. *Nursing Standard 16*(46), 33–35.

Hilgers, M., & Mangez, E. (2015). *Bourdieu's theory of social fields. Concepts and applications*. New York: Routledge

Hill, I. (2018). How did you get up and running? Taking a Bourdieuan perspective towards a framework for negotiating strategic fit. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, *30*(5/6), 662–696

Hirsh, C. E. (2014). Beyond Treatment and Impact: A Context-Oriented Approach to Employment Discrimination. *American Behavioral Scientist, 58*(2), 256–273

Holdaway, J., Levitt, P., Fang, J., & Rajaram, N. (2015). Mobility and health sector development in China and India. *Social Science & Medicine*, *130*, 268–276

Holian, R., & Coghlan, D. (2013). Ethical Issues and Role Duality in Insider Action Research: Challenges for Action Research Degree Programmes. *Systemic Practice and Action Research*, (5), 399-415

Holligan, C. (2011) Feudalism and academia: UK academics' accounts of research culture. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 24*(1), 55-75

Holroyd, R. A. (2002, September 12-14). *'Body work': Physical capital, habitus and the field of school.* Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the British Educational Research Association, University of Exeter, England. Retrieved from http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/documents/00002410.htm

Hoskins, K. (2010). The price of success? The experiences of three senior working class female academics in the UK. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *33*(2), 134–140

Hoskins, K. (2013). Senior female academics in the UK academy: theoretical perspectives for understanding the impact of education and familial influences on career success. *International Studies in Sociology of Education, 23*(1), 56-75

Hoskins, K. (2015). Researching female professors: the difficulties of representation, positionality and power in feminist research. *Gender and Education*, *27*(4), 393–411

Huffman, A. H., Casper, W. J. & Payne, S. C. (2014). How does spouse career support relate to employee turnover? Work interfering with family and job satisfaction as mediators. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, (2), 194-212

Hunt, B., Layton, D. & Prince, S. (2015). *Why Diversity Matters.* McKinsey and Co. Retrieved from http://www.mckinsey.com/business-functions/organization/our-insights/why-diversity-matters

Huot, C. R. (2013). *Language as a social reality: The effects of the infantilization of women*. (Master of Arts dissertation, University of Northern Iowa). Electronic Theses and Dissertations. Retrieved from https://scholarworks.uni.edu/etd/72

Ing, M. (2014). Gender Differences in the Influence of Early Perceived Parental Support on Student Mathematics and Science Achievement and STEM Career Attainment. *International Journal of Science and Mathematics Education,* (12), 1221-1239

Inman, M. (2014). Bringing life to leadership: the significance of life history in reviewing leadership learning within higher education. *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, *17*(2), 237-256

Jaeger, M. M. (2011). Does cultural capital really affect academic achievement? New evidence from combined sibling and panel data. *Sociology of Education*, (4), 281-298

Janger, J. & Nowotny, K. (2016). Job choice in academia. *Research Policy*, *45*(8), 1672–1683

Jarboe, N. (2013). *Women Count: Leaders in Higher Education*. Retrieved from https://womencountblog.files.wordpress.com/2016/03/women_count_2013_leaders_in_he-230514-1.pdf

Johnson, J. A., Honnold, J. A. & Threlfall, P. (2011). Impact of Social Capital on Employment and Marriage among Low Income Single Mothers. *Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*, *38*(4), 9-38.

Judge, T.A., Cable, D.M., Boudreau, J.W. and Bretz, R.D. Jr (1995). An empirical investigation of the predictors of executive career success. *Personnel Psychology*, *48*(3), 485-519.

Kahn, S. (2012). Gender Differences in Academic Promotion and Mobility at a Major Australian University. *Economic Record*, *88*(282), 407–424

Kay, K. & Shipman, C. (2014, April 30). Gender discrimination isn't fair, but it's no reason to give up on self-confidence. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/30/gender-discrimination-self-confidence-gap

Kim, E., Benson, S., & Alhaddab, T. A. (2018). A career in academia? Determinants of academic career aspirations among PhD students in one Research University in the US. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, *19*(2), 273–283

King, A. (2000). Thinking with Bourdieu against Bourdieu: A "Practical" Critique of the Habitus. *Sociological Theory*, *18*(3), 417-433

Kleanthous, I., & Williams, J. (2013). Perceived parental influence and students' dispositions to study mathematically-demanding courses in Higher Education. Retrieved from https://search-ebscohost-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsbas&AN=edsbas.984619B0&site=eds-live&scope=site

Knights, D. & Richards, W. (2003). Sex discrimination in UK academia. *Gender, Work and Organization, 10*(2), 213–238.

Kouritzin, S. G. (2000). Bringing Life to Research: Life History Research and ESL. *Tesl Canada Journal*, *17*(2), 1-35.

Kraimer, M. L., Greco, L., Seibert, S. E., & Sargent, L. D. (2019). An Investigation of Academic Career Success: The New Tempo of Academic Life. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, *18*(2), 128–152.

Krais, B. & William, J. M. (2000). The Gender Relationship in Bourdieu's Sociology, 29(3), 53 https://doi-org.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/10.1353/sub.2000.0037

Kuhn, P. & Villeval, M. (2013). Are Women More Attracted To Cooperation Than Men? *National Bureau of Economic Research, 125,* 115-140

Kwiek, M. (2018). Academic top earners. Research productivity, prestige generation, and salary patterns in European universities. *Science & Public Policy*, *45*(1), 1–13

Langan, A. M., Scott, N., Partington, S., & Oczujda, A. (2017). Coherence between text comments and the quantitative ratings in the UK's National Student Survey. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, *41*(1), 16-29

Lareau, A. (1987). Social Class Differences in Family-School Relationships: The Importance of Cultural Capital. *Sociology of Education*, *60*(2), 73–85

Lareau, A. & Weininger, E. B. (2003). Cultural capital in educational research: A critical assessment. *Theory & Society*, *32*(5/6), 567-606

Leahey, E., Crockett, J. L., & Hunter, L. A. (2007). Gendered Academic Careers: Specializing for Success. *Social Forces*, (Issue 3). Retrieved from https://search-ebscohost-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edshol&AN=edshol.hein.journals.josf86.56&site=eds-live&scope=site

Leeb, C. (2004). *Working-Class Women in Elite Academia: A Philosophical Inquiry*. New York: Peter Lang.

Leibowitz, B., van Schalkwyk,, S., Ruiters, J., Farmer, J. & Adendorff, H. (2012). "It's been a wonderful life": accounts of the interplay between structure and agency by "good" university teachers. *Higher Education*, *63*(3), 353-365

Lehmann, W. (2014). Habitus Transformation and Hidden Injuries: Successful Working-class University Students. *Sociology of Education, 87* (1), 1-15

Levine, R. B., Lin, F., Kern, D. E., Wright, S. M., & Carrese, J. (2011). Stories from early-career women physicians who have left academic medicine: A qualitative study at a single institution. *Academic Medicine*, *86*(6), 752–758.

Lewis, D. (2008). Using life histories in social policy research: the case of third sector/public sector boundary crossing. *Journal of Social Policy*, *37*(4), 559–578

Lipton, B. (2017) Measures of success: cruel optimism and the paradox of academic women's participation in Australian higher education. *Higher Education Research & Development, 36*(3), 486-497

Llopis, G. (2013). The 4 Most Effective Ways Leaders Solve Problems. Retrieved from https://www.forbes.com/sites/glennllopis/2013/11/04/the-4-most-effective-ways-leaders-solve-problems/#100d14274f97

Lockett, A., Currie, G., Finn, R., Martin, G. & Waring, J. (2014). The Influence of Social Position on Sensemaking about Organisational Change. *Academy of Management Journal, 57*(4), 1102–1129

Luthans, F., Youssef, C. M. & Avolio, B. J. (2007). Psychological Capital, Developing the Human Competitive Edge. Oxford: Oxford University Press

M Maas, L. G., & Ezeobele, I. E. (2014). Reflections from Dutch Advanced Nursing Practice Students on Psychiatric Mental Healthcare in the United States. *Archives of Psychiatric Nursing*, *28*, 357–361

Manfredi, S., Grisoni, L., Handley, K., Nestor, R. & Cooke, F. (2014). *Gender and Higher Education Leadership: Researching the Career of Top Management Programme Alumni.* Summary Report. Research and Development Series. Leadership Foundation for Higher Education. Retrieved from https://www.lfhe.ac.uk/en/research-resources/publications-hub/index.cfm/S4-02

Mangematin, V. (2000). PhD job market: professional trajectories and incentives during the PhD. *Research Policy*, 29, 741-756

Mathers, J. & Parry, J. (2009). Why are there so few working-class applicants to medical schools? Learning from the success stories. *Medical Education*, *43,* 219-228

Matthews, D. (2014, March 06) Men in higher education: the numbers don't look good, guys. *Times Higher Education Supplement*. Retrieved from https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/men-in-higher-education-the-numbers-dont-look-good-guys/2011807.article

Mattsson, T. (2015). 'Good girls': emphasised femininity as cloning culture in academia. *Gender and Education*, *27*(6), 685-699

Maurice, C. (2018, March 08). How to fix gender equality in the sciences, according to an inspiring Cambridge professor. *Cambridge News.* Retrieved from https://www.cambridge-news.co.uk/news/cambridge-news/international-womens-day-athene-donald-14380127

McAlpine, L. (2016). Becoming a PI: From 'doing' to 'managing' research. *Teaching in Higher Education*, *21*(1), 49–63

McCormack, B., Baltruks, D. & Cooke, R. (2019). *Becoming research confident Research in pre-registration curricula for nursing, midwifery and allied health programmes in the UK.* Council of Deans. Retrieved from https://councilofdeans.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/CODH.RIPR_.report_v3-002.pdf

McKay, E. (2000, May 15-17). The Life History Method: Its use in exploring the lives of women with severe mental illness. Paper presented at the Qualitative Evidence-based Practice Conference, Coventry University.

McKay, J. C., Ahmad, A., Shaw, J. L., Rashid, F., Clancy, A., David, C., Figueiredo, R., & Quiñonez, C. (2016). Gender Differences and Predictors of Work Hours in a Sample of Ontario Dentists. *Journal of The Canadian Dental Association.* Retrieved from https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/28240580

Mero-Jaffe, I. (2011). 'Is that what I Said?' Interview Transcript Approval by Participants: An Aspect of Ethics in Qualitative Research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 10*(3), 231-247

Meyers, M. (2013). The War on Academic Women: Reflections on Postfeminism in the Neoliberal Academy. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, *37*(4), 274–283

Miles, M., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Miller, K. (2007). Policy and organizational implications of gender imbalance in the NHS. *Journal of Health Organization and Management, 21*(4/5), 432-447

Mills, S (2003). Caught between sexism, anti-sexism and 'political correctness': feminist women's negotiations with naming practices. *Discourse & Society, 14*(1), 87–110

Minsky, C (March, 17, 2016). THE Student Experience Survey 2016 results. *Times Higher Educational Supplement*. Retrieved from www.timeshighereducation.com/student/news/student-experience-survey-2016-results

Misra, J., Lundquist, J. H., Holmes, E., & Agiomavritis, S. (2011). The Ivory Ceiling of Service Work. *Academe: Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors, 97*(1), 22-26

Money, J., Nixon, S., Tracy, F., Hennessy, C., Ball, E., & Dinning, T. (2017). Undergraduate Student Expectations of University in the United Kingdom: What Really Matters to Them? *Cogent Education*, *4*(1). Retrieved from https://search-ebscohost-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=eric&AN=EJ1168461&site=eds-live&scope=site

Morley, L. (2011). Misogyny posing as measurement: disrupting the feminisation crisis discourse. *Contemporary Social Science, 6*(2), 223-235

Morley, L (2013. The rules of the game: women and the leaderist turn in higher education. *Gender and Education, 25*(1), 116–131

Naidoo. R. (2004). Fields and institutional strategy: Bourdieu on the relationship between higher education, inequality and society. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 25*(4), 457-471

Naidoo, R., Gosling, J., Bolden, R., O'Brien, A. & Hawkins, B. (2014). Leadership and branding in business schools: a Bourdieusian analysis. *Higher Education Research & Development, 33*(1), 144-156

Nafei, W. (2015). The Role of Psychological Capital on Job Embeddedness and Organizational Cynicism: A Study on Menoufia University Hospitals. *Journal of Management and Sustainability, 5*(1), 50-74

Nash, R. (2002). A Realist Framework for the Sociology of Education: thinking with Bourdieu. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, *34*(3), 273-288

Nature (2016, September 21). Is science only for the rich? Retrieved from https://www.nature.com/news/is-science-only-for-the-rich-1.20650

Nettleton, S., Burrows, R. & Watt, I. (2008). Regulating medical bodies? The consequences of the 'modernisation' of the NHS and the disembodiment of clinical knowledge. *Sociology of Health & Illness,* 30(3), 333-348

Netz, N. & Jaksztat, S. (2017). Explaining Scientists' Plans for International Mobility from a Life Course Perspective. *Research Higher Education, 58*, 497-519

Ng, T. W. H., Eby, L. T., Sorensen, K. L., & Feldman, D. C. (2005). Predictors of Objective and Subjective Career Success: A Meta-Analysis. *Personnel Psychology*, *58*(2), 367–408

Nguyen, T. D. & Nguyen, T.T.M. (2012). Psychological Capital, Quality of Work Life, and Quality of Life of Marketers: Evidence from Vietnam. *Journal of Macromarketing, 32*(1), 87-95

Nite, D. K. (2014). Sharing Life-History and Other Memory: The Mining Persons in South Africa, 1951–2011, *South African Historical Journal, 66*(1), 122-141

Ortner, S. B. (2014). Too Soon for Post-Feminism: The Ongoing Life of Patriarchy in Neoliberal America. *History and Anthropology, 25*(4), 530–549

Parry, A. (1995). Ginger Rogers Did Everything Fred Astaire Did Backwards and in High Heels. *Physiotherapy, 81*(6), 310-319

Penney, S., Young, G., Badenhorst, C., Goodnough, K., Hesson, J., Joy, R., McLeod, H., Pickett, S., Stordy, M., Vaandering, D. & Pelech, S. (2015). Faculty Writing Groups: A Support for Women Balancing Family and Career on the Academic Tightrope. *Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, *45*(4), 457–479

Phipps, A. & Young, I. (2015). "Lad culture" in higher education: Agency in the sexualization debates. *Sexualities*, *18*(4), 459–479

Pithouse-Morgan, K., Naicker, I., Pillay, D., Masinga, L., & Hlao, T. (2016). Sink or swim?: Learning from stories of becoming academics within a transforming university terrain. *South African Journal of Higher Education, 30*(1), 224-244

Powell, G. N & Butterfield, D. A. (2003). Gender, gender identity, and aspirations to top management. *Women in Management Review, 18* (1/2), 88 – 96

Pyhältö, K., McAlpine, L., Peltonen, J. & Castello, M. (2017). How does social support contribute to engaging post-PhD experience? *European Journal of Higher Education, 7*(4), 373-387

Quinn, J., Thomas, L., Slack, K., Casey, L., Thexton, W. & Noble, J. (2006). Lifting the Hood: Lifelong Learning and Young, White, Provincial Working-Class Masculinities. *British Educational Research Journal*, *32*(5), 735-750

Reason, M. (2010). *Drawing as Countersignature to Experience.* [Video] (Unpublished). Retrieved from http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/realities/events/vitalsigns/programme/2c/ **Reason/**

Reason, P., & Bradbury, H. (2002). Action Research: an opportunity for revitalizing research purpose and practices. *Qualitative Social work, 2(*2), 155-175

Reay, D. (2000). "Dim dross": Marginalised women both inside and outside the academy. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *23*(1), 13–21

Reay, D. (2004a). Cultural capitalists and academic habitus: Classed and gendered labour in UK higher education. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *27*(1), 31–39

Reay, D. (2004b). "It's All Becoming a Habitus": Beyond the Habitual Use of Habitus in Educational Research. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *25*(4), 431-444

Reay, D. (2005). Beyond Consciousness? The Psychic Landscape of Social Class. *Sociology*, *39*(5), 911-928

Reay, D. (2018). Working class educational transitions to university: The limits of success. *European Journal of Education*, (4), 528-540

Renzulli, L. A., Reynolds, J., Kelly, K., & Grant, L. (2013). Pathways to gender inequality in faculty pay: The Impact of institution, academic division, and rank. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, *34*, 58–72

Rice, C (2015, February 19). Don't be fooled by the closing gender gap in science PhDs. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from http://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/2015/feb/19/dont-be-fooled-by-the-closing-gender-gap-in-science-phds

Rollock, N. (2019). *Staying Power: The career experiences and strategies of UK Black female professors.* Report prepared for UCU. Retrieved from

https://www.ucu.org.uk/media/10075/Staying-Power/pdf/UCU_Rollock_February_2019.pdf

Ronnie, L (2016). Academic capital and the world of work: experiences of mature students. *Journal of Applied Research in Higher Education, 8*(2), 265-276

Rowlands, J. (2013). Academic boards: less intellectual and more academic capital in higher education governance? *Studies in Higher Education*, *38*(9), 1274–1289

Russell Group. (2013). *The House of Commons Science and Technology Select Committee Inquiry into Women in STEM careers. Evidence from the Russell Group of Universities*. Retrieved from www.russellgroup.ac.uk

Russo, N. F., Kelly, R. M., & Deacon, M. (1991). Gender and success-related attributions: beyond individualistic conceptions of achievement. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, (5–6), 331-349

Safta, C. G. (2015). Career Decisions – A Test of Courage, Responsibility and Self-Confidence in Teenagers. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *203*, 341–347

Sanders, K., Willemsen, T. M., & Millar, C. C. (2009). Views from Above the Glass Ceiling: Does the Academic Environment Influence Women Professors' Careers and Experiences? *Sex Roles*, (5–6), 301-312

Savigny, H. (2014). Women, know your limits: cultural sexism in academia. *Gender & Education*, *26*(7), 794–809

Sayer, A. (2005). *The Moral Significance of Class.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sealey, A. (2010). Probabilities and Surprises: A Realist Approach to Identifying Linguistic and Social Patterns, with Reference to an Oral History Corpus. *Applied Linguistics*, *31*(2), 215–235

Shafi M. (2014). Caregiving, Work, and the Debate on "Why Women Still Can't Have It All." *Women in German Yearbook: Feminist Studies in German Literature & Culture*, 30,149-163

Shepherd, S. (2017). Why are there so few female leaders in higher education: A case of structure or agency? *Management in Education*, *31*(2), 82–87

Shumba, P. A., & Naong, M. (2013). The influence of family income on students' career choice at universities of technology. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, *27*(4), 1021–1037

Sikes, P. & Everington, J. (2004). 'RE teachers do get drunk you know': becoming a religious education teacher in the twenty-first century, *Teachers and Teaching, 10*(1), 21-33

Smith, J. M. (2012). Reflections on using life history to investigate women teachers' aspirations and career decisions. *Qualitative Research*, (4), 486-503

Söderström, J. (2019). Life diagrams: a methodological and analytical tool for accessing life histories. *Qualitative Research 00*(0), 1-19

Spinelli-De-Sá, J. G., Lemos, A. H. D. C., & Cavazotte, F. D. S. C. N. (2017). Making a Career in a Male-Dominated Field: The Meaning of Work for Women Employed in the Financial Markets, *Revista de Administração Mackenzie, 18*(4), 109-136.

Stahl, G. & Baars, S. (2016). How "space" and "place" contribute to occupational aspirations as a value-constituting practice for working-class males. Education and Training, 58(3), 313-327

Sperandio, J., & Devdas, L. (2015). Staying Close to Home: Women's Life-Choices and the Superintendency. *Journal of Educational Administration*, *53*(3), 335-353

Spurling, A. (1990). *The report of the Women in Higher Education Project.* Cambridge: King's College Research Centre

Sturges, J. (1999). What it means to succeed: Personal conceptions of career success held by male and female managers at different ages. *British Journal of Management*, *10*(3), 239–252

Swartz, David. (1997). *Culture and power: The sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. London: University of Chicago Press.

Tahir, S., Bashir, A., & Khan, J. S. (2014). Factors That Hinder Female Dentists in Pursuing Their Career. *Biomedica*, *30*(3), 1-6.

Taylor, J. (2011). The intimate insider: Negotiating the ethics of friendship when doing insider research. *Qualitative Research 11*(1), 1-17

Thomas, B. (1978). Attitudes, not abilities, make difference in three ad careers*, Marketing News*, *11* (21), 1-11

Tolich, M. (2004). Internal confidentiality: when confidentiality assurances fail relational informants. *Qualitative Inquiry* 27(1), 101 – 106.

 Travis, E., Doty, L., & Helitzer, D. (2013). Sponsorship: A Path to the Academic Medicine C-suite for Women Faculty? *Academic Medicine*, *88*(10), 1414-1417.

Tyndall, D. E., Forbes III, T. H., Avery, J. J., & Powell, S. B. (2019). Fostering scholarship in doctoral education: Using a social capital framework to support PhD student writing groups. *Journal of Professional Nursing*

Tzanakis, M. (2011). Bourdieu's Social Reproduction Thesis and The Role of Cultural Capital in Educational Attainment: A Critical Review of Key Empirical Studies. *Educate, 11*(1), 76-90

UCU. (2012). *The position of women and BME staff in professorial roles in UK HEIs.* Retrieved from https://www.ucu.org.uk

UCU. (2016). *Holding down women's pay. A report for International Women's Day.* Retrieved from https://www.ucu.org.uk

UoL. (2006). *Academic Strategy 2006-2009.* University of Liverpool, UK

UoL. (2009). *Strategic Plan 2009-2014.* University of Liverpool, UK

UoL (2017). *Principal Investigators and Research Leaders Survey (PIRLS).* Retrieved from https://liverpool.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/pirls2017

Van Bommel, T., Sheehy, A., & Ruscher, J. B. (2015). The role of attachment style in women's recognition of sexism. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *74*, 235–240

Verdi, G., & Ebsworth, M. (2009). Working-class women academics: four socio-linguistic journeys. *Journal Of Multicultural Discourses*, *4*(2), 183-204.

Vongalis-Macrow, A. (2012). "Monkey in a Cage": The Complicated Loyalties of Mid-Level Academic Women Working in Higher Education. *Forum on Public Policy Online*, 1-17

Wacquant, L.J. D. (2005). Habitus. In J. Beckert & M. Zafirovski (Eds). *International Encyclopedia of Economic Sociology* (pp. 315–319). London: Routledge.

Walker, J. & Yoon, E. (2017). Becoming an academic: the role of doctoral capital in the field of education, *Higher Education Research & Development, 36*(2), 401-415

Warwick, P. (2014). The international business of higher education – A managerial perspective on the internationalisation of UK universities. *International Journal of Management Education*, *12*(2), 91–103

Waters-Adams, S. (2006). The Relationship between Understanding of the Nature of Science and Practice: The influence of teachers' beliefs about education, teaching and learning. *International Journal of Science Education, 28*(8), 919-944

Watson, I. (1993). Life History Meets Economic Theory: The Experiences of Three Working-Class Women in a Local Labour Market. *Employment & Society: A Journal of the British Sociological Association*, 7(3), 411-435

Watt-Malcolm, B., & Barabasch, A. (2010). Tensions in the Canadian Apprenticeship Sector: Rethinking Bourdieu's Analysis of Habitus, Field, and Capital. *Research in Comparative and International Education*, *5*(3), 289–301

Watts, M. F. (2009). *Accessing Oxbridge: a capability assessment of the widening participation agenda.* (Doctoral Dissertation). Retrieved from https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.51430

Watts, M. (2007.) Capability, Identity and Access to Elite Universities. *Prospero 13* (3), 22-33

Weininger, E. B. (2005). Pierre Bourdieu on Social Class and Symbolic Violence. In E.O Wright (Ed) *Approaches to Class Analysis, (*Pp. 116–65). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Weir, P., Leach, J., Gamble, J., & Creedy, D. (2014). Twenty-First Century Minerva: Are there career impacts for women who receive a "Women in Science" Fellowship? Retrieved from https://search-ebscohost-com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsbas&AN=edsbas.83233298&site=eds-live&scope=site

West, L. M. (2014). 'Something's Gotta Give:' Advanced-Degree Seeking. Women's Experiences of Sexism, Role Overload, and Psychological Distress. *NASPA Journal about Women in Higher Education, 7*(2), 226-243

Westring, A., McDonald, J. M., Carr, P., & Grisso, J. A. (2016). An Integrated Framework for Gender Equity in Academic Medicine. *Academic Medicine*, (8), 1041-1044

Whitchurch, C. & Gordon, G. (2010). Diversifying Academic and Professional Identities in Higher Education: Some management challenge. *Tertiary Education and Management, 16*(2), 129-144

Williams, E. N., Soeprapto, E., Like, K., Touradji, P., Hess, S., & Hill, C. E. (1998). Perceptions of Serendipity: Career Paths of Prominent Academic Women in Counseling Psychology. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, (4), 379-389

Women in Academic Medicine. (2008). Developing equality in governance and management for career progression. Retrieved from https://www.bma.org.uk

Wright, H. R., Cooper, L., & Luff, P. (2017). Women's ways of working: Circumventing the masculine structures operating within and upon the University. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *61*, 123–131

Wu, L. T., Low, M. M. J., Tan, K. K., Lopez, V., & Liaw, S. Y. (2015). Why not nursing? A systematic review of factors influencing career choice among healthcare students. *International Nursing Review*, *62*(4), 547–562

Yang, Y. (2014). Bourdieu, Practice and Change: Beyond the criticism of determinism. *Educational Philosophy & Theory*, *46*(14), 1522–1540

Zeldin, A. L., & Pajares, F. (2000). Against the Odds: Self-Efficacy Beliefs of Women in Mathematical, Scientific, and Technological Careers. *American Educational Research Journal, 37*(1), 215-246

Appendices

Appendix A: Ethics Approval

Dear Carol Costello			
I am pleased to inform you that the EdD. Virtual Programme Research Ethics Committee (VPREC) has approved your application for ethical approval for your study. Details and conditions of the approval can be found below.			
Sub-Committee:	EdD. Virtual Programme Research Ethics Committee (VPREC)		
Review type:	Expedited		
PI:			
School:		Lifelong Learning	
Title:	Career progression decisions: a life history study of female academics in a Russell Group University		
First Reviewer:	Dr. Lucilla Crosta		
Second Reviewer:	Prof. Morag Gray		
Other members of the Committee	Dr. Anthony Edwards, Dr. Carol Ray Philips, Dr. Dimitrios Vlachopoulous		
Date of Approval:	11th January 2016		
The application was APPROVED subject to the following conditions:			
Conditions			
1	Mandatory	M: All serious adverse events must be reported to the VPREC within 24 hours of their occurrence, via the EdD Thesis Primary Supervisor.	

This approval applies for the duration of the research. If it is proposed to extend the duration of the study as specified in the application form, the Sub-Committee should be notified. If it is proposed to make an amendment to the research, you should notify the Sub-Committee by following the Notice of Amendment procedure outlined at http://www.liv.ac.uk/media/livacuk/researchethics/notice%20of%20amendment.doc.

Where your research includes elements that are not conducted in the UK, approval to proceed is further conditional upon a thorough risk assessment of the site and local permission to carry out the research, including, where such a body exists, local research ethics committee approval. No documentation of local permission is required (a) if the researcher will simply be asking organizations to distribute research invitations on the researcher's behalf, or (b) if the researcher is using only public means to identify/contact participants. When medical, educational, or business records are analysed or used to identify potential research participants, the site needs to explicitly approve access to data for research purposes (even if the researcher normally has access to that data to perform his or her job).

Please note that the approval to proceed depends also on research proposal approval.

Kind regards,

Lucilla Crosta

Chair, EdD. VPREC

Appendix B: Interview Schedule

Introduction

Do you mind if I set up two recorders as I am paranoid that one will break down and I will lose the details of the interview?!

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. I am really pleased that you agreed to participate. I am looking at the life experiences of women with regard to their perceived identity as academics. I am aiming to build a picture of the influences from women's lives on the decisions they have taken in respect of their career progression. I am carrying out interviews with around 20 female participants from a spread of academic positions (from lecturer to professor) across all 3 Faculties and a range of subject disciplines. I am interested in the resources that the women may have had at their disposal and how these have been used to help them along in their careers. Resources may be things like support from family, financial, school, social contacts, University or work. I also hope to get views on the influence which conventions from family, school or social settings may have had or 'rules of the game' or 'expected behaviour' women have been aware of related to employment or workplaces. The potential value of this research will be in raising awareness with the University's leaders (and academic promotion decision makers) of factors that might contribute to the male/female differential in promotion applications and success. The study will contribute to ongoing discussions on how to tackle the issue of there being fewer female professors in UoL and will potentially aid the development of institutional policy and practice.

I have 9 questions areas I would like to explore with you, although I expect that talking about your personal experiences may lead to further topics for discussion.

This first interview will take around an hour and towards the end, we will discuss how much more time we may need to complete the data gathering exercise.

Before we start though, are there any questions you have about the research area or approach? OK, are you happy for me to get started?

Ok, let me start with my first question…

Questions

1. Please describe the early years of your life (to understand the participants socio-economic/cultural background)
   a. Where you lived
   b. Where you went to school/type of school
   c. What jobs your parents did (did they go to University)
   d. factors influencing the decision to go to University and where to go
   e. When you went to University (after A levels or college or later)
   f. Where you went to University
   g. Your aspirations at this point

2. Please tell me about your University education?
   a. What discussions you had and with whom about going to University
   b. How you selected what subject to do and who helped with that decision
   c. Thoughts and discussions you had (and with whom) about what you might do with your degree
   d. What thoughts you had about post graduate education (when, why, what subject, who helped)
   e. What level of post grad qualification you have

3. Please tell me about your academic career path to date?
   a. Straight into academia or not
   b. Path to an academic lecturing post
   c. Timescale to an academic post
   d. Type of academic institution of first post
   e. Factors considered in making that decision
   f. People who helped in the decision making

4. What has been your career trajectory in UoL to date?
   a. Level at which you joined the organisation (L, SL, R or P)
   b. Career path (T&S, T&R, T&P)
   c. Satisfaction with career to date
   d. What next

5. What has been your experience of UoL's annual promotion processes?
    a. what was good/ bad, want more of/less of, would help
    b. Applications for promotion – when, how many, successful or not
    c. Support received or not; from whom (family/friend/colleague/manager/mentor) and what this was (including feedback after non successful applications)
    d. How does this compare with your experience of other University promotion processes
    e. If haven't applied for promotion why not

6. What and who have been the influences on your decisions about your career path and why?
    a. Any which are background related
    b. Any which are gender related
    c. Any which are other equality characteristics related (e.g. ethnicity, disability etc.)
    d. The promotion process
    e. Influential people
    f. Particular discussions (what specifically)
    g. Support mechanisms

7. Thinking about your career experiences to date what factors would you say have enabled you and why?
    a. Personal characteristics
    b. Education
    c. Background
    d. Family
    e. Friends
    f. Moving institution
    g. Career path (T&S, T&R, T&P)
    h. Subject specialism
    i. Workload
    j. Work success (what does this look like)
    k. Manager/other work support

l. Training and development

m. The promotion process

n. Other University policies (which ones)

8. Thinking about your career experiences to date what factors would you say have hindered you and why?

   a. Personal characteristics

   b. Education

   c. Background

   d. Family

   e. Friends

   f. Moving institution

   g. Career path (T&S, T&R, T&P)

   h. Subject specialism

   i. Workload

   j. Lack of work success (what does this look like)

   k. Manager

   l. Lack of training and development

   m. The promotion process

   n. Other University policies (which ones)

9. What might UoL do to assist in addressing the gender imbalance at SL/Reader and Professor level?

Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet

Dear Colleague

Participant Information Sheet

Research Project Title:

Career progression decisions: a life history study of female academics in a Russell Group University.

Invitation

You are being invited to participate in the above research project, but before you decide whether to participate, I would be grateful if you could read the following information. This documents sets out why the research is being done; what it will involve if you choose to engage and any benefits that are anticipated from the research. Once you have read the document, please feel free to contact me if you have any queries or you require any further information. I believe that it is important for you to note that whilst I am carrying out this research as a student researcher on the Doctorate in Education programme, I am also the University's Director of Human Resources. In this capacity, one of my aims for the study is to identify improvements to the University's promotion and career progression policies and practices. However, I consider that in this case my role as student researcher is separate from my role as an HR professional.

Please do not hesitate to discuss this with your colleagues, friends or family. Participation is totally voluntary. Please accept this invitation only if you would like to take part.

Thank you for taking the time to read this.

Purpose

This is a study which looks at the career progression of female academics in the University. I am aiming to gain a better understanding of factors in women's lives that contribute to decisions about whether to apply (or not) for promotion and what helps or hinders women in their decision making. Using a life history methodology (a narrative/biographical approach) I will carry out individual interviews with a cross section of around 20 female Lecturers, Senior Lecturers, Readers and Professors who hold a permanent academic contract. I am aiming to document the factors from women's life experiences that have had an influence on their identity, sense of agency, desire, motivation and decisions relating to their careers as an academic and progression within that. I believe that this research is important because the University has significantly fewer senior female academics (21% of the professoriate are women and less than a third of Readers/Senior Lecturers are female), yet academia appears to be a popular career for women (45% of academic contracts in UK universities are held by women according to HESA 2013/14 data)[22]. I also would like to gather information which will be useful in policy revision/policy making aimed at addressing this employment differential.

---

[22] https://www.hesa.ac.uk/data-and-analysis

Rationale for Your Participation

The study aims to document information obtained from a cross section of women from different Faculties, subject disciplines, academic grades (Lecturer through to Professor) and from different cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. You have been asked to take part in the study because you are a female academic member of staff working at the University and have indicated, in the response to my invitation to participate, that you are interested in the study.

Do I have to take part?

No, you are not required to take part; your engagement in the project is voluntary. If you choose not to participate, information about you and your role will not be contained in the study. Should you agree to participate and then change your mind, you are free to withdraw from the study anytime without explanation or penalty

What will happen if I take part?

If you choose to take part, I will invite you to be interviewed by me at an agreed convenient time and location. I am happy to book a small private interview room (for example in the Liverpool Guild of Students building) which is away from the University main administrative (and HR) buildings, should this be more convenient. I can also book the room to cover a period longer than the interview so that we can arrange to arrive and leave at different times. This will hopefully avoid any awkward questions arising from you being seen with me! I aim to carry out interviews between March and June 2016. Interviews will follow a semi-structured format in that I will be covering a range of question areas. Because I will be discussing people's life experiences, some interviews may take longer than others and I may, therefore, need to meet with you more than once. The initial interview will be an hour in length and during the interview, I will discuss with you the expected timescale and the number of interviews needed to complete the data capture exercise. I do recognise how many demands there are on everyone's time and so, I am aiming to capture all the data I need in around three hours, so that I do not make excessive claims on your time. Interviews will be digitally recorded with your consent.

Should you agree to take part, then following the interviews, I will provide you with an account of the information which you have shared with me. You will be asked to check it in terms of its accuracy and fairness and you will be invited to make any further comments if necessary. This will also be an opportunity for you to check that the account is anonymous. The data will be analysed and it will be used in my doctoral thesis (EdD) to be submitted for assessment. You will be invited to comment on the use of any data that may identify you, so that you can be assured that your contribution is properly anonymised and not identifiable from the data.

I will be sharing the findings in my thesis and, any other publications which come from it, with the University's Senior Management Team (SMT). This will help with discussions around changes to policy and practice. No original data will be submitted to the SMT.

Will my participation be kept confidential?

Your details will be confidential and will not be disclosed other than to my research supervisor (Dr. Michael Watts) if required. Should this be necessary, it will purely be for the purposes of ensuring the reliability of the interpretation of the data and all detail disclosed will be password protected. All data collected will be anonymised and will be stored electronically on secure files which will be password protected.

Given the numbers of women in academic roles, especially in senior positions and in some disciplines and the nature of personal experiences, it may not be possible to offer complete anonymity in the reporting of the findings. Should there be the potential for you to be identified from the publication of this research, either in my EdD thesis or journal articles, I will discuss with you how the information will be presented to either avoid identification or to ensure that you are fully aware of the possibility that you could be identified. If it is not possible to assure complete anonymity, and we cannot agree on how the information will be presented, then the identifying data will be removed. I expect that in most cases, however, anonymity will not be a problem.

Please note that, in this connection, my research supervisor and I are bound by the University's code of ethics including principles relating to information privacy, confidentiality and security[23]

What will happen to the results of the study?

The data gathered from these interviews will be compiled and used in my EdD thesis, which will be submitted for examination. This and any other publications arising from the research will be submitted to the senior management team (SMT) for consideration as to how it might be used more widely to help improve promotion processes.

What if I stop taking part?

As set out in an earlier point, you can withdraw from the study at any time without explanation. You may be asked if data up to the point of leaving may be used. If you agree then the data may be incorporated into the final report. If you do not agree, then the data will be destroyed.

Are there any risks to me participating in the study?

There is a small risk that you may become upset from discussing your personal experiences, although I very much hope that this will not be the case. Should you become concerned, upset or uncomfortable at any point during an interview, I will ask you if you want to stop the meeting and will ensure that you are provided with the details of appropriate support that is available here at the University (for example our staff counselling provision and the mentoring service). All concerns about participation in the study can be raised with me, my supervisor or the University's Director of Athena Swan[24] (Professor Sue Wray), who has agreed to act as a confidential, 'third-party', point of contact for participants to discuss any concerns. Contact details for Dr Watts, Professor Wray and me are set out below.

What are the benefits?

I hope that main benefits of you participating in this study will come from the interaction that takes place in the project; through sharing your experiences of career progression with a researcher and HR

---

[23] University of Liverpool Code of Ethics available from http://www.liv.ac.uk/research-integrity/policies-guidance/

[24] The Athena SWAN Charter was established in 2005 to encourage and recognise commitment to advancing the careers of women in science, technology, engineering, maths and medicine (STEMM) employment in higher education and research. In May 2015 the charter was expanded to recognise work undertaken in arts, humanities, social sciences, business and law (AHSSBL), and in professional and support roles, and for trans staff and students. The charter recognises work undertaken to address gender equality more broadly, and not just barriers to progression that affect women. See http://www.ecu.ac.uk/equality-charters/athena-swan/

professional who has great interest in the lives and experiences of women and who has a professional objective to improve gender equality in the academic workforce. The information you provide will also help me to raise awareness within the University, of the factors from women's backgrounds and experiences that impact on decisions to apply for promotion. I hope that this will assist the University to improve its promotion policies and processes.

What if I have a problem/complaint?

All complaints will be handled through the Committee on Research Ethics complaints procedure. In the first instance, if you are unhappy, or if there is a problem, please let my supervisor know and he will try to resolve the matter. If you remain unhappy you can also contact me. However if you still remain unhappy or have a complaint which you feel you cannot come to me about then you may contact the University's Research Participant Advocate on USA number 001-612-312-1210 or email address liverpoolethics@ohecampus.com   When contacting the Research Participant Advocate, please provide details of the name or description of the study (so that it can be identified), my name, and the details of the complaint you wish to make.

Who can I contact if I have further questions?

My supervisor's details are:

Email: michael.watts@liverpool.online.ac.uk

My contact details as student researcher on this project are:
Student researcher email: carol.costello@liverpool.online.ac.uk or work email: dirhr@liverpool.co.uk or work telephone: 0151 794 2191.

The University's Research Participant Advocate details are:

Email: liverpoolethics@ohecampus.com

Telephone: USA number 001-612-312-1210

The Director of Athena Swan's details are:

Email: s.wray@liverpool.ac.uk

Finally, please note that your participation in this research will not involve any financial compensation or reimbursement for your time. Please keep a copy of this Participant Information Sheet for your reference and do not hesitate to contact me to discuss any question or concerns you may have.

If you wish to take part in this study, please complete and return a copy of the Participant Consent Form. This can be sent to me at the address shown on the form or can be completed, scanned and emailed to me using one of the email addresses shown on the form and above. Once I have signed the form also, I will ensure that you receive a copy with both signatures on.

With Kind Regards

Carol Costello

Student Researcher