‘Gendered Academic Careers: A Comparison of Indonesia and New Zealand’

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to describe and better understand the gender gap in academic careers in Jakarta (Indonesia) and Auckland (New Zealand). The thesis is intended to measure and explain the operation of the gender gap, while also interrogating the construction of such indices as essentially Western in their assumptions. For example, *The Global Gender Gap Report* (World Economic Forum, 2015), rates New Zealand 10/145 and Indonesia, 92/145 of countries surveyed. A review of the global rankings shows a patterning of Western and non-Western countries and clearly invites deficit-based explanations in terms of development, culture, religion. As an Indonesian woman, such patterning also invites unease and disquiet. While I have experienced the everyday processes that produce the gender gap in academia and societally, I am also aware of the complexities and countervailing elements that reports like *The Global Gender Gap Report* might miss.

One result of unease with a simple notion of the gender gap index, is to enrich research through the use of mixed methods, combining qualitative and quantitative approaches. This thesis explores and contextualises issues around the gender gap in academic careers, by using mixed methods across institutional cases based in Jakarta and Auckland. The methods used include: (i) secondary research, including analysis of promotion policies; (ii) an autoethnographic account, in which I discuss issues of gender, marriage, religion, patriarchy, motherhood, class, and social status; (iii) a quantitative analysis of differing datasets drawn from Indonesian and New Zealand institutions, using descriptive statistics, binary and ordinal regression; (iv) the non-comparability of datasets and of quantitative analysis reinforced my decision to include qualitative approaches in the mix of methods. Accordingly, I interviewed 30 academics in Auckland and Jakarta.

The main findings of the research are: (i) It confirms the literature that male domination in academia is hidden and female academics who are mothers are marginalised. For academics who are also mothers, there is a collective understanding that the barriers are significant; (ii) Racial discrimination exists, but is largely invisible. Participants of colour acknowledged it and indeed had experienced it, though other participants, in the same universities, believed that it no longer occurred. Arguably, gender and race are rendered invisible in academic careers under a neo-liberal system, especially when using statistical analysis, as such elements are considered non-meritocratic factors; (iii) Understanding the

academic gender gap in Indonesia is better framed by considering the fact that career progression follows civil servant regulation, and is not perceived as very prestigious in terms of income. Rather, being an academic, according to some Indonesian academics, is about a "calling" and devotion to knowledge development; (iv) On the other hand, studies in liberal, Western countries emphasise that family life, children, and domestic work are serious problems for female academics. To be single or childfree is considered to enhancefemale academic careeradvancement.

In conclusion, comparing the scale of the gender gap index between liberal countries such as New Zealand and non-liberal countries such as Indonesia is very challenging due to cultural and structural differences. My research underscores that it is important to measure women's conditions beside indicators developed in the Gender Gap Index (economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival and political empowerment). It is necessary to include indicators which are accepted in all cultures and nations, such as the index of happiness, life satisfaction; indicators must align with desires and hopes for the future. Critique is essential to create the conditions for transformative change but that change should align with individual and collective aspirations.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADIA	:	*Akademi Dinas Ilmu Agama*
BHMN	:	*Badan Hukum Milik Negara* (State Owned Legal Institution)
BPH	:	*Badan Hukum Pendidikan* (Education Legal Institution)
BKD	:	*Beban Kerja Dosen* (academic staff obligation)
CEDAW	:	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CIDA	:	Canadian International Development Agency
CF	:	Consent Form
COMMETT	:	Community in Education and Training for Technology
CV	:	Curriculum Vitae
DV	:	Dependent Variable
EFTS	:	Equivalent Full-Time student
ERASMUS	:	European Community Action Scheme for Mobility of University Students
EDOM	:	Evaluasi Dosen dari Mahasiswa (Lecturer Evaluation System)
ERI	:	External Research Income
GGI	:	Gender Gap Index
GPA	:	Grade Point Average
GATS	:	The General Agreement on Trade and Services
HDI	:	Human Development Index
HIS	:	*Holland-Inlandsche School*
ILFS	:	Indonesian Life Family Survey
IAIN	:	*Institute Agama Islam Negeri* (State Institute of Islamic Studies)
IPB	:	Bogor Institute of Agriculture in Bogor
ITB	:	Bandung Institute of Technology in Bandung
ILO	:	International Labour Organization
IV	:	Independent Variable
KOPERTAIS	:	*Kordinator Perguruan Tinggi Swasta*
LoA	:	Letter of Acceptance
NPM	:	New public management
MDGs	:	Millennium Development Goals
MoNE	:	Ministry of Education
MoRTHE	:	Ministry of Research & Technology and Higher Education
MoRA	:	Ministry of Religious Affairs
MANOVA	:	Multivariate analysis of variance
NZQA	:	New Zealand Qualification Authority
NGO	:	Non-Government Organisation
NU	:	*Nahdlatul Ulama*
OECD	:	The Organisation of Economic Co-operation Development
PBRF	:	Performance-Based Research Funding systems
PTAIN	:	*Perguruan Tinggi Agama Islam)*
PIS	:	Participant Information Sheet
QE	:	Quality Evaluation
RDC	:	Research Degree Completions
R2	:	R-squared
STIS	:	*Sekolah Tinggi Statistik*/Higher Education For Statistics)
STAN	:	*Sekolah Tinggi Akuntansi Negara*/State Higher Education for

		Accountancy
STEM	:	Science, Technology, Engineering, Maths
STAIN	:	*Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam* (State of Islamic Studies College)
SD	:	Standard Deviation
SE	:	Standard Error
SPSS	:	Statistical Product and Service Solutions
SEM	:	Standard Error of Means
SSCI	:	Social Science Citation Index
TEAC	:	Tertiary Education Advisory Commission
TEI	:	tertiary education institution
TEOs	:	Tertiary Education Organisations
HIS	:	*Holland-Inlandsche School*
UoA	:	The University of Auckland
UCCA	:	University and University Colleges Act
UNDP	:	United Nation Development Program
UNESCO	:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UIN	:	*Universitas Islam Negeri* (State Islamic University)
UGM	:	*Universitas Negeri Gadjah Mada* (Gadjah Mada State University)
UI	:	*Universitas Indonesia*
UII	:	Indonesian Islamic University
UoA	:	The University of Auckland
UNDIP	:	Diponegoro University in Semarang
VIF	:	Variance Inflation Factor
WB	:	World Bank
WTO	:	The World Trade Organisation

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. Problem Statement

The gender gap in academic careers has been defined as the difference in qualification and experiences between male and female academics across a range of indicators such as job security and satisfaction, rank, salary, and length of career (Baker 2012: 8). The gender gap in academia remains prevalent in both Western and non-Western countries especially when it is demonstrated by objective measurement. Data from the New Zealand Census of Women's Participation, 2012, shows that there were 1,132 Professors from eight universities in New Zealand with 18.73% of them being female[1]. There were only two female Professors out of 58 in a religious university in Jakarta based on available data from the university in 2012.

The fact of gender gap in academic career has raised my attention because the majority of literature on this topic has been published from countries which achieved the best Gender Gap Index scores[2]. In addition to that, the fact that the gender gap in academia has been sustained remains interesting while the effort to attain equality between males and females in politics, education, and other areas of social life remains an important area of global concern. Several global agreements such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have been issued to support this commitment. However, the degree to which equality has been achieved for women compared to that of men is highly variable between countries.

This thesis aims to describe the facts of the gender gap in academic careers by using various methods such as autoethnography, secondary statistical data, and in-depth interviews to understand the gender gap in Jakarta (Indonesia) and Auckland (New Zealand). Concepts such as merit based standards, professionalism, field, habitus and career capital will be implemented to understand the phenomenon. The basic assumption

[1] https://www.hrc.co.nz/files/2314/2360/5171/web-census.pdf
[2]https://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2015/

of this thesis is that cultural and structural dimensions shape female academic life in Indonesia and New Zealand differently, and those influences create different experiences for female academics in advancing their careers in both countries. Arguably, while the gender gap in both countries is prevalent, the challenges, experiences in academic career advancement and the situation of gender gap are different.

1.2. Understanding the Gender Gap in Academic Careers in Western and non-Western Countries

The most recent findings from Austria show significant development for women in academia (Fritsch 2015). Similarly, the argument for gendered change in academia has been discussed by O'Connor (2014, O'Connor et.al 2015). Leadership plays a very significant role for gendered change in a case study at an Irish university, from zero representation in 1997 to 34% in 2012, and in the public university system as a whole from 5% in 1975 to 19% in 2012 (O'Connor 2014). Previous studies from Sweden and Ireland show that gender stereotypes in universities can be eliminated when the gender balance in leadership is strengthened.

Likewise at a micro level, O'Connor et.al (2015) find that not all male university staff consistently approve careerism. In other words, male academics have different views on their commitment to careers based on commitment to a career on one hand and family on the other. Their research find that more and more male academics have a balance commitment related to their family and career. Therefore, they claim that their findings challenge previous literature which paid strong attention to the obstacles for women in academic careers due to their commitments to family. Similarly, O'Connor (2014) finds a gendered change in the professoriate in an Irish university. As a case study, key factors such as informal leadership and the transparency of a procedure can create a condition to support change, but it does not necessarily occur in different universities. In general, gendered change at micro and macro levels is possible but it is important to take into account the challenges continuously appearing and that its success can be unstable.

However, general research findings demonstrate that gendered institutions within academic careers remains preserved, and this appeared in various ways. For example gendered criteria within the concept of excellence in university academic staff evaluation

has been presented by O'Connor (2015.b). Similarly, Van den Brink and Benchop (2012) demonstrate gender discrimination in academic evaluations for professorship applications in the Netherlands. Lee and Ellemers (2015) find gender bias in applicants and evaluation rate success for research and a gender citation gap has been shown by Maliniak, Powers and Walter's (2013) and Turner & Mairesse (2005).

Interestingly, a considerable amount of literature comparing women and men in academic careers has been published from countries with the highest ranked gender gap index scores and it uses terms such as the gender gap and gender inequality. For example, literature from countries such as New Zealand, Canada, and the United Kingdom which, since 2006 according to the Index, have been among the highest rated countries for gender equality note that a gender gap in academic careers still exists (Baker 2012: 174).[3] Similarly, literature from many developed countries has demonstrated the same trends (Cervia & Biancheri 2017; Walsh & Turnbull 2016; Beddoes & Pawley 2014; Harris, Ravensword & Myers 2013; Mason & Goulden 2004; Wolfinger, Mason & Goulden 2009).

An academic career has been considered to sustain masculine characteristics, and discrimination. Female academics would face a more complex situation than their male counterparts if they apply for promotion. A gendered academic career has been associated with an unequal recruitment process, and lack of transparency and accountability (Van Brink, Benschop, and Jansen 2010). Unlike other careers, an academic career requires a PhD degree and most female academics complete their Ph'Ds after 30 years of age, and this coincides with childcare responsibilities (Pyke 2013: 450). Some female academics choose to accept the challenges and risk their career by having a family and children although they know how disruptive it can be to their careers (Beddoes & Pawley 2014: 1580). On the other hand, male academics are less likely to undertake childcare responsibility than female academics so they can focus on their careers.

Some female academics have faced traumatic experiences because of bullying and direct discriminaion, especially those who are local or non-international scholars, which has led to under representation of female academics at the highest ranks. The

[3]However, Maureen Baker's work recognises that there has been a dramatic increase in the number of women attending universities as students, graduates and lecturers. In addition, she shows the changing social context of the gender gap between 1970 and 2008 because of family-friendly and other institutional policies.

management are unsupportive, and some female academics feel that it is considered that they do not meet the criteria for promotion especially because the internationalisation of academic careers requires higher criteria for promotiom (Pyke 2013). In this regard, Nakhaie (2007) and Skachkova (2007) found that white males and non-immigrants are more likely to be promoted to Professor than a person of colour or academics with an immigrant background. Female academics are evaluated based on bias academic standards where teaching is less valued than research and publication. In fact, female academics are more likely to be involve in teaching than in research and publication. As a result, female academics perceive that the current promotion system is exhausting and has a high administrative workload so they are reluctant to work through the system (Pyke 2013 : 451). Therefore, they enjoy their current rank and are not very interested in applying for promotion because of the complex situation they encounter if they do.

The fact that female academics tend to engage in teaching more than in research and publication shows the female tendency towards 'feminine careers' because teaching is very close to women's primary task as a mother in traditional cultures. Female academics also have a tendency to pay attention to gender issues in their research. Self expression, according to Cech (2013), has contributed to the reproduction of sex segregation in occupations in the US. Individiduals are agentic and tend to choose careers based their self belief which is systematically developed through processes of internalisation, framing, and regulation. For example, when the cultural belief is that men are better in mathematics than women, it is less likely that women will choose careers in mathematics. Their beliefs influence their confidence in related fields. This is in line with previous research which found that self-expressive career decisions are relevant to sex segregation (Cech 2013).

From the above discussion, it can be argued that numerous studies about women's career advancement are from countries with the highest ranked gender gap index scores, which are mostly from Western countries. By contrast, studies on women's career advancement either from academics or non-academics from non-Western countries, such as Muslim countries and Asian countries, have had only limited attention. As it is expected, the situation of women academics in non-Western countries is much more complex. While similar in terms of the difficulties in balancing professional careers with family responsibilities these exist in more complicated forms because they are challenged by patriarchal cultural values as well as government policy which strengthens the

gendered division of labour. (Luke 1997, 1998, 2001). Luke (2001) posits that sharing particular characteristic values of "Asian Values", "Asian femininity", and "Asian family values" are the most important issues for women's career advancement in Asia, in countries such as Thailand, Singapore, Hong Kong and Malaysia. However, each country has particular challenges for women because of the influence of culture and politics. Data from Thailand, Singapore, and Hong Kong indicates that glass ceilings in Asian countries are not formed or operate as in the one dimensional Western conceptualisation in which women are only prevented from progressing by men and a generalised patriarchy. It rarely speaks about the tensions and conflicts among women (Luke 1998, 2001).

Family formation in Asian cultures, including those who are in academia, starts earlier than in Western cultures. In some Asian cultures such as Indonesia, marriage is the only lawful place where sex is permitted. The median age at marriage in Indonesia, for example, has increased significantly from 18.9 in 1971 to 20.9 in 1990 (Nilan 2008, 69). In general both males and females are still expected to marry in their early 20's and reproduce before they are 30 years old for health reasons. Arguably, both females and males in academia tend to marry and have children before they hold a PhD. That means that if they want to be promoted into the highest levels in academic careers they have to work very hard to manage their family and their career, undertake a PhD and apply for promotion. Especially for female academics, promotion into the highest positions is harder because they are expected to have more responsibility related to family and their domestic roles.

Besides the patriarchal culture, rivalry between women, distrust of other women and male leadership styles have been considered as serious problems which impede women's academic career progression (Luke 2001). Following Hartmann (in Bagilhole, 2001: 170) a patriarchal culture is "a set of social relations which has a material base and in which there are hierarchical relations between men, and solidarity among them, which enable them to control women". After being under very strong male leadership, female leaders in Asian countries have come to resemble their male-counterpart's leadership styles and male values, and they often show a lack of support for their women colleagues (Luke 2001). Therefore, the strengthening of women's leadership positions, such as a having a network among women academics in order to support other women, has not developed as strongly as in Western countries.

It has been argued that, recently, the growth rate for female faculty members has been much higher than the growth for their male academic counterparts in some Asian countries such as Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan which means the gender gap is narrowing (Peng, et.al 2017). However, the most recent research in Indonesia shows a trend where gender affecting the career success of academic staff is similar to that of the trend in liberal countries (Kholis, 2013; Dzulhayatin & Edward, 2010). Research about women's career advancement in the Indonesian Public Service, which academic careers are part of, demonstrated a quite different perspective (for example Azmi, Ismail, Basir, 2012 and Murniati, 2012). It shows that gendered career advancement is unavoidable, but they emphasise the fact that academic careers and the Indonesian Public Service are an arena where women can balance their careers and family. Both females and males have good prospects for promotion for career advancement in the public service every 3-5 years. However, the occupation does not strongly support gender equality with a strong emphasis on women's independence (Azmi et.al 2012). The Public service system strengthens female functions in domestic roles and male functions in public roles. Therefore, balancing both family and career in the public service system is very possible.

From a brief comparison between Western and non-Western literature it can be concluded that while the gender gap has been sustained in both types of countries, the problems and initiatives for women's academic career advancement are not very similar. While strengthening women's rights has been spread globally, the response of women in each country is different. Academic life and academic career systems in each country are different. In addition to that, religious beliefs, norms and tradition, personalities, and institutional policy may influence women's advancement in academic careers differently. Some are career oriented women who give greater priority to their career than others; and some want both a career and family and choose to balance their life with family and try to advocate for a family friendly university policy. This situation probably is not different from the situation of women in other career professions in general. Accordingly, this thesis aims to explore how gender and family life influence academic career advancement in Indonesia, as a non-liberal country, and New Zealand as a Western nation and liberal country. Will both countries follow a similar trajectory or are they different?

1.3. Research Problem and Aims

Studies on the different experiences of men and women in academic career advancement from the middle-lower ranks of the Gender Gap Index (those scoring lower than 0.7) countries, such as Indonesia, are still limited. Similarly, comparative studies about high rank and lower rank Gender Gap Index countries, such as New Zealand and, Indonesia are rarely conducted.[4] This kind of study is important for understanding the relationships of women and men in the same profession, but in different situations. In such different situations, will the profession have the same functions and develop similarly? Will they have different or similar attitudes toward the same social structures such as family life and the strategy to balance family life or personal life? Will the family life influence their careers differently or similarly? Are both countries totally different in terms of men's and women's experiences in academic careers? Or do both share similarities as well?

The religious interpretation of the role of women has been argued to be a factor in women's marginalisation. For example, literature on women in Indonesia (e.g. Brenner 1999; Adamson 2007) demonstrated that under existing religious and cultural discourses, women are expected to take on family responsibilities and domestic work as their primary occupations and they are not free to engage in public roles and careers. However, in the case of Islam, following the social context of Muslims who live in different cultures, and different political and economic situations, female Muslims cannot be simplified as one entity. As a result, religious interpretations of gender and career advancement and family may be influenced by class, race, and ethnicity (Shaheed 1999). Similarly, early research by Bainbridge and Hatch (1982) demonstrates that the effect of religion on women's access to elite careers shows mixed findings. The data from the US cannot prove the hypothesis that religion matters but the data from Canada supported the hypothesis. They argue that religion will become an oppressor and support women to choose traditional roles if the religion grows in a uniform or monolithic way (ibid. 252). And the most recent research about the influence of religion for career advancement, by

[4]The Global Gender Gap Index 2012 ranked Indonesia at 97 out of 132 countries and ranked New Zealand at 6 in 2012.The rank of Indonesia had decreased significantly from 63 and 81 in 2006 and 2007, and continuously decreased to around 90-97. The position of Indonesia was slightly better in 2010, coming in at 87. On the other hand, New Zealand's rank was 6 in 2011, and slightly better at 5 from 2007-2010. The Global Gender Gap Index ranked New Zealand at 7 in 2006, and that was the worst rank for this country.

Fernando and Cohen (2013), finds that Buddhism has become a motivating factor for women to advance their careers. Their findings are different from Andersen (2006) who demonstrates that monotheistic religions (Christianity, Judaism and Islam) support women's roles and responsibilities in the domestic area.

Beside the limited comparative research on women's academic career advancement using different countries' characteristics, the influence of cultural and religious interpretations is rarely explored. Does it mean that a university (especially a Western university where research about the gender gap in academic careers has developed significantly) is a field free from the influence of religion and culture? Lueba (1934; in Ecklund and Scheitle 2007) argue that scientists in the US tend to be agnostic, or not believe in God. However, the majority of Americans (90%) still believe in God, and 40% of them are often present at a religious service.

To fill the gap in the literature on this topic, this thesis study focuses on understanding the influence of gender, social capital and family life on academic careers. The study will cover the interplay between family, religion and culture, balancing personal and social life and academic careers in universities in Indonesia and New Zealand.

This thesis has three distinct phases

1. In-depth literature review and autoethnography
2. 2 site mirrored quantitative study
3. 2 site mirrored qualitative study

1. 4. Research Questions

Based on the background, there are at least three questions:

1. To what extent is the academic career of women different from that of men in Indonesia and New Zealand? Does gender matter for career advancement in both countries?
2. How does personal life, such as the family, influence academic career advancement?
3. How do cultural aspects such as religious interpretations and racial background influence their academic career advancement?

1.5. Importance of Research

This study is important because it will employ different methods of explanation from previous studies. *Firstly,* the study provides quantitative data and statistical analysis, based on secondary data about the extent to which gender influences academic careers in two countries. Furthermore, my experience as a female academic from Indonesia, described in my autoethnography will be a special kind of witnessing to share my insight with others, and to produce a reflexive argument about academic careers which can be used as an exemplar. The qualitative study is also important for discussing experiences from some academics and exploring variables such as the influence of family life and strategies to balance personal and career advancement, which can only be explained in a limited way in quantitative analysis and needs further explanation by employing qualitative analysis.

Secondly, this study is a comparative project. While both Indonesia and New Zealand have a colonial history it is fair to say that the two countries exhibit more differences than similarities. Indonesia has a population of over 250 million with the vast majority of that population attesting to being Muslim. New Zealand has a small population of just over 4.5 million and, while it has considerable religious diversity, it is largely secular in orientation and practice. Yet the fact that these two countries are different does not exclude them from being part of a comparative focus. Comparing Indonesia and New Zealand allows the exploration of academic career advancement from a broader perspective. Indonesia and New Zealand are selected in this study because both countries to some extent represent the characteristics of traditional and modern/post-industrial countries as well as countries which have implemented informal security and welfare state regimes, and are non-liberal and liberal countries respectively. According to modernisation theories originating from Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, and Marx Weber, society may be classified based on traditional and modern ways of life.[5] Moreover,

[5]The characteristics of traditional societies are that generally people rely on subsistence economics from the unskilled work of farming or fishing for their livelihoods. People in traditional countries obtain only minimum standards of living, have low levels of education and less social and geographic mobility. People in traditional societies are bound strongly, based on ties of kinship, family, ethnicity, and religion. On the other hand, modern countries and post-industrial societies are characterised by a highly educated population, skilled and specialised workforces, and populations shifting to urban to suburban neighbourhoods. People have greater geographic mobility, including immigration across national borders (Inglehart & Norris, 2003).

Daniel Bell (1970 in Inglehart & Norris 2003) argues that after a certain period of industrialisation, a further step of development leads to the emergent of post industrial societies.

In terms of comparative explanations of family structure, this study will also provide examples of academic career women from two countries which employ traditional and modern family structures. Following Das & Bardis (1979), the structure of family in a traditional country is more likely to be extended, and strongly maintain social control; on the other hand, in a modern country the family is more likely to be a nuclear family. People are expected to sacrifice personal desires to collective need in traditional countries; by contrast, people are encouraged to achieve personal satisfaction in modern societies. An individual is born into a quite permanent class system in traditional countries although class mobility is still possible, but in modern ones, opportunities for social mobility are more open. This thesis hopes to explore, in a nuanced and reflexive way, how these assumptions play out in the lived experience of men and women. A de-centring of the dominance of Western explanations of the way that gender is played in institutional life may allow different perspectives of the way that academic lives can be interpreted.

Referring to Wood and Gough's framework (2006), Indonesia can be classified as an informal security regime with an institutional arrangement where people's security needs are granted by family and community. On the other hand, New Zealand is a country that has implemented a welfare state policy which, while under neo-liberal policies has largely been dismantled, still provides the security needs of individual citizens with a combination of pensions, social protection benefits, social services and labour market regulation. Again the comparative focus will allow a greater level of interpretation of how gender is lived and experienced in these two states.

Finally, this study is expected to present a wider more informed perspective about the assumption of the Gender Gap Index (GGI) report which has been developed in line with modernisation theory. A country's ranking, based on the GGI, to some extent is similar to the global comparison of nation states according to their level of modernisation and measured by the Human Development Index from the United Nation Development Program (UNDP), and the global comparison of public policy by Wood & Gough (2006) and Sharkh & Gough (2010). Generally, those comparisons consistently follow the argument that a traditional society, or a society that relies heavily on family and

community, will not gain enough opportunity to develop. While these measurements are accurate in some way, a different approach to understanding a country which is considered of moderate or low rank is important.

In terms of women's issues, a different approach has been introduced by Spivak's (1988) questions about the ignorance of subalterns, women of colour or non-Western voices within scholarship discourse which must be taken into account. The similar question about Western scholarship discourse and modernisation theory also has been raised by postcolonial argument. Edward Said (1994), for example, argues that scientific discourse from Western scholarship has been generally motivated by European superiority, Eurocentricism, various kinds of racism and old and new forms of imperialism. In brief, modernisation theories and aligned theories have been criticised for their tendency to maintain racist structures and relationships, by measuring non-Western culture in terms of their "distance" from Western modernity. Studies on academic careers that rely on data only from developed countries tend to perceive social institutions and traditional practices negatively. Baker (2010b) tends to consider marriage and family life from its negative impact on academic career. Furthermore, Mason & Goulden (2004) argue that studies of female academic careers leads to a conclusion that in order to achieve the highest positions for female academics, they are challenged by two difficult choices, forgoing or delaying family formation or to drop out of their career to marry, to have children, or to avoid divorce. Therefore, this study will describe academic careers and academic life in a Western and non-Western country. While the gender gap is assumed to be sustained in both countries, how do women challenge the constraints to adapt and exist with all the problems? Additionally, it will explore family life for female academics from a non-Western perspective. It is expected that by broadening the sample and including a developing country this will allow us to obtain important theoretical externalities.

1.6 Literature Review

1.6.1. Academic Career Advancement

Several measurements of career advancement have been established. In this research, career advancement is used interchangeably with career success, career development and career outcome. Generally, despite the difficulty of defining career

advancement, studies on this topic have emphasised two types of measurement: objective and subjective. The most common way is from drawing on objective indicators such as to what extent can an individual advance their career paths in an organisation and whether advancement was determined by objective achievements such as salary, salary growth, and number of promotions. On the other hand, subjective measurement commonly measures career satisfaction and includes a wider range of outcomes such as a sense of identity, purpose and work life balance. Some scholars have developed career satisfaction scales, using satisfaction with hierarchical success or advancement, which is likely to be considered not relevant for people working on a contract basis or running small businesses. Some have improved the measurement adopting some aspects such as paying more attention to what employees want, how people in different career contexts conceptualise their career success, and adopting more qualitative methods (Heslin 2005: 115-117).

Theoretically, studies on careers could be compared to the career dimensions proposed by Evetts (1992), using organisational and individual dimensions. Evetts used objective and subjective measurements and made links between the dimension's actions and systems. The emergence of new environments of organisational changes such as organisational delayering, downsizing and outsourcing has undermined the validity of objective career success measurements and supports current career scholars to develop the now existing measurements. In addition to that, the emergence of a boundary-less career world which is indicated by the flattening of traditional hierarchies, and the increase of personal meaning and interdependence between objective and subjective measurements have attracted greater attention (Arthur 2005). With technological advancement, and workforce diversity, scholars have expanded the definition of career. The contemporary definition of career, according to Sullivan and Baruch (2009), is an individual with work-related and other relevant experiences both inside and outside of an organisation that form a unique pattern over the individual's life span. It includes physical movement between levels, job employers, occupations and industries as well as the interpretation of the individual, including his or her perception of career events.

Using a sociological perspective Evetts (1992) describes career from three intertwined dimensions: organisational, individual and linking between action and system. The organisational dimension can be explained by the structure (regularised standardised opportunity) and the route of a career (the way people move through career

structures throughout their working life). Structure and route of career can be described from salary scales, work contracts, and the promotion ladder. In terms of the individual dimension, career includes the individual perspective and their feelings and experiences of having a career, and their career strategy for managing external constraints.

Furthermore, Evett (2000: 58) argues that the dimensions of culture, structure, and action are important for understanding women's choice of career. Both belief systems and social control as part of cultural dimensions are more likely to shape the difficulties and determinants of a women's career, and have become important factors for gender difference in career success. Institutional patterns and organisation in family and work organisations have been considered to undermine women's commitment to paid work and their careers because women are usually the second breadwinner in the family. (However, this assumption is no longer relevant in liberal countries such as New Zealand because many women now are primary breadwinners). Similar to the dimension of culture, the dimension of structure has become a determinant of women's career success and has reproduced and sustained the gender differences in careers. However, according to Evett (2002), female individuals react to culture and structure differently and they can build their own strategies. Some follow a linear career, others prefer to balance between careers and family but generally they adjust by not challenging the needs of their profession. Generally, the successful career women are more likely to adapt to male career patterns such as remaining single/or childfree in a bid to achieving the highest career advancement. In addition to that, women can achieve their highest promotion by the strategy of exploitation of other women's work such as that of a nanny or cleaner.

With regard to academic career advancement, there are at least two concepts often used for the profession: academic developer (Harland & Staniforthb 2003, 2006) and academic profession (Enders 2007). For an academic developer, Rowland (2007) finds that more than one third of 69 articles from five consecutive volumes of the *International Journal for Academic Development* (2001-2005) were concerned with who the academic developers are. Similarly, Enders (2007) argues that an academic profession is a key profession to educate other professions and cannot be defined as a single concept as both historical contexts and recent forces continuously shape the profession.

Historically, academics were involved in social reproduction that furthered the interests of elite groups (Enders 2007). The enlightenment commitment and the emergence of the idea of academic freedom emerging from the German university

system has become an institution for developing "pure knowledge" and "science", the pursuit of truth, and the promotion of meritocracy which is subject to the norms of universalism. In this spirit, some scholars emphasise the importance of "*creating knowledge, caring for it, teaching or otherwise transmitting it"* as being definitional elements of the academic (Harland & Staniforthb 2003). In a more practical way, Harland & Staniforthb (2003) give a simpler idea that academics can be understood as members of institutions of higher learning with contractual roles and responsibilities, and they should be enthusiastic about developing the subject to create and spread new knowledge as well as conducting high quality research published for international audiences. However, academics recently have been increasingly challenged to search for their own funding, which can reduce their focus on the core activities of teaching and research.

In its early development, the staff structure in the academic profession can be classified into two types: the chair model and the department-college model. In the former model, from Humboltdian and Napoleon's variations, a relatively long period of two or three career steps is required for junior untenured staff to reach professorial positions. The other model has a more collegial than individual base. Academic functions were similar between full and non-full academics but their status varied based on their qualification and expertise. Under the German tradition, only a full professor can be regarded as a true member of the academic profession, other ranks are considered non-full academics; meanwhile the Anglo-Saxon tradition (British and America) is more inclusive. Recently, the academic role, and career, has developed in more and various types, and each country has implemented different forms and practices. However, it is argued that globalisation may make the academic profession more interconnected between countries (Enders 2007).

While a common career progression for academics varies between countries Baruch (2003) identifies that it involves four to five stages (see Table 1). When compared to other career ranks, it has been argued that an academic career structure has fewer hierarchical levels.

Table 1.1. Academic Career Rank in Western Countries

UK Universities	**UK - former Polytechnics**	**Australian Universities**	**North American Universities**
Professor	Professor	Professor	Professor
Reader/senior lecturer	Reader/principal lecturer	Associate Professor	Professor
Lecturer B	Lecturer II	Senior Lecturer	Associate Professor
Lecturer A	Lecturer I	Lecturer	Professor Assistant
		Assistant/Associate Lecturer	Instructor

Source: Baruch (2003: 249)

Influential factors for academic career advancement are other important topics for discussion, besides the nature, history and characteristics of academic professions. In the Western tradition, rank advancement in academic careers is an important element and a form of recognition awarded for academics. It is granted for academics, for their contribution to the body of certified knowledge and based on individual effort and achievement. For this reason, therefore, using Merton's idea of the normative structure of science research, productivity is the most important aspect of rank advancement in academic careers. In addition to that, Pezzoni et al (2012) confirm previous research on the significance of seniority and scientific productivity for academic careers in France and Italy. They also show the negative correlation between gender and academic careers in France, but did not find a significant correlation between both variables in Italy.

On the other hand, Sabatier et.al (2006), argues the influence of gender on promotion time is not uniform but it interacts with other covariates. There are three factors that cause female academics to speed up or slow down their career promotion. Graduating from top universities, acting as a PhD supervisor and mobility before recruitment to INRA (National Institute of Agronomic Research) all lead to faster promotion, but mobility after promotion significantly slowed down the promotion process. The argument goes that after recruitment, internal networks are more important, as shown by the positive effect of holding a managerial role. Sex differences contribute to speeding up or slowing down the length of time between promotions but there is not enough evidence to indicate sex discrimination or the *glass ceiling* effect. Sabatier et.al (2006) then conclude that female academics obtain lower achievement than their male counterparts, and are less mobile and have less involvement because of their domestic

obligation (ibid.322). On the other hand, length of career has become a debatable variable because, in principle, it is not included in criteria for career advancement in many countries but previous literature demonstrates its significant influence (Pezzoni et.al: 2012). Similarly, the age variable should not affect career advancement, with the same argument.

1.6.2. Gendered Academic Career

In 2006, scholarship related to women and feminism in higher education was considered very limited (Hart, 2006). A decade later, this theme has grown considerably. Cama et al. (2016) found 74 journal articles focused on this issue out of 6,459 academic articles. They identified four topics related to gender and career in higher education published within a period of thirteen years from the year 2000 in fourteen selected high level academic journals. The topics are : *first*, gender differences related to career promotion in academia; *second*, gender gap and leadership in university; *third*, the income gap between male and female academic staff and the *fourth* theme is policies to improve gender equality.

It can be argued that topics pertaining to a gendered academic career and the continuous underrepresentation of female academic staff among senior academics have been repeatedly investigated. The literature has reported the same trends in various countries where there has been obvious progress in the area of educational achievement for women. More women are gaining access to higher education in universities, however, the trend is less encouraging for women in regard to their academic careers. Data from the US shows that there were only 29% female academic full-time professors compared to 71% male academic counterparts in 2011 (Frances 2017: 32). In terms of full-time and part-time status by gender, the comparisons for female academics is 50% for full-time status and the same percentage for part-time status. On the other hand, 60% of male academics have full-time status compared to 40% with part-time status (Ibid 36). In Australia female academic Professors were merely 19.8% and female academic Associate Professors reached 28% in 2011 (White & Ozkanli 2011; Cama et al 2016). Based on data from the European Commission 2012, in 2009, the Dutch higher education system employed only 13 % female Professors aside from 26% female researchers (Leišytė & Hosch-Dayican 2017). There were 560 female Professors out of 2,823

Professors (19.83%), and 641 female Associate Professors out of 2094 (30.61%) in Greek higher education institutions in 2013 (Papadimitiou 2017). Female academics and researchers in South Africa have a higher representation than other African countries (around 47%) but most of them are at the lowest levels of academic rank such as junior lecturer or lecturer. The representation of female academics in African countries range from 6.1% (Ethiopia) and 19.7% (Uganda) for the first and second lowest to 46.5% (South Africa) and 43.1% (Namibia) for the first and second highest percentage (Mabokela & Mlambo 2017)

Theoretically, human capital theory is often used to explain female academic exclusion in academia. It has been argued that female academic investment in terms of education, training, and work experience is lower than their male academic counterparts (Cama et al 2016, 64-65). In fact, measuring human capital relates to educational qualification and experiences in research and other academic activities such as teaching. Academic staffs need to accumulate those factors to obtain the highest career position and salary. Similarly, academics need to invest more human capital to gain leadership positions. Female academics are challenged by several factors as they are commonly considered to have less human capital related investment than their male academic counterparts.

This leads to a debatable argument on whether female academics earn less human capital by choice or, are their choices situated in a set of unavoidable conditions? Regarding this matter, Baker (2008; Beddoes & Pawley) argues that currently women can behave freely because individually they can choose the most appropriate decisions regarding their life style. However, the discourse of choice, according to Baker, "...is a highly relative and often unsuitable term which does not account for the condition in which people are making decisions and which bestow more 'choice' on some and limit it for others," (Ibid). Therefore, choice cannot be understood simply as a personal choice because several complex conditions situate a choice. As a result, female academics cannot freely make their decision as they need to consider numerous aspects in regard to their being a woman. By contrast, male academics seem to have more freedom in making their decisions for advancing their career. Similarly, Pyke (2013) challenges the human capital theory assumption that female academics choose to invest less when compared to their male academic counterparts because several barriers prevent them from making

decisions without restraint. In other words, academic career promotion has been gendered because of gendered human capital.

1.6.3. Sources of Gendered Academic Career

Regarding barriers and sources of the gender gap for female academic career promotion, Maureen Baker (2012) has produced a significant study in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States. She specifically looked at the four sources of the gender gap in liberal countries: *first,* internationalisation and the world rank system; *second,* social capital; *third,* family and motherhood, and *finally,* subjectivities. Pyke (2013) identifies several factors preventing female academics from securing promotion which relates to work culture, overload, balancing care responsibility and challenges such as the effect of promotion criteria. Promotion is most viable without many constraints for female academics when they are able to complete a PhD before 30 and do not have care responsibilities relating to family, and enjoy enough support from mentors or colleagues.

Based on that research, I classify the sources of gendered academic careers into two factors. *First.* factors related to the atmosphere of an academic career as the impact of neoliberalism; *second,* factors related to social aspects such as family, care responsibility, ethnicity and national background when shaping female and male academic career advancement.

a. Neo Liberalism, Research Productivity and Bourdieu's Concepts

The emergence of neo-liberal and free markets since the 1980s has been identified as one of the sources of gendered academic career advancement. The introduction of New Public Management (NPM) in the higher education system has forced universities to focus on research excellence and scientific productivity. Although all three contributions in academic life (research/publication, teaching, and service) are equally important, previous findings show that more credit for academic rank advancement is awarded for research productivity and less to the teaching activities (Parker 2008; Barret & Barret 2012; Leysyte 2016). Unfortunately, female academics are more likely to engage in teaching than in research and publication (Barry et al 2012; Baker 2012;

Leysyte 2016). Accordingly, male academic research performance is much better than for their female academic counterparts (Leysyte 2016) and, as a result, male academics have better points for their career promotion than those of female academics.

In general, academic standards rely on assumptions pertaining to a merit-based system of academic standards, professionalism principles, and impartiality in academic careers and those are generally measured by contribution to research activities including raising external funding, teaching and service. Although measurement of academic standards is quite tangible, the notion that merit-based standards and professionalism are ideal and normative concepts is important to take into account. Some (for example Liu 2011; Alvarado 2010; Bagilhole 2001; Brink and Benschop 2011) consider merit-based standards as a normative concept. This is especially because research productivity and publication, as the measurements of the concepts, have been associated with the competency of particular sex and ethnicity, thereby making it challenging for female academics (Fox 2005; 2010; Howe-Walsh & Turnbull 2016). Therefore, the highest level of academic career advancement is more possible for white male academics than other identity groups. Arguably, in order to understand to what extent academic staff can acquire relevant competencies to achieve the highest rank of academic career, Pierre Bourdieu's contribution to this discussion is essential, besides the so called merit-based factors. Several concepts from Bourdieu (1984, 1986, 1992) such as *field, habitus, social capital, economic capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital* are then advanced by Iellatchitch, et al. (2003) and Mayrhofer, et al. (2004) and can be applied to understand essential factors affecting the development of a career (Duberly and Cohen 2010).

In this dissertation, I contextualise Bourdieu's theoretical framework such as field, habitus and career capital which relate to the academic staff's ability to engage in research and publication and to adapt to the promotion system. I argue that university as a field, is "an autonomous space" where academic standards and career are developed. University as a field faces different challenges in Indonesia and New Zealand The very basic understanding of university as a field for advancing academic career is a social context where actors perform their actions, and make them conform to the structure and complexity of status factors.

The second concept, which is developed from Bourdieu, is *career habitus* which is understood as the way people think, understand, and feel about their career field. Furthermore, it is stated that career habitus is habitus that is appropriate to a specific field

(Duberly and Cohen, 2010). Habitus has a strong correlation to field because participation in the field will contribute toward the forming of habitus, which in turn will act to reproduce the field. It means that habitus and field develop contemporaneously, not only limited by past experiences but also covering all parts of life experience. As Bourdieu states (1990a; in Reay 2004) experiences in the past are a crucial aspect of habitus and can be traced through personal history but, in addition to that, it recognises and acknowledges the ongoing process. According to Bourdieu (1990, Reay 2004), habitus is "expressed through durable ways of standing, speaking, walking, thereby feeling and thinking including eating and gesturing."

In brief, habitus can be interpreted as the product of family background but it is continuously renewed along with the progress achieved by the actors during their life. Furthermore, it is necessary to be taken into account as the element of *agency* on habitus is powerful. As Reay (2004: 433) writes, habitus is "the product of opportunities and constraints framing". They involve a very great range of "possibilities and impossibilities, freedom and necessities, opportunities and prohibition" (Bourdieu 1990b: 54, Reay 2004) that make a predicted probability and avoid ''unthinkable'' and unexplained fact. Likewise, career habitus, according to Mayrhofer et al. (2004), strongly correlates to the "stability of career behaviour" and that is obtained through the starting point from their birth and the learning processes during their life.

In comparison to *career capital,* habitus has been implemented in very few studies on academic careers. According to Reay (2004) referring to the work of Bourdieu on *Distinction,* in French, habitus is quite a difficult concept to implement into empirical research, and must be explained interpretively. Further she argues that habitus is more appropriate to be adopted into the explanation of the data rather than to be used for conducting research. She then uses habitus to understand women's marginalisation in academic career progression. Based on her personal experience, she points out that it is very difficult for female researchers from working class backgrounds to survive in the UK University system and that they find *"academia an alien and confusing space."* Reay (2000) finds that women who survive in the masculine labour market are women who adapt to the masculine way of acting, behaving, and thinking. Following Reay (2000), in this study I explain my individual habitus in my auto-ethnography to describe the way I think, understand, and feel about an academic career.

Finally, the most often used of Bourdieu's concepts is *career capital.* According to Mayrhofer et.al (2004: 874), "Career capital is the particular sort of capital valued within the fields of career". Several factors are considered influential for a specific career field. For example, family background covering the genetic and social context can explain the kinds of capital belonging to an actor and later to what extent that the capital can develop. While capital embodied in the actors since birth is crucial, the process of educational and personal development, and the extent that an agent obtains skills relevant to a field of career, is as important as the former factor. Mayrhofer et.al (2004: 875) argue that the idea of career capital is comparable to the theoretical perspective developed by Arthur et.al (1999), "knowing why, knowing-how, and knowing whom" to relate personal and non-personal factors. Furthermore they argue that from such a perspective, career capital can be explained from two sides: acknowledgment from other actors and the legitimation and validity from regulation on the career field and symbolic capital (ibid). Several studies draw on Bourdieu's four types of capital, i.e. cultural capital, social capital, economic capital and symbolic capital in which they note the relationship to power, and that the first three are strongly aligned (Duberly & Cohen 2010). Social capital, Mayrhofer et al. (2004: 875) argue, can be explained by the term "who I know and who knows what I am about". It can be observed from social relations, networks, and group membership. Economic capital is about "what I possess" and it can be converted easily (ibid). Finally, symbolic capital can be understood as the combination of the previous three capitals that ensure that an actor may be socially recognised, and it is heavily correlated to a particular field.

However, concepts such as social capital have a long history. Nan Lin (2001) demonstrates that social capital can be traced from Karl Marx and Adam Smith. It then was developed by several social scientists such as; Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, Robert Putnam, Nan Lin, Henk D. Flap, Ronal S. Burt, and Bonnie H. Ericson. According to Lin (2001) all researchers who use and promote social capital understand that social relations and social structures possess resources and capital that can be activated when people need to achieve success through particular actions.

In other words, the literature has demonstrated that habitus and social capital has an impact on academic careers. Related to social capital, Maureen Baker (2012) has reported that men are often considered to receive higher scores for their work, which they consequently attribute to their greater degree of specialisation. They are assumed to have

more theoretical and scientific areas of study. Moreover, in terms of social capital, female lecturers are challenged by gendered access to mentoring, research sponsors, collegial networks and sometimes the unavailability of role models. Women have reportedly more caring responsibilities than men in looking after children, or for a sick or dying partner, or looking after ageing parents. Finally, women's competence and credibility were often questioned, and the fact that women have a lower expectation of reaching the highest academic rank.

I identify the social capital for an academic career, such as educational background and type of university, in my quantitative data. Activities representing social capital should refer to the academic standards where there are three aspects of contribution for academic promotion: contribution to research and publication, teaching, and service/leadership. Frequency of conducting research; number of publications and citations; score and rank in research performance and involvement in service and leadership are some of the social capital measurements for an academic career. Similarly, networks can be seen from the extent to which academic staff have been involved in experiments outside their community. It is assumed that the type of university can facilitate a broader network, accordingly, academics who possess an international educational background are considered to have a better network than those who do not. Similarly, intensity in joining international academic meetings can contribute to enhancing an academic staff member's network.

Social capital and human capital are interrelated as individual human capital covers various aspects such as knowledge, skills, and abilities which can consequently create social capital / social resources such as information, influence, and emotional support (Han et.al 2014). Quantitative indicators used to measure those concepts are often similar but qualitatively, both can be distinguished. However, my study does not provide complete data and information relating to social capital and network. Only a limited amount of information regarding this aspect is available in secondary data for both cases in Indonesia and New Zealand.

b. Family and Parenthood

Raising children is a great challenge for academics because it is time consuming and will affect time for research. Arguably an academic with such care responsibilities

will produce less research than those who are childless or child free. On the other hand, having children may provide academics with spirit and zeal to work harder in order to survive economically (Joeck et al 2014). Most literature demonstrates similar findings in relation to the effect of family and parenthood (Mason & Goulden 2004; Baker 2009). According to Mason & Goulden 2004, data in 2002 showed that higher tenure rates have been achieved after five or more years post PhD by women who had late babies or had no children than women who had children early. However, in 2004, they found marriage and having children are not the determinant factor for the low level of women's tenure because they are still more likely to achieve lower levels of tenure than men, even if they are not married and do not have children. Another important finding is regarding the different patterns of family formation among women in academia from that of men. Women academics, who are successful in moving up the academic ladder, are more likely to delay marriage and childbirth. Maureen Baker (2009) who investigated perceptions of the impact of gender and family circumstances on academic careers supported her findings. She found that female and male lecturers have various experiences and priorities at work and home. She points out that differences in human and social capital have influenced the gender gap in universities such as working conditions, expectation of productivity, job satisfaction, and promotional opportunities.

Previously, Lotte Bailyn (2003) argues that an academic career is not only encompassing more flexibility, opportunity and autonomy for people but also, to some extent, is considered demanding, particularly for individuals holding other activities aside from academic work. For example, women are assumed to face more challenges than men when dealing with an academic career because generally they do more domestic work. It is regarded as demanding because of its various tasks which embody teaching, research, and service to the university. An academic career is equivalent to conducting an experiment, doing a field study, or writing a book, which cannot be accomplished immediately. It is durable and is carried out over quite a long period before its outcome is evident.

Bailyn (2003) indicates that an academic career has embedded within it a work overload. Furthermore, she demonstrates that people working in academia will encounter many psychological pressures. She argues that members of an academic faculty, particularly those who have obtained professorships must acquire a high level of competence in their area and are not expected to need help from others. Members of

faculty in the US (and some countries with similar systems) must convince others of their ability in their field in the first seven years of their career. Therefore, an academic career, to some extent, is only appropriate for those who can provide almost all of their time and interest for academic work. Previous research (Bagilhole 1993; Foster 2001) identifies processes that contribute to the marginalisation of women in universities in the UK which is evident from both formal and informal recruitment and selection, probation, career development and promotion, and appraisal systems. The situation of the gender gap in those countries raises questions of why and how it continuously happens, what the different strategies are to reduce it, and the output and outcome for family life and institutional policy.

The more recent research from Beddoes and Pawly (2014) and Walsh & Turnbull (2016) reveals similar findings. Despite the availability of numerous policies recommended from previous studies to improve the situation, Beddoes and Pawly (2014) argue there have only been insignificant changes. They argued that considering the gendered family roles as an individual choice has led to this status quo (ibid). In addition to that, Walsh and Turnbull (2016) demonstrated similar findings that the gender segregation for male and female academics has increased significantly in science and technology (415). They identified the factors which led to this gap remaining the same as previous studies such as female academics have been facing a gendered environment from the onset up to the final step in their career advancement and they have been excluded from academic networks (425). Female academics are still treated differently as they are less recognised, and do not have clear guidance and strong support from their university. Most female academics in ST (Science and Technology) hold short term contracts leading to job insecurity. They face harassment and bullying, they feel the discomfort of being considered as "stupid women" and are regarded as ineligible in the field of ST, and these have had great impact on their self confidence. Very similar to previous research, females in ST are struggling in balancing their career and family responsibilities.

Exceptional findings related to parenthood and academic career are found in some other literature which demonstrate the invisibility of the gender gap and inconclusive results. Regarding this matter, Joecks, Pull, Gellner (2013) demonstrated that female researchers with children in business and economics have conducted more research than female researchers without children.

c. Ethnicity and National Background

Studies on women academics in non-Western countries (such as in Asian countries) show that besides the difficulties in balancing professional careers with family, women are challenged with a patriarchal culture in society and government policy, and a male leadership style (Luke, 1997, 1998, 2001). Luke (2001) demonstrates that the historical and cultural factors are the most significant in influencing women's career development despite the fact that most women in Thailand expressed a belief that they are as equal as men in pursuing their career. In most universities, women have not reached the highest positions as, generally, men are considered better than women for those positions. Thai women do not think that institutionalised gender equity – the initiative to improve women's representation – will be important for advancing women's careers in universities because the existence of women in strategic positions will not necessarily support other women to advance their careers. Unlike men, who have clearer career goals and ambitions, for most women success in a career was perceived to have just happened. When single women advance their careers more, they are more likely to be socially excluded and regarded as being abnormal by being single women. Women in academic careers, especially those in the positions of presidents, deans, deputies, and assistant deans, spend 12-14 hour days teaching, attending official meetings, running evening seminars and working on Saturdays, and working late most nights to catch up on paperwork. The ability to do this is likely to compromise other roles that women are expected to play.

Singaporean women are challenged by the trend to use women and the family as instruments of social change. For example, the 1961 Women's Charter in Singapore defines that men are the "principal breadwinner" and "head of household," therefore only men can obtain unemployment benefits and medical benefits for children. (Luke 2001). Furthermore, according to Luke (2001), women in Hong Kong (and most Asian countries) are considered to not have to take work seriously as the expectation is that they will have boyfriends and then marry them and stay at home to raise a family, which becomes a life of luxury. On the other hand, women who choose to have a career experience a lot of pressures.

Malaysia's higher education system has followed the international system with the characteristics of internationalisation, transnational education, and privatisation. Malaysia has played an important role as the key participant in expanding neo-liberalism in South East Asia. Similarly, representation of female academics in leadership positions in Malaysia is similar to the global trend where female academics have less access to leadership. However, it is interesting that, despite the awareness of the problem of female academic marginalisation in leadership positions in universities, they are rarely interested in playing a role in leadership positions as these roles are considered incompatible with an ideal life of balancing family and career. Leadership positions enable academic staff to access power related to financial and decision making processes. However, as the university is perceived as an avaricious institution, being in a leadership position means sacrificing family life because they would need to be away from home for longer hours (Morley et al 2017).

From previous literature, it can be concluded that the gender gap has become a common problem in both Western and non-Western countries. Female academics are left behind their male academic counterparts because of several interconnected factors. It has been argued that cultural and structural dimensions are helpful for understanding the gender difference in academic careers. Normatively, academic career advancement should follow merit based standards with academic contribution as the key for career advancement, and with research productivity as one of the most valid measurements of academic contribution. In this regard, concepts such as field, habitus and career capital as defined by Bourdieu are often being applied to help understand why female academics and their male counterparts advance their career differently. Accordingly, those concepts will be demonstrated when discussing the cultural and structural dimensions which shape family life.

1.7. Proposed Structure of the Thesis

The proposed structure of the thesis is as follows:

Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature review.

This describes the background and problem statement, research question, hypothesis, importance and limitations of the study, and selected literature review.

Chapter 2: Field and capital for academic careers: policy and practice

This chapter will outline the policies and practices of academic life in Indonesia such as the existing dual system of religious and secular universities, recruitment processes, career advancement steps, perceptions about teaching and academic careers in Indonesia, and Indonesian's policy and practice compared to other Asian countries, New Zealand's and other international academic careers systems.

Chapter 3: Research method

This chapter will discuss autoethnography, quantitative analysis using secondary data, and qualitative method used in this study.

Chapter 4: Autoethnography and habitus.

This chapter will introduce my interest in academic careers, especially the gendered aspects related to academic careers. I will identify important elements of my own biography and, in particular, aspects that can be generalised to other academics such as gender, marriage, religion, patriarchy, motherhood, class, social status.

Chapter 5: A Statistical analysis of academic careers in Indonesia: comparing a religious and a secular university

In this chapter I test whether male and female academics advance their careers differently and present influential factors for academic careers in Indonesia using descriptive, binary and ordinal regression.

Chapter 6: Statistical analysis of academic careers in New Zealand : a focus on the University of Auckland

In this chapter I test whether male and female academics advance their careers differently in New Zealand using descriptive, binary and ordinal regression.

Chapter 7: Qualitative data analysis from Indonesia

This chapter will elaborate more deeply on the most important findings about the influence of family, children, religion and culture in academic life in Indonesia.

Chapter 8: Qualitative data analysis from New Zealand

This chapter will elaborate more deeply on the most important findings about the influence of family, children, race in academic life in New Zealand.

Chapter 9: Discussion and conclusion

As a final conclusion, this chapter will identify general conclusions, and will also suggest where more research is needed, and how this research might contribute to existing literature.

Appendix 1:SPSS Output

Appendix 2: Participant Information Sheet & Informed Concern

CHAPTER II
THE FIELD-RELEVANT CAPITAL OF ACADEMIC CAREERS: POLICY AND PRACTICE

This chapter will outline the worldwide norms and practices of academic life in developed and developing countries. It involves the discussion of common challenges such as neo-liberalism, massification and internationalisation.Following Bourdieu's concept, an academic career is *a field* on which to play a game and the field has rules and roles. Universities or scientific fields, according to Iellatchitch, et al (2003), are autonomous fields because the rules are only determined by the insider. All actors within the university system will perform by adapting to the norms and regulations to maintain and extend their position.

The following section discusses the Indonesian system compared to other Asian countries to understand Indonesian academic life and its relationship to worldwide academic norms and practice. The policies and practices of academic life in Indonesia are dictated by the existing dual system of religious and secular universities, public and private universities, and the influence of globalisation. The next section discusses the practice of neo-liberal policy in New Zealand's academic life and career pathways. Finally, the chapter is closed by reflections about different aspects of Indonesia and New Zealand tertiary education and worldwide academic career and academic life systems.

2.1. Academic Life in Transition

Studying academic careers has attracted many scholars. An academic in the Western concept, is a free agent who, theoretically at least, can move easily from one university to another university. Specialised knowledge together with knowledge management is the main foundation of university and academic careers (Baruch 2003: 250). Therefore, intellectual capital is essential, andit belongs to the individual faculty member, not to the institution, though the institute benefits from the perceived accumulation of intellectual capital. Likewise, knowledge based principles have been developed for the academic career labour market with competitive selection as well as promotion systems. Finally, for successful career progress, both individual quality and achieving international reputation are key (ibid. 251).

The fact that academics study themselves is not without interest but there is also the recognition that these roles, linked as they are to higher level education in any country, are not without influence.Historically, the academe was the source of knowledge and knowledge production and only a limited number of people enjoyed entry toa university system. Enders and Fulton (2002: 2) argue that a modern university is "a project of the nation state and its cultural identity", and reproduces this ideology at the societal level. As the education centre, a university contributes to the selection of the elite, advancing society, and educating high skilled labour (ibid). However, recently, the requirement to gain an education from a university to attain a favourable job has expanded significantly.

Studies about the personal and environmental forces which motivate an individual's choice of an academic career, according to Lindholm (2004), are important for explaining why particular groups, are marginalised in this occupation. He demonstrated that challenges, freedom and autonomy are among the most appealing aspects of an academic role (ibid.611). Experiences of being raised among an academic family, or having a family background around education were often significant factors for pursuing an academic career, but the decision to become a professor according to him arose from undergraduate and graduate school experiences. It is considered to be "normal" or 'relatively routine" as having finished their degrees, at Bachelor, Masters's or PhD levels, they then moved on to secure a faculty appointment. Another essential point for an academic role is individual competence in that some respondents were "superstars" in their graduate school, winning multiple honours for their thesis or dissertation, and recognition for their capacity as a teaching assistant. However, some respondents considered that their choice of an academic career had both an intentional and unintentional decision making elements (ibid.614-616).

Comparative research on academic life demonstrates that the traditional characteristics of the academic profession have changed significantly over time. The academic profession used to relate to powerful doctrines such as academic freedom and autonomy, the community of scholars, and the collegial authority which had the primary tasks for high standards of teaching and research and were close to Weber's concept of "calling" and not strongly related to the profit economy. On the other hand, teaching and research have recently come further into the capitalist market system, with a more explicit profit orientation.While the functions are still the same, the nature of the

academic profession has changed significantly because of the emergence of neo-liberal and free markets since the 1980s.

It can be said that globalisation and internationalisation have become two important concepts and have challenged the existence of higher education worldwide. While both seem similar, Enders (2004) identified the different aspects of globalisation and internationalisation. The former is the process of interdependence and liberalisation of trade and markets but the latter is the process of greater cooperation between nation states. The globalisation of higher education can be defined as opening markets and quasi markets for higher education. It increases the implementation of competition, efficiency and managerialism, and reduces the role of nation states. On the other hand, internationalisation of higher education strengthens the role of nation states.

According to Meek (2002) internationalisation has been part of higher education practice for a long time, especially in Europe. However, internationalisation under more formal coordination is new, only emerging recently. Networks of higher education had been predominantly focused and run by academics. An example of internationalisation was Universitas 21, established by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Melbourne, which now has relationships with 25 leading universities in sixteen countries. Further international coordination was supported and extended by international authorities such as UNESCO and the World Bank through various agreements such as COMMETT (Community in Education and Training for Technology), ERASMUS (European Community Action Scheme for Mobility of University Students), and PETRA (promoting vocational education and training for young people). Furthermore, it has been argued that the Bologna agreement consists of strategies to develop European higher education cooperation. The Bologna agreement was extended by The General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS), a multilateral agreement of trade liberation with principles of "cross-border supply", "consumption abroad", "commercial presence", and "movement of natural presence"(ibid. 62-63). The rules of GATS can also apply to the education sector as it is regarded as service (ibid. 64). Therefore, it can be said that GATS strengthens the globalisation of higher education.

During the 1980s and 1990s, public sector institutions, including higher education in Anglo-Saxon countries, were transformed and traditional structures were replaced by market-entrepreneurial principles.Amaral (2008) argues that the transformation of higher education in developed countries in the last decades is part of the restructuring process in

Western society. In this regard, traditional values have been replaced by concepts from the private sectors such as efficiency, utility, public accountability, and enterprise. New public management (NPM) has been introduced, where private-sector techniques are being adapted by the higher education institutions (ibid, p.83). As a result, the relationship between higher education and government has changed significantly.NPM is expected to change the inefficiency of collegiality in universities to become "fast, adventurous, carefree, open plan, computerised, individualism of choice, autonomous enterprises and sudden opportunity" (ibid. 84). However, the massification of higher education has increased the complexity and heterogeneity of the system, and has impacted negatively on the quality of higher education as both students and academics, especially students and teachers from non-elite higher education institutions, are considered less capable (ibid.83-85).

The introduction of NPM in universities was followed by the introduction of performance-based research funding systems. Hicks (2012) found that 14 countries have introduced this system with different names. Generally, the purpose of the funding is to maintain research excellence by responding to international competition, which requires high scientific quality. Unit analysis, methods of measurement, frequency and census periods of evaluation for performance based research funding are different in each country. According to Hicks (2012) generally, research is not implemented individually or within department levels but it is conducted by a group/cluster, but a minority of countries, such as New Zealand and Spain, evaluate the research individually.

By the end of 1990s the protests against neo-liberalism, commodification and commercialisation of higher education expanded so that the development of market capitalism was not as determined as was expected. Numbers of leading higher education institutions around the world responded to The World Trade Organisation (WTO) GATs treaty by signing a declaration. The principles of the declaration are: *First*, higher education is a public interest, not a commodity; *Second*, higher education must be organised by a competent body designed by any country; *Third*, to export high quality education, not to undermine developing countries; *Fourth*, higher education internationalisation should be based on high quality academic service; *Five*, regardless of the way of delivering higher education, quality must be the key objective for both domestic and international education; *Sixth*, a rules-based regime must guide international co-operation; *Seventh*, higher education is not similar to other commercial

parts of the service sector; *Eighth*, the interdependency of public and private higher education, and finally, *ninth and tenth* are cautiousness and transparency (Meek 2002: 65).

However, some significant changes in the academic environment in liberal countries occurred at the period of neo-liberal policy and global markets. For example, universities are publicly funded but the trend shows decreasing public funding. As a result, universities are encouraged to expand their funding from the private sector. Many universities choose to hire more part-time or contractual limited staff to deal with the increasing operating costs. This strategy is selected because it is more cost effective and less expensive as the salary for a part-time staff member covers only one academic course for one activity, and is paid only during teaching time. Another change during the period is that the decision making process in a university is now controlled by corporate-style managers and professional administrators, while in the past decades the decision making process was operated by the academics. Universities must now adopt business like or corporate practices. Non-academic professionals who are involved in a university include activities such as finance, marketing, human resources, student services and quality assurance. This provides an opportunity to build a career path for administrators in universities and at the same time reduces freedom and causes hyper-bureaucracy for academics. This managerial practice is justified by the crises or budget shortfalls which require professionals like accountants (Baker 2012: 54). Additionally, academic recruitment use of new electronic procedures now allows candidates from around the world to apply for roles. Entry qualification for new academics emphasises teaching and research experiences, and peer review publication, besides expecting that new academics have completed their doctoral degrees. Productivity, profile, and the national and international reputation of the university have become the main concerns of both government and public universities for indicating the quality of the universities (Ibid. 56-57).

2.2. Academic Life in Developing Countries

Academic systems in developing countries are different from that in liberal and industrialised countries because many developing countries have developed more complex systems. However, some aspects of academic systems in Asian countries, such

as the patterns of institutional governance, the ethos of the academic profession, and the rhythm of academic life, ideas about science, examination and assessment can be traced to the Western academic system (Altbach 1989: 3-4). There are at least two important aspects as background to the emergence of universities in Asian countries: *first*, the influence of foreign systems, *second*, the spirit of indigenisation. Generally speaking, the impact of Western academic systems has been very important because of the influence of the history of colonialism. For example, Indonesia has been influenced by Dutch colonialism; India, Malaysia, and Singapore are influenced by British colonialism; the Philippines by American and Spanish colonialism; and Vietnam by French colonialism. However, long before the arrival of Western colonisation, Asian countries had an important intellectual tradition, such as the impact of Buddhism from India, Islam from the Middle East and Chinese culture (ibid).

While the influence of colonisation is prevalent, the history of colonisation in Asian countries is not similar. Dutch colonialism was not interested in introducing education; therefore, it had limited influence on the academic system in Indonesia. On the other hand, a British oriented academic system emerged in countries that are now India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Malaysia, Hong Kong, and Singapore. The influence of the British system is significant not just because the British colonials supported academic life but because, when local initiatives emerged, British colonials controlled their development. As a result of the colonial era some universities in Asian countries used universities in Europe as their model. Universities in Bombay and Singapore followed London or Leeds University's model, and the university in Hanoi imitates a French university or those established in the Dutch East India colonies (ibid.7).

Entering the 21st century, academic careers have been challenged by problems such as limited remuneration, and less involvement in institutional governance. As a result, the basic principles of academic life such as autonomy and academic freedom are difficult to implement. In other words, according to Altbach (2003: 3), academics in developing countries are in a peripheral or marginal position in the worldwide system. Academics in developing countries may generate innovative scientific and intellectual work, but they are not recognised. They seldom introduce or share their work over the worldwide academic system. The most important factor is that most academics in developing countries are not writing in international languages such as English, and academics from the developed world are less likely to understand national languages in

developing countries. Accordingly,academic articles and journals with national language from developing countries can only be understood by a limited number of people. While academics worldwide are increasingly affected by the power and influence of the largest academic systems developing countries trail at the rear.

The dependency of academic life in developing countries on the academic systems of industrialised countries in terms of knowledge systems and publication is an important phenomenon for their academics. Likewise, the validation of academic quality in developing countries refers to those in developed countries. Publication through journals from developed countries is required for academic promotion in developing countries, and local journals are not valued as highly as publications in international journals which are usually published in developed countries. In addition to that universities and academics in developing countries are also challenged by bureaucracy and politics (Altbach2003: 14).Universities play a significant role in politics as the places for elites to learn and they become a forum for student political activism where they may develop their political ideas which may include forming and articulating an opposition to the government and dominant political thought. Academic institutions in developing countries have also lacked traditions of faculty power. Since the universities were founded by the governments, the government authority of controlling academics and universities in developing countries is significant. The government does not want the universities to become sources of dissidence in society where government policy is criticised (ibid).

In some countries research, especially for social science, is controlled, and professors cannot express their opinions freely. For example, Lee (2003: 145) shows that academics in Malaysia are bound by the University and University Colleges Act (UCCA) in which the government has full authority over student enrolment, staff appointments, and educational programmes. Based on this act, students and academics are banned from participating in politics, and from contributing to public discourse and national debate. Academics in Malaysia, both those who work in public or in private institutions, are not allowed to influence decisions of the government. Similarly, in Singapore, the government maintains strong control over policy direction.

In many developing countries academic salaries align with the salaries of those who make up the lower middle class. Therefore, academics in developing countries often hold more than one job such as teaching in other universities, consulting, or other service

occupations that do not directly relate to their expertise (Altbach 2003:17). However, academics in Malaysia enjoy a high status in society and they are paid and treated similar to other civil servants. Their salary is determined by seniority and length of service. Apart from the salary of a civil servant, they obtain other benefits such as housing, car loans, medical benefits, and sabbatical leave. Unlike in Indonesia and the Philippines, they rarely have to work in a second job to add to their income (Lee 2003:149).

2.3. Academic Life and Academic Careers in Indonesia

Indonesia has developed a quite different system of universities, academic life and academic careers from that of liberal countries' higher education systems and academic career advancement. Higher education in the history of Indonesia was often related to the need of the colonial government to produce those who would take up the roles of lower level administrative officers. Literature shows that higher education institutions in Indonesia were initiated by the colonial government in 1902 by establishing STOVIA, a medical school for indigenous doctors (Buchori & Malik 2004). The University of Indonesia and Gajah Mada University are examples of universities that have been established since the colonial period. Later on, both universities, together with other public universities, became managed under the Ministry of Education/MoNE from 1945-2014 and have been under the coordinator of the Ministry of Research & Technology and Higher Education/MoRTHE since 2014.

Buchori & Malik (2004: 256) argue that the nationalist spirit was the centre of higher education from its early establishment in Indonesia. This strengthens Cumming & Kasenda's argument (1989) that from the earliest development of modern higher education, when the University of Gajah Mada and University of Indonesia were established, they had five distinctive characteristics[6]. *First*, universities in Indonesia were created to integrate the principles of nationalism, and this remains despite the university tradition they inherited from the west which was to advance in science. The *second* characteristic isthatthe national language is used, shifting from Dutch to *Bahasa Indonesia*. The initiators of higher education in Indonesia decided that in order to preserve nationalistic goals universities were, and are, operated by local staff, and future

[6] Hill and Wie (2012) found that the date origin of UI is in 1849 based on the development the Dokter Jawa School which later became the Faculty of Medicine in the late 1940s. The University of Gajahmada is the first post-independence university.

academics are to be trained by local institutions rather than those trained overseas. *Third,* education is considered as the right of every citizen, as the antithetical of the discriminative policy during the colonial period. This policy has led to the image that higher education is concerned more with quantity than quality. *Four,* the higher education system is oriented to solve social problems, rather than being concerned with the development of new knowledge. *Five,* universities are expected to play a role in state development and maintain a good relationship with the state (ibid.144-145).

However, the increasing demands for student enrolment and nationalisation in higher education have had the impact of weakeningthe quality of higher education. There are three reasons for this: too rapid expansion of the system, a very quick change from the Dutch system to the national system, and the unstable economy and politics. Furthermore, as the consequence of the nationalisation process, most of the Dutch Professors and academics returned to their own country (Buchori & Malik 2004: 256). Therefore, unlike other countries in Asia, Indonesian higher education to some extent was disconnected from the European model.

Furthermore, Buchori & Malik (2004) argued that the Indonesian higher education system has been managed based on three pillars (*tri darma perguruan tinggi)*: education, research, and community service. These pillars were upheld by Law 22/1961 which stated that the development of science in Indonesia must give benefit to Indonesian society. It was not only oriented to the advancement of science itself but also to improve the quality of Indonesian society. This law explained that academic freedom was acknowledged in Indonesia but it does not give the freedom to justify subversive activities. The function of higher education was to graduate scholars with competencies such as problem solving, critical thinking and ethics, and having emotional and intellectual ability. This regulation demonstrated the political situation. Sukarno, the first president of Indonesia issued Law no. 22/1961, four years before the regime was changed. The spirit of revolution and government control were very robust. According to the law, higher education was an instrument for revolution with the main purpose being to create a socialist, fair and prosperous society. The Ministry of Education was permitted to meet the President of Higher Education anytime he needed. In order to keep the state's foundation ideology, higher education was required to teach the *Pancasila* (five pillars) and the state's political manifesto; therefore, academic staff must have the spirit of *Pancasila* as well. The ideas and thoughts in higher education could not

contradict the Indonesian state's foundation and ideology; on the contrary, it should strengthen both (ibid.257).

The Indonesian National Higher Education System policy, issued in 1975 by the Ministry of Education through the Directorate General of Higher Education explained the framework for academic programmes. The framework is influenced by the European or continental system. It consists of a four–year undergraduate degree (Strata 1-S1), a two-year Master's level (Strata 2-S2) and a three-year doctorate programme (Strata 3-S3). The vocational programme is for one to four year non-degree training places. In addition to that the US system is used since the curriculum adopts the accumulation of credit points. Credit units between 110 to 120 points are required for students of a three year diploma and 144 to 160 credit units for students of the four year S1 qualification. The old system was similar to the higher education school in a packaged system. Students would pass the semester if they obtained the required grade for every subject. If they fail one of the subjects because they obtained a result lower than the minimum standard, they could not go to the higher level/semester. In the credit system, students can have make up classes only for the subjects where they were below the standard; likewise they can have additional classes if their Grade Point Average (GPA) reaches above the standard (Wicaksono and Friawan 2011: 161). Furthermore, they point out that the credit system is expected to reduce the length of study because students can manage their number of credits for each semester. High achieving students can take more credits so that they can complete their programmes faster. The number of minimum credits is regulated so that student performance can be monitored easily. This framework has been strengthened by the later Education Law No.20/2003 (ibid. 162).

The next government regulation is No. 30/1990, and Education Law No. 20, 2003. The former was issued under the second President, Suharto and the latter under the fourth President, Megawati. Higher education based on this regulation is oriented both to science and the interest of society. Government Regulation No. 30/1999 mentions that academic freedom is recognised, and academic staff can express their opinions freely based on scientific norms. However, people in academia cannot misuse academic freedom to hide individual interests and they are responsible for their opinions individually. The regulation mentions that each higher education institution has seven elements: (1) steering committee, (2) chair persons, (3) educator, (4) a university senate, (5) a manager for education, research and community service, (6) a manager for

administration, and (7) complementary elements such as: libraries, laboratories, workshops, field experiments, and a computer centre.

Unlike previous laws that limited university and academic freedom Education Law No. 20/2003 has changed government policy significantly. The law has a very short message about academic freedom, freedom of expression and autonomy of science. Furthermore, the law states that higher education institutions have the independence to manage their institutions to become centres of education, research and community service.

Similar to previous regulations, based on Education Law No. 20/2003, there are five types of higher education in Indonesia: academies, polytechnics, *sekolah tinggi* (higher education centres), institutes, and universities. The explanation for those five types of higher education is found in Government Regulation 17/2010. An academy is very similar to a polytechnic but only serves vocational programmes related to particular skills. Academies and polytechnics provide a three year professional diploma but a polytechnic usually focuses on engineering, agriculture, or business. Higher education institutes (*Sekolah Tinggi*/institutes) provide higher education for only a single faculty like accounting and administration, and can graduate students up to S3, or doctoral levels. Finally, universities are multidisciplinary, and can grant degrees up to and including doctoral level (Welch 2007; Murniati 2012).

Some argue that Indonesia is a late comer and a peripheral country on the global higher education system (Altbach 2003; Welch 2007; Hill & Wie 2012). One of the reasons is that Indonesia spends the lowest amount for tertiary education funding compared to that of India, Thailand, Japan, Korea and is under the OECD average (Hill & Wie 2012: 164). The quality of higher education is diverse with about 5-7 universities being classified as elite with high quality and 47-49 universities classified as moderate and low quality. Around three quarters of the students are registered in private higher education. State universities make up only 4% of Indonesian university institutions but almost 25-30% of student study there[7]. The percentage of PhDs in all universities in Indonesia is only around 5%-7%, made up largely of foreign PhD. holders who teach in elite universities because state and foreign scholarships at the PhD. level favour them.

[7]In 2009/10, around 5.2 million students were registered in around 3,600 Indonesian higher education institutions (ibid.165).

The percentage of PhDs was the lowest proportion when compared to similar countries such as Cambodia, Mongolia and Vietnam (ibid.166-169).

The problem of the low quality of higher education in Indonesia has been repeatedly mentioned in previous research (for example Buchori & Malik 2004; Altbach 2002; Hill & Wie 2013; Welch 2007). It is argued that low quality of teaching and learning is caused by inadequacy of incentive and remuneration, and poor work environments. As a result, universities permit staff to take outside jobs, and both public and private universities are challenged by the fact that they share the resources of the academic staff. The relationship between public and private universities is very strong because many public academic staff also have a second job in private universities (Welch2007: 674).

2.3.1. Dual System of Education

Higher education in Indonesia is part of the whole education system, in that it must be analysed integrally with other education levels (the primary and secondary system). In other words, higher education is an extension of the senior high school (see Table 2.1). However, the current secular higher education system is organised by Ministry of Research & Technology and Higher Education (MoRTHE) and Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA). It is important to take into account that before 2014, all levels of secular education were coordinated under Ministry of Education (MoNE). The political regime under President Joko Widodo divides the public-secular education system into higher education and primary & secondary education and each of them belongs to different ministry as the former is under the MoRHE, and the latter under the MoNE[8].

In addition to that, the education system is divided into public and private institutions. Public higher education is developed based on the state-treasury laws, the education system, and civil servant laws which are all under the responsibility of a ministry (Wicaksono & Friawan 2011: 163). Private universities are a recent phenomenon because, until 1990, the government did not pay attention to private

[8]Therefore, currently Indonesia has three ministries for education : MoRTHE for coordinating secular higher education and research, MONE for secular primary and secondary education only and MoRA for coordinating all levels of religious education

universities and recently, they have been organised based on presidential decree PP 60/1999 (Hill & Wie 2012: 166).

Table 2.1. School System in Indonesia

Age	Education Level	Islamic Education	Secular/ Public Education	Vocational			
		S3	S3	Specialist 2 Programme			
		S2	S2	Specialist 1 Programme			
22	Higher Education	S1	S1	D4			
20					D3		
21						D2	
20							D1
19							
18	Middle Education	Islamic Senior Secondary	Public Senior Secondary				Senior Vocational Secondary School
17							
16							
15		Islamic Junior Secondary	Public Senior Secondary				
14							
13							
12							
11		Islamic Elementary School	Public Elementary School				
10							
9							
8							
7							
6							
5	Pre School	Islamic Pre School	Public Pre- School				
4							

Adapted and modified from Mohandas (2004, in Wicaksono & Friawan 2011: 163)

The existence of the dual system of secular and religious universities in Indonesia can be traced to the education system in Dutch colonialist times where only Islamic education existed beside the Dutch system. In this period, education in the Dutch system was open for Europeans only so Islamic schools were the only option for indigenous people. After 1818 the Dutch widened access to education but only the *prijaji,* or the political elite, could enjoy it. The Dutch kept the unequal education system for natives and Dutch descendants to maintain their superiority and to avoid job competition

between them. Nevertheless, elite intellectuals emerged as a result of the opportunity to enjoy education for *prijaji*, and later they created a group of people who came to be called the nationalists. They initiated a secular nationalist movement and established Budi Utomo to spread education to the people and to establish independent schools teaching nationalism, Indonesian culture, language, art and literature (Siroji 2013: 126-128). According to Siroji (2013: 129), based on Bradjanegara (1956), for the first establishment of the nationalist education system, run by Budi Utomo[9], they implemented a system which was similar to that of the colonial system. They did not change the school model, teaching methodology, or textbooks.

An alternative education system to the Dutch colonial system was proposed by Ki Hajar Dewantara. He was the leader of the next national movement Taman Siswawhich was established by the end of nineteenth century[10]. The idea was to develop an education system based on Indonesian culture to facilitate nationalism, to advance the principals of humanity and to provide freedom of development for children. The schools run by Taman Siswa did not receive a government subsidy but grew rapidly as there were 166 schools with 11,000 students 10 years after establishment. The system became a model for Indonesian education. At the higher education level, nationalist groups pressured the Dutch not to reduce number of schools they established, which were called *Holland-Inlandsche School* (HIS). It is unavoidable that the Dutch colonial system caused bitterness as the system was discriminative but it stimulated critical ideas for nationalist activists. Therefore, it has been argued that there was an ambiguous attitude from nationalist groups about the Dutch education system as they criticised it but they adapted the system for Indonesian education (ibid. 130).

Beside the Dutch colonial system, an Islamic education system had been introduced in Indonesia from the seventeenth century. Education has played a key role to popularise and maintain the religions that exist in Indonesia today, especially for Muslims and Christians. Muslim schools have been essential in the establishement and maintenance of a strong Muslim Indonesian identity. Islamic teachings, norms, and values have been transmitted through educational institutions. In the arena where pious Muslims *(santri)* were dominant, traditional education institutions called *pondok*

[9]Budi Utomo was national movement in Indonesia established to run educational system in Indonesia under the Dutch colionialism in Indonesia (McVey, 1967)

[10] Taman Siswa was also anotherassociation for national movement to open education for Indonesia before its Independece (McVey, ibid)

pesantren progressed significantly (ibid.132-133). Similarly, Christianity has used educational institutions as a vehicle for spreading their influence in Indonesia. Christian organisations benefited from the colonial power that supported missionaries and introduced modernity. Therefore, areas that were predominantly Christian such as North Sulawesi, Maluku and North Sumatra were famous as advanced education regions. However, some areas, such Kupang Nusa Tenggara Timur, are still marginalised areas in their education compared to other areas (Jones 1976: 36).

When Indonesia proclaimed its independence from the Dutch colonials, the first problem for the new government in the education sphere under the first President Sukarno, was to develop a national identity and to reconcile the religious and secular education systems. The government, to some extent, failed to compromise on both systems and still maintains both religious and secular education systems. The government decided to share the management of education between the Ministry of Education (MoNE) to manage secular schools and the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA) to handle religious schools*(pesantren* and *madrasah).* Therefore the system is considered dualistic (Siroji 2013 :134).

It is easier for Christians to adapt to the modern education system introduced by the Dutch. Jones (1976: 38) argued that Christianity's acceptance of westernisation and modernisation is easy because both are interrelated, and that education is an inseparable part of both elements. This is most marked for Protestant Christianity in Minahasa, Maluku, and Batak (Tapanuli) where modernisation, westernisation and education influenced them significantly. As the mission schools used the Dutch education system, it opened new opportunities for the Christians to continue their education and the opportunity to obtain civil service jobs (ibid). Therefore, it can be assumed that Christians can adapt to public and secular schools easily. However, the Christians have established private schools aggressively.

On the other hand, it was a quite a long process for the Muslim community to accept a modern education system. It is important to take into account that the most important aspect of Islamic education is to reach complete submission to *Alloh*(God). The education system is only an instrument for that main purpose. From Islamic teaching, knowledge can be divided into two types: revealed knowledge through the Prophet Muhammad and scientific knowledge which is obtained through scientific methods such as observation and research (Zakaria 2007). The available Islamic

education system during the colonial period was *Pesantren* and *Surau,* which was mainly traditional education for teaching Islamic subjects (revealed knowledge) such as *Al Qur'an and Al Hadits, Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence).

It can be argued that the development of scientific knowledge was begun by the early twentieth century when some alumni of the Al AzharUniversity of Egypt established *Madrasah.* At the early stage of development, *madrasah* was an Islamic schoolsreplicated the modern system introduced by the Dutch colonials (Siroji 2013: 132). Later some *pesantren* advanced their knowledge and education by promoting madrasah, but some still keep to the traditional subjects (to only teach revealed knowledge). Islamic knowledge not only covered revealed knowledge but also scientific knowledge, therefore, the *madrasah* grew rapidly especially when they integrated scientific knowledge which used to be considered as a secular subject (see the next discussion).

However, although Indonesia is a Muslim majority country, the situation was not simple as most Muslims send their children to *madrasah*or *pondok pesantren.* Thomas (1988: 902) shows that in 1977-1978 student enrolments at the schools under the MoNE reached around 76% of all students, while students under the MoRA consisted of only around 24%. One of the reasons that parents were reluctant to send their children to schools under MoRA is that they faced difficulties in transferring their education to vocational education. Since the *Madrasah's* intention was to produce a "good person", there were more religious subjects than secular subjects such as maths and science. On the other hand, schools under the MoNE aimed to produce an "informed person" and "efficient worker".

As a result, the government changed the policy to make *madrasah* more secular by increasing secular subjects and cooperated with higher education to accept students who graduated from *Madrasah.* Since 1975 the government has reformed the curriculum of *madrasah* so that the proportion of religious to modernised subjects is now 30 : 70. The new curriculum was called Curriculum 1975. By implementing this curriculum, the *madrasah* system has become closer to the public school system (A. Amirrachman 2009: 149). Responding to this change, Thomas (1988: 903) argued that MoRA has played an important role in integrating Western education into Islamic education with *madrasah* now resembling the secular schools.

Sharing management between two ministries has raised issues of imbalance as there is continuous competition between *sekolah* (the schools under the MoNE) and *madrasah* (the schools under MoRa). *Sekolah* are supported comprehensively by the government while *madrasah* are backed primarily by the Muslim community. Most of the *madrasah* were private institutions and are regulated heavily by the Muslim community. That includes funding and Bray and Thomas (1998) found that more than 94 % of the funds were collected from parents, and only around 6 % was from the government. In fact, most parents who send their children to study in *madrasah* were from the lower income levels. (A. Amirrachman 2009: 149).

There has been a trend among Muslim scholars in Indonesia to bring back the glory of the intellectual tradition of Islam. It is believed that the Muslim civilization and science developed significantly during European Dark Ages roughly around the 6th to 13th centuries. Scientific knowledge such as medicine and mathematics have powerful roots in Islam and there were many Muslim scholars who were pioneers of scientific knowledge such as al-Khawarizmi (780-850) for mathematics, Avicenna/Ibnu Sina (980-1037) for medicine, and al-Biruni (973-1048) for biology. Therefore, according to some Muslims, what were so called secular subjects were actually recognised knowledge in Islam. In this regard, Muslims have an obligation to learn and advance this knowledge for human benefit. The narrowing of Islamic knowledge may have arisen as a misunderstanding among Muslims in Indonesia as a result of Islamic education marginalisation during Dutch colonisation, which is strengthened by the government policy about secular and religious knowledge. It can be argued that the division between religious and secular knowledge was the result of the inadequacy of historical awareness within Indonesia of the strong Islamic intellectual tradition. As result the policy to integrate what were so called secular subjects into Islamic schools was relatively straight forward.

In terms of religious higher education, the need for functional officials for the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA) was one of the reasons for the establishment of Islamic higher education institutions. Following the dual system discourse of primary and secondary education, the government implemented a dual system for university too. From the MoNE side the post-secondary levels are the Universities, Academies, and Institutes; on the other hand, on the MoRA side, the tertiary levels consist of Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam/STAIN (State of Islamic Studies College), Institute Agama Islam

Negeri/IAIN (State Institute of Islamic Studies), and Universitas Islam Negeri/UIN (State Islamic University). Initially this was called *Akademi Dinas Ilmu Agama* (ADIA), then later in the nomenclature the system is called PTAIN (*Perguruan Tinggi Agama Islam)* (Zakaria 2007).

2.3.2. Public and Private Universities

Beside the dual religious and secular systems, generally education in Indonesia is supported by the government for public schools and there are also private schools. Higher education institutions, therefore, are classified into public and private institutions, which have been legally approved since the 1950s, and were strengthened by Law 30, 1990 (Welch 2007: 671). The history of public universities can be traced back to the establishment of Gajahmada University and the University of Indonesia in the immediate postwar period (1945 to 1950s). It was a government initiative to develop the universities. As soon as the independence of Indonesia was proclaimed, *Balai Perguruan Tinggi Indonesia* (Home of Higher Education of the Republic Indonesia) was established in Jakarta but, due to political instability at the time with the emerging conflict between the Dutch and Indonesians, it moved to Yogyakarta, which was the temporary capital city when Jakarta was re-occupied by the Dutch, and then to Klaten (a small city in central Java). When the conflict ended after around seven months, with the return of Indonesian's sovereignty, the government issued a regulation for the existing higher education facilities in Yogyakarta and Klaten to become *Universitas Negeri Gadjah Mada* (Gadjah Mada State University/UGM) (Cumming & Kasenda 1989: 145).

The government was directly involved in the establishment of the University of Indonesia when the capital city was returned to Jakarta along with Indonesian sovereignty. The government, based on the senate proposal, decided to leave UGM in Yogyakarta and establish another university in Jakarta now called the *Universitas Indonesia.* Although the government initiated their establishment, both universities were actually restructured from the previous higher education system in place during Dutch colonial period. As a result the Republican government was worried that the university could not be able to be controlled enough to support the interests of a new nation. Therefore, the government issued a regulation to intervene in the management of the university by extending the powers of the Ministry of Education over the appointment of

the faculty Deans and the Professors. Since then the issue of governance and autonomy has remained one of the major issues (Cumming & Kasenda 1989: 155).

Private universities, according to Hill and Wie (2013), are a recent phenomenon however there were two private universities, the Indonesian Islamic University (UII) in Yogyakarta and National University in Jakarta that were established in 1949 as soon as the Dutch colonials left Indonesia (Welch 2007: 670). Some of the prominent private universities such as Tarumanagara University and Trisakti University were established in the 1960s (Hill and Wie, 2012, 166). The establishment of private higher education was based on the Basic Education Law of 1950 which was ratified to become Law 12 1954. Similarly, the permission to establish a private university was stated in UU 15 of 1961. However, until 1990, the government did not pay attention to private universities (ibid).

In general, the development of private higher education can be observed from the situation in 1970-1980 where the enrolment in higher education was at its highest growth point. Within thirty five years, the enrolment numbers reached 3.4 million which is almost a twenty fold increase (Buchori Malik, 2004, 260). Private universities grew rapidly because of the demand for them on one side, and inability of government to supply the demand. Hill and Wie (2013, 161) identified several factors driving the growth of higher education in Indonesia, and private higher education did develop rapidly. The demand for higher education among students is one of the effects of the state's principle of education for all. Indonesia has been one of the lower-middle income developing countries where professional qualifications are now required for the labour market. A skilled workforce is needed to obtain professional jobs. Likewise, there is a requirement for teachers and professional civil servants to have at least a Bachelor's degree which increased the demand to for higher education, and as a result, it boosted the development of private universities.

Furthermore, the fact that Islamic education had established educational institutions before the Dutch colonial period can be considered as another supporting factor for the spread of private institutions. Islamic organisations such as Muhammadiyah have played a significant role in developing private universities in many places in Indonesia. The first Muhammadiyyah University was established in Jakarta in 1955, and afterwards Muhammadiyyah Universities were founded in several cities in Java and outside Java such as Padang (Sumatra), Makassar (Sulawesi) and Banjarmasin (Kalimantan). Another Islamic organisation, *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) was very close to

the *Pesantren* tradition, or the traditional Islamic system. (Welch 2012: 672) Some *pesantren* institutions under Nahdlatul Ulama institutionally or culturally have contributed to the establishment of Islamic higher education, for example the University of Hasyim Asyáry was established in 1967.

Besides religious organisations or leaders, private universities were generally developed by businessmen or ethnic communities and are stand-alone institutions. They are not only Islamic organisations, Christian organisations have founded private universities as well. Universities Pelita Harapan was founded by businessmen under the LIPPO group and Sanata Dharma by Jesuits (Hill and Wie 2013). Res PublicaUniversity was established in Jakarta in 1960 and was supported by Indonesian citizens of Chinese ethnicity. Profesor Mustopo University in Jakarta was a Dental College and it changed into a university in 1961 (Welch 2007: 672). Elite private universities are more responsive to the labour market and their alumni are better placed to secure jobs. These elite types of private universities are dominated by students of Chinese descent (Hill & Wie 2012: 166).

It is important to take into account that private education institutions in Indonesia are different from private schools in developed countries. Public universities are preferable because they are considered better quality and have lower tuition fees. The competition to study at public universities is high as only one in six candidates gains entry. In general, students who pass the enrolment test for public universities are from high-income families. One of the reasons is that they can prepare for the test better than students from average income or poor families. They are able to pay for course preparation instruction which makes them familiar with the examination questions. Students who fail the test for public university enrolment usually continue their education at a private university.

While the demand for private universities is very high, because the government cannot provide enough higher education facilities for all students, they are challenged with the enduring problem of low academic quality and are financially weak. The majority of private institutions cannot provide as high a quality learning process as experienced at public universities. Hill and Wie (2013: 161) observe that some elite-private universities can provide good quality learning and teaching but the majority could not be expected to do so.

It is important to take into account that the majority of private education institutions are predominantly for poor families (except for elite-private institutions). The decision to go to a private school is mainly due to failure to gain entry into a public university at academic selection time. Students from rural/remote areas and from economically deprived families are under-represented in the public system. The quality of education in rural areas is not as good as its urban counterparts. Bangay (2005: 170-171) concluded that private schools serve disadvantaged students. The financing of private higher education is similar to private schools in general, where their income is earned from student fees and donations because they get very limited public funds. They rely on part-time teachers/academic staff that are paid on an hourly basis and teach in more than one institution (Welch 2007: 69).

Another comparison between public and state universities and private ones is that private universities usually offer high demand programmes such as information technology, finance, accountancy and management while state universities teach all subjects including the less lucrative ones. Some by nature are specialised institutions like STIS (*Sekolah Tinggi Statistik*/Higher Education For Statistics) or STAN (*Sekolah Tinggi Akuntansi Negara*/State Higher Education for Accountancy).

In 1999 and 2009 the Indonesian government issued two controversial policies: BHMN/*Badan Hukum Milik Negara* (State Owned Legal Institution) and BPH/*Badan Hukum Pendidikan* (Education Legal Institution). The government reduced subsidies and made four prominent public universities BHMNs. As a result, the cost to study in those universities became four times the previous cost. They opened special entry paths for students from rich families to enrol in university with expensive tuition fees. In other words, the policy is part of education marketisation and commercialisation, although the BHP does state that the universities must recruit 20% of students from poor families but with good academic potential (Susanti, 2010). However, in 2010, the Constitutional Court declared that the BHMN and BPH are unconstitutional, therefore four prominent university BHMNs returned to their previous status as public universities.

2.3.3. Academic Staff Recruitment, Promotion System and Incentives

Before 1999 all Indonesian permanent academic staff holding academic tenure in public universities were civil servants, and the recruitment process, duties and wages

were under state control. However, university staff appointed at junior levels are usually students who have graduated from the university. In Indonesia, academic staff have to pass the recruitment process conducted by the various ministries. Besides Ministry of Research Technology and Higher Education (MoRTHE) and Minstry of Religious Affair (MoRA), various other ministries also have specialist Higher Education Institutions such as the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Health. However, since 1999 universities, under the status of *Badan Hukum Milik Negara/BHMN* (State Owned Legal Institutions), are expected to create their own patterns of student and academic staff recruitment. Therefore, in those five public universities, tenured-academics are not necessarily public servants. Those are the University of Indonesia (UI) in Jakarta, Gajah Mada University (UGM) in Yogyakarta, Diponegoro University (UNDIP) in Semarang, Bogor Institute of Agriculture (IPB) in Bogor, and Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB) in Bandung.

In general, Indonesia has developed a different promotion system for academic staff that is based on regulations aligned with civil service ranks and regulations about teaching members. As a civil servant, *Keputusan Mentri Pemberdayaan Aparatur Negara No.17/2003* (Ministry of Development Supervision and Human Resources decree 17/2013) states that academic staff must hold a Master's Degree. Based on government regulation 12/2002 they will initially obtain a rank of at least IIIb because this is given based on their education qualifications. They will increase their rank to III c and d, and later IV a,b,c,d,e. In other words, the most recent regulation states that there are only 8 ranks for permanent academics in the civil service system. However, since the previous regulation allowed people with a Bachelor's degree to apply for academic staff positions, there are academic staff who hold the rank IIIa.

Academic staff *(dosen)* are part of the civil service system in terms of income and career patterns. The Ministry of Development Supervision and Human Resources decree 17/2013 revises previous regulations about civil servants under 59/MENPAN/1987. Some regulations remain the same such as that teaching staff holding an academic position are denotated as a functional position. Each academic position has a particular civil service rank. Civil servant promotion is based on cumulative credit points (KUM) which cover three main activities: teaching, research, and community service. Previously, promotion depended on vacancies (Clark and Gardiner, 1991), but for academics it is mostly based on length of service and credit. Civil servants will still work until retirement in their 60s (Clark and Gardiner 1991).

Table 2.2. Promotion System Based on Decree 59/1987

Golongan (Level)		Total KUM (number of credits required)
Asisten Ahli Madya	IIIA	100
Asisten Ahli	IIIB	150
Lektor Muda	IIIC	200
Lektor Madya	IIID	300
Lektor	IVA	400
Lektor Kepala Madya	IVB	550
Lektor Kepala	IVC	700
Guru Besar Madya	IVD	850
Guru Besar	IV E	1000

Based on previous research on remuneration practice, Hill and Wie (2013, 170) conclude that incentive systems in Indonesia are complex and poor. However, they still refer to the civil service system based on 59/MENPAN/1987. They found several problems related to incentives and promotion for academic staff in Indonesia which are different from other countries. These include that performance is not related to reward; peer review procedure is not applicable; many problems come from internal university governance and there is a lack of a supportive academic environment. Clark and Oey Gardiner (1991, in Hill & Wie 2013) found that academics only spend 30% of their time on their university's tasks. Other research, (Suryadarma, et.al 2011 in Hill & Wie, 2013), shows that most income for academic staff was obtained from outside of their academic work such as paid research projects, consulting and additional teaching. The Academic promotion system, directed by the Directorate General of Higher Education, is extremely complex, and promotion at the middle and senior levels requires recommendations from the directorate.

Decree 38/1999 classifies four ranks for teaching members: *Asisten Ahli* (junior level), *Lektor* (lower mid-level), *Lektor Kepala* (upper-mid-level) and *Professor/Guru Besar* (senior level).

Table 2.3. Promotion System Based on Decree 38/1999

Academic Rank		Total KUM (number of credits required)
Asisten Ahli	IIIB	150
Lektor Muda	III C	200
Lektor	IIID	300
Lektor Kepala	IVA	400
Professor (Guru Besar)	IV E	800

As discussed before, *dosen* usually hold jobs outside teaching and researching. As they rise through the ranks and reach III D is reached, they would be more likely to hold a second job as a university administrator, government position, or in the private sector. Clark & Gardiner (1991) identified seven types of additional work and additional income that aligns which each type. Additional work such as administration only will not increase income significantly. However, other combinations like teaching only, other work only, administration + other work, administration + other teaching, other teaching + other work, and administration + other teaching + other work can increase income from 52 % to 113 %. While recent comprehensive data on academic salaries is not available, Hill & Wie (2012), using reflections based on field interviews and limited literature, found that actual income did not relate to official salaries because a significant part of people's income was from off-campus activity.

2.4. University and Academic Careers in New Zealand

An academic career in New Zealand aligns with academic life in many other developed and liberal countries. Therefore, it is very different from the higher education system in Indonesia. Drawing on Esping Anderson (1990), Baker (2012:5-6) argues that New Zealand, Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States share similar labour market strategies. Those five countries are considered as liberal countries because they maintain productivity and well-being using the strategies of an unregulated market, individual wage earner, and some level of social provisions for those who are materially disadvantaged. University restructuring processes, institutional governance, and academic practices, and family life trends follow similar patterns. However, Canada, Australia and the US have many internal variations of education as each state or province

creates its own independent education system, and there is a different proportion of public money invested in higher education and research. In addition to that, Shore (2010: 4) argues that international comparison is appropriate for New Zealand for three reasons: *First,* New Zealand has a small population with a high standard of living; *Second,* two of eight universities strive to be 'World Class'; *Third,* there are a number of private providers and government funded tertiary institutions, financed from public funding.

Before 1990, New Zealand universities were autonomous institutions, centres of culture, social and scientific laboratories of new knowledge. Tertiary education was considered to be a 'public good' and funded by the nation-state. However, according to a Treasury document from 1987, universities had failed to sufficiently contribute to economic development which was considered a more important function. The government, then, as an early adopter of neo-liberal policies, created the framework for a more competitive commercial environment for higher education institutions. The 1990 Education Amendment Act announced a single framework for all tertiary education institutions and introduced a system of direct funding through the Ministry of Education for every individual tertiary education institution (TEI) and private training establishment (PTE). Funding for universities relies on an annual prediction of equivalent full-time student (EFTS) and measurable outputs expressed in charters and corporate plans within annual statements. Some impacts of the framework are that different types of university are not easily distinguishable, and the ratio of students to staff has increased significantly (Codd 2001: 33-34).

The Green Paper in 1997 and White Paper in 1998 about the tertiary education review process, led to further trends in marketisation and regulatory control by government intervention. Universities which used to be 'elite' institutions were transformed to 'mass' education (Codd, 2001; Shore 2010). The Ministry of Education in the White Paper of 1998 emphasised the economic function of tertiary education, to improve New Zealand's competitive edge, economic growth, employment opportunities, productivity and social cohesion. In general, it can be concluded that economic investment as a role of the university came to the forefront, and it was indicated by the fact that the government investment for tertiary education decreased considerably (Codd 2001: 53)

Private tertiary education grew significantly after the New Zealand Qualification Authority (NZQA) was established in 1990 while the government issued a regulation to

limit the number of public universities to eight in 2000. NZQA has the function to register private education providers and to contract them to the government agency. For four years after the establishment of NZQA, the number of private providers increased from 0 to around 800, and it has remained stable since 1994. Since 2000, the government has facilitated private and public providers similarly as both received the same level of tuition fees for the courses in the same category. In other words, New Zealand's tertiary educational institutions can be publicly funded and this policy has seen a 4 % growth in private institutions. Under the GATS (General Agreement on Trade and Service), the New Zealand government cannot restrict the number of private institutions. Foreign institutions are entitled to the same level of subsidy as the public institutions when they have been registered and accredited by NZQA (Ziguras 2003: 95).

This turn in government policy was met with some resistance. The Association of University Staff of New Zealand criticised the policy of restricting the number of public universities but the government cannot limit the number of private universities, colleges, or numbers of students enrolled. The union also blamed the GATS commitment because it did not apply to the government procurement of education services (ibid). Two universities (Auckland and Canterbury) initiated legal proceedings against the government (Shore, 2010). Furthermore, this neo-liberal policy was considered as conflicting with the views expressed at the 1998 UNESCO World Conference for Higher Education which emphasised societal aims and needs for higher education, and declared higher education as a public service (Codd 2002: 54).

Responding to the critiques, the government established the Tertiary Education Advisory Commission (TEAC) to re-establish governmental guidance in the sector. Under TEAC's review, it was found that foreign providers in New Zealand were less regulated than local private institutions. Following these findings, the government of New Zealand has negotiated bilateral agreements to explain GATS. For example, the bilateral agreement with Singapore does not give Singapore providers any access under GATS, so Singapore does not give New Zealand providers access under GATS. However, New Zealand and Australia are bound by another agreement to grant open access for each other's providers (Ziguras 2003: 96). Based on OECD data, more than 90 % of higher education institutions in New Zealand are publicly funding, and around 9 % are government dependent private institutions which receive more than 50 % of their core funding from public funds (Vincent 2007: 3)

It has been argued that "export education" has played a significant role in New Zealand. It became the fourth largest export industry, and increased the economy by around $2 billion in 2006 as there were 90,000 foreign students seeking professional qualifications from higher education institutions in New Zealand as an English speaking country (Shore 2010: 4). New Zealand has implemented extensive neo-liberal reform, emphasised the commercial exploitation of academic research and promoted a strong connection between the universities and industry. New Public Management (NPM) has been introduced, hand in hand with entrepreneurialism, new calculative disciplinary practices with auditing technologies, and 'benchmarking' exercises (ibid). All in all, students are considered economically rational, tertiary education is increasingly determined as a private investment rather than a right, and New Zealand universities have changed to become transnational corporations.

Similar to another fourteen countries, the introduction of NPM in New Zealand has been followed by the introduction of Performance-Based Research Funding systems (PBRF). In New Zealand, under the equivalent full-time student (EFTS) framework, the government funds tertiary institution based on criteria decided by the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC). PBRF is a mechanism to monitor, audit, and to assist compliance with the rules and regulation which entitle the universities to government funding (Hick 2012).

The PBRF initiative aligns with the new managerial strategy to enhance the tertiary education institution's efficiency with the main principle of evaluating the research output of all academics by the Tertiary Education Commission. It continues previous policies such as user-pays and student loans as a consequence of viewing higher education institutions as a public good (Curtis, 2008). The evaluation of PBRF is based on three aspects: a Quality Evaluation (QE), Research Degree Completions (RDC), and External Research Income (ERI) with the proportion QE/RDC/ERI is 60:25:15. There are 45 tertiary education organisations (TEOs) qualified for PBRF but only 22 TEOs engaged in the exercise in the first round. There were eight universities, two polytechnics, four colleges of education, one *waananga*[11], and seven private training establishments which participated in the exercise (Curtis & Matthewman 2005).

Generally, surveys from academics in humanities and social sciences in late 2003 showed that they supported traditional forms of academic work. It strengthened the

[11]Tertiary institution funded publicly that provides education in a Maori cultural context

previous findings showing academics are overworked and stressed. Academics voiced concerns about increasing administrative work, were not happy with separating teaching and researching as well as the demands of the knowledge economy. Similarly, they gave low ranks for statements such as: “There should be a greater focus on wealth generating aspects of research” and “The tertiary sector should be run like a business”. Academics were confident about the quality of New Zealand higher education, somewhat pessimistic about the tertiary sector, and marginally optimistic about their careers (ibid).

2.5. Conclusion

It has been argued that academic life and career systems in developing countries is peripheral to the international system (Altbach, 2002). On the other hand, academic life and the academic career system in a developed country operates within an international system. This argument, to some extent is unavoidable as academic life in developing countries depends on the knowledge system and publication output of developed countries to a significant degree. However, after the GATS agreement the worldwide academic system has had substantial changes. The activities remain the same, teaching, researching, and service, but GATS has changed the spirit of activities to a more commercial basis and with direct lines to producing economic benefits. While internationalisation continues to foster academic and knowledge exchange, it has shifted from being a “public good” as a “social responsibility” to becoming “an internationally tradable service”.

On the other hand, academic life and careers in Indonesia have been developed in different ways from those of developed countries. The history of colonialisation means the independent higher education system in Indonesia has a very limited connection to the international system. Beside public and private institutions, higher education in Indonesia is classified based on religious and secular institutions. Unlike private institutions in developed countries, private institutions in Indonesia have been permitted and expanded because the government cannot accommodate the demands of student enrolment. Private higher education institutions in Indonesia access only very limited public funds.

As a consequence of the limited budget for higher education in Indonesia, remuneration of academic staff is still very low and not enough for middle-class

expenditure, therefore, the majority of academic staff in Indonesia have a second job. On the other hand, all of the tertiary education institutions in New Zealand are publicly funded, and the remuneration of academic staff is comparable to salary ranges in the international academic arena even if not particularly competitive. Similar to other countries which have implemented neo-liberal policies, New Zealand has introduced New Public Management (NPM) and implements PBRF as a performance-based research funding system. NZ academic life system tends to give more priority to research activities. By contrast, academic life in Indonesia is focussed on teaching activities. Research, and publication are important aspects for academic career advancement in Indonesia but the funding for this is very limited, and the evaluation system is based on administrative requirements, trust, friendship and collegiality.

CHAPTER III
RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 Introduction to the Research

This dissertation uses mixed methods such as autoethnography, quantitative data analysis using secondary data, and qualitative data analysis from in-depth interviews with relevant informants to the answer the research questions. As a member of the academic staff of an Indonesian university for 13 years, I have access to data and a personal narrative that is suitable for this research and its presentation. However, to eliminate weaknesses that are often attributed to autoethnography, those of being self-indulgent, introspective, and individualised (Holt, 2003; Duncan, 2004), I have incorporated quantitative and qualitative data analysis to enhance and enrich the findings.

3.2 Philosophical assumption & research paradigm guiding the study

As my research applied three methods: autoethnography, quantitative and qualitative methodology, it represents my thought that we need to understand the social reality by using various paradigms (mixed method). Regardless of the weaknesses of each paradigm: positivistic, interpretive and critical paradigm, those offer a positive side to see the social reality. The positivist paradigm assumes that social and physical reality is real, and the quantitative methodology has been derived from this positivistic paradigm. This assumes that social reality can be measured quantitatively, it is not random but it has pattern and order (Neuman 2000: 66). However, the social reality is a dynamic phenomenon and it cannot be understood the same way as understanding natural reality. Academic career or academic rank is a social reality and it can be understood as a measured thing, and a statistical method is useful for giving a brief picture describing the gender gap and influential factors for an academic career.

The interpretive paradigm emphasises the meaningful aspects of a social reality from participants in the study thereby studying particular social settings from participant point of view. Social action has a subjective meaning; accordingly a social context is important to understand a social reality (ibid 70). In this regard, I discuss the thoughts and opinions of participants regarding the gendered academic career in their university,

and I discuss my thoughts and opinions as I am part of the targeted community. In general, the study uses mixed methods to achieve a comprehensive and detailed understanding of gendered academic career advancement. The study is a triangulation of methods to confirm study results by using quantitative and qualitative data. The idea of triangulation is from Campbell and Fiske (1959, in Johnson et al 2007: 113) where 'multiple operationalism' for the validation process is applied using various methods, therefore, the result is close to a valid result. Furthermore, Denzin (1978, ibid) argued that triangulation is "the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon", and it include: (1) applying various sources of data; (2) using various different investigators and researchers; (3) applying various perspectives to explain findings, and (4) using different research methods. The incorporation of several sources of data, researchers, different perspectives and strategies can limit bias, and the research findings will be more convincing.

In other words, we need the integration of quantitative and qualitative research to provide a better understanding of social reality because social reality is a complex phenomenon. Mixed methods are used because of the limitations of quantitative and qualitative methods, so combining various methods is expected to minimise the limitations of quantitative and qualitative data collection, and it can strengthen this study.

In more detail, some previous researchers have identified the reasons for combining quantitative and qualitative methods. Fetters et al (2011) argued that the validity of quantitative findings can be assessed by qualitative data. Similarly, qualitative samples and findings can be generated by quantitative data. Furthermore, qualitative inquiry can be used to develop or to refine the instruments of quantitative method. Based on 19 definitions of mixed methods by leaders in the field, Johnson et al (2007) mentioned some reasons for conducting mixed methods such as; to present a comprehensive and more elaborated explanation; present a complete description, and the most important reason is to achieve the goal of research. They concluded that:

> Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth understanding and corroboration (Johnson et al 2007: 123).

According to Cresswell (2009) researchers need to examine four aspects when they decide to choose mixed methods: timing, weighting, mixing, and theorising. Timing

of quantitative and qualitative data collection can be in different stages (sequentially), or collected all at once (concurrently). With regard to weighting (priority), researchers can choose to give priority to either quantitative or qualitative data collection based on their interests or give equal priority for both forms of data collection. The process of mixing can be integrating, connecting and embedding. If the researchers choose to collect various kinds of data concurrently, they can choose to integrate and merge their quantitative and qualitative data. Various data are connected between data analysis if researchers choose to collect qualitative data first then quantitative data. Sequential quantitative data first, then qualitative data if the researchers choose to embedded their secondary data within a greater study (206-208). Furthermore, regarding theories or the framework applied in mixed methods, Creswell (2009) argued that those can be explicit, or implicit and not mentioned. When researchers explicitly mentioned their theories, those are usually found at the beginning part of their thesis (208). Based on those four aspects (timing, weighting, mixing, and theorising), Creswell (2009) classifies six types of mixed method strategy: sequential explanatory strategy; sequential exploratory strategy; sequential transformative strategy; concurrent triangulation strategy; concurrent embedded strategy, and concurrent transformative strategy. A more simple classification of mixed methods proposed by Fetters et al (2011) includes: sequential explanatory; sequential exploratory and convergent design.

In sequential explanatory quantitative data collection analysis comes first and qualitative data collection and analysis are conducted afterward. The priority of the research method is the quantitative method: both quantitative and qualitative data are connected but those are separated. Qualitative data analysis is applied to explain and interpret quantitative data, and is especially very valuable when the quantitative data finds unpredicted results. Theoretical frameworks for the overall procedures can be explicit or implicit (Creswell 2009: 211). On the other hand, the sequential explanatory strategy begins with qualitative data collection and analysis because the qualitative method is the priority for this method. Similarly, the theoretical framework can be either explicit or implicit. Quantitative data analysis is applied to strengthen and interpret qualitative data analysis to explore the phenomenon. This type has several advantages: it is helpful when researchers build a new instrument and it makes qualitative study more attractive and acceptable because it is strengthened by quantitative data (Creswell 2009: 211). In a convergent design quantitative and qualitative data are collected and analysed

concurrently and interactively. Sometimes both qualitative and quantitative data are collected separately and then both are integrated when data collection has been completed. Occasionally, both are analysed in different stages and then are integrated (Fetters et al 2011, 2137).

I began my study with my autoethnography which is basically qualitative research and then I continued with quantitative data collection and ended up with interviewing participants. Quantitative data collection and analysis in my study is applied to strengthen my study, and arguably, my study is close to a sequential exploratory strategy. My priority regarding quantitative and qualitative research method is quite equal, however, because I apply autoethnography and participant interviews, so qualitative study is more dominant. I collected and analysed data applying to autoethnography, secondary data, and participants separately, and eventually I incorporated them for my conclusion. Arguably, my strategy can be classified as a convergent design.

3.3 Autoethnography

Smith's (2005: 5) argues that personal experiences are valid data for autoethnography and institutional ethnography, accordingly, I use my autoethnography as one of sources of data in my thesis. From the perspective of institutional ethnography, people are the startpoints and participants in social relationships. The development of autoethnography relates to critiques of traditional research paradigms, especially positivism, that real science is solely quantitative or experimental, and requires avoiding the self and subjectivity. As an alternative approach to positivism, postmodernism and post-postivist thinking offers many ways for producing science and raises a question about the dominance of traditional scientific method. It creates space for unique, subjective and evocative stories to contribute to understanding the social world (Wall 2008).

Autoethnography is rooted in anthropology and it follows the traditions of ethnography, to bring research close to home and to value subjectivity. Autoethnographers argue that reality has never been permanent but it changes and is socially constructed. An individual agent plays an important role in the constructing of social reality, therefore subjectivity cannot be ignored in understanding it. The personal view in research -rejected in a positivism paradigm- has become the main aspect of

autoethnography. In ethnography, the researcher is an outsider in the subject of research but he/she investigates by engaging actively to figure out social phenomenon in a natural setting. In autoethnography, according to Duncan (2004: 30) "…the researcher is not trying to become an insider in the research setting. He or she, in fact is the insider".

Autoethnography has been popularised by Carolyn Ellis, Arthur Bochner, and Laurel Richardson as an extension of anthropological ethnography (Anderson 2006); and they are followed by several publications in journals of sociology (for example Dashper 2015; Denshire, 2014; Barton 2011). An autoethnographer in sociology believes that personal experience can be useful for exploring contemporary sociological problems: how macro and micro or structure and agency relate each other; how society, norm, and culture change or how society reproduces in the same way (Wall 2008). Moreover, according to Anderson (2006), autoethnography is an essential aspect in qualitative research for sociology. The argument goes that personal experience was used by several researchers, for example, Nels Anderson used it for exploring the lifestyles of the homeless in 1923, Ralph Turner used his personal involvement in World War II for his research in 1947, and Donald Roy applied personal experience to a study about factory workers in 1959/1960 (ibid).

Autoethnography not only opens room for self, but also considers self and personal stories as the main aspect for understanding social phenomenon. In other words, writing an autoethnography is telling others about the researcher's story or personal experience. However, according to Mitch Allen (in Ellis, Adam, Bochner 2011),autoethnography as one of the qualitative methods should be different from just an ordinary story as a researcher, because autoethnographers have a set of theoretical and methodological tools as well as a research literature. Similar to other methods, autoethnographers use personal experiences beside methodological tools and research literature to answer their research questions to get both insiders and outsiders to understand the topics (ibid).

3.4 Starting My Autoethnography

I began my PhD studentship in the UoA, and the first and second meetings with my supervisors refocused my topic; it became the gender gap in academic careers and a comparison between Indonesia and New Zealand. I obtained some very interesting

feedback from my supervisor suggesting that I write my thesis using autoethnography. “You can use your experience to discuss your topic because you are a member of the subject of your research” said my supervisor. I felt that the suggestion was quite strange because I learned and had taught research methods before and, in my understanding, subjectivity was forbidden in research. I had the same questions as Silvia in Elis’s article (1999), about how to deal with validity, reliability, trustworthiness and bias in research. However, I thought the idea was very helpful. I trust my supervisors, but I was quite worried about the quality of my thesis: will it follow scientific norms?

Another suggestion that made me feel happier was that the autoethnography would be used to introduce the thesis but I would complete my analysis using both quantitative and qualitative data. Using the various methods would enrich my data, but I felt doubtful about the methodology and paradigms of my research. I asked whether all paradigms (positivism, interpretive and postmodern) can be mixed in one research project. All of these were questions in my mind but I could not find the answers directly because I had a very limited knowledge of autoethnography as a method. My supervisor warned me, “If you are not happy to use autoethnography you can ignore my suggestion. You are free to decide to use it or not”. And I decided to try and find as much information about autoethnography as possible.

When I tried writing my autoethnography for the first time, I felt I could do it very easily, and I would enjoy writing it. I thought back to past times, and times of happiness and sadness arrived in my mind. I enjoyed this but suddenly I felt that I had a problem about the story I was writing. I was worried about writing information that may hurt others when they read it. I think my anxiety is almost similar to Daspher’s (2015) note about how to deal with others in my story. I kept doubting my project, but surprisingly my autoethnography draft obtained a very positive response from my proof reader, my supervisors, and my examiners at the provisional stage. As a member of an academic staff community in a non-Western culture, my experience in this career is considered unique and refreshing and informative for people with Western-culture backgrounds. From the response of at least the first five readers of my autoethnography it made me confident that I could follow the purpose of autoethnography: to write my personal story which is evocative and provocative; and making the link between micro and macro levels, agency and structure in academic career advancement. The question was, how do I, as an agent, deal with different structures and culture and handle the

opportunities and constraints in my career? Compared to the existing literature on academic career advancement in New Zealand and Indonesia, I believe that my thesis will present a quite different approach and perspective about the gender gap in Western and non-Western cultures.

My self-confidence has improved the more literature I read. I think I am very much inspired by Ellis (1999), *Heartful Autoethnography*. Her narrative on basic questions on autoethnography is very helpful, and very easy to understand. Her efforts have changed my image of research and journal articles from being very serious to becoming an activity similar to reading for leisure. A previous writer on autoethnography, Sparkes (1996), is inspiring too. The purpose of his autoethnography is "to engage the reader by communicating the subjectivity of such moments in a provocative, disruptive, fragmented, and emotionally charged manner".(p.463). I believe I can present a reflexive narrative story so the reader can feel the situation, and the difficulty and the happiness of being involved in this career. I am inspired by Humphreys (2005) because my autoethnography is different from the "ideal" or "standard" Western style career in academia. As an academic in a non-Western system, my career follows the Indonesian style. Similarly, my autoethnography is expected to open the window into the world of a female academic career, from a non-Western perspective.

In addition to that, the notion of an analytical autoethnography is interesting because I feel I can meet the criteria for the key features (Anderson 2006). *First,* I am a complete member of social world in this study because I have been involved in this career for more than 10 years and am able to use the principle of analytic reflexivity. Analytic reflexivity is considered an important aspect of analytic autoethnography in that the researcher needs to express their awareness and to connect it to their research situation and explain how the researcher, informant and research situation influence each other (Anderson 2006: 380). I know well the situation of an academic career in Indonesia because I have been part of an academic staff since 2003.

The *second* feature of analytic autoethnography is that the researcher is highly visible in the text in that the researchers can express their feelings and their experiences, and therefore the research recognises subjectivity as the main element of the research. However, in this dissertation, and as autoethnography is only one of the methods used, the expression of the feeling and experience is only used in the related chapters. Textual visibility of the self cannot be separated from the *third* characteristic that is dialogue with

informants beyond the self and the connection between the researcher and others. Autoethnography is not only based on self-experience but also that of others, and interconnection between self and others to re-establish and discover new social science. This confirms the last principle, commitment to an analytic agenda, since the final purpose of autoethnography is to develop, refine, and extend social theories based on empirical evidence.

There have been several studies applying autoethnography for exploring academic careers. Pelias (2003) is quite often the reference for autoethnography about academic careers. For example Sarah (2006: 154) considers his autoethnography on academic careersas "…a short, humorous, but insightful offering that gives the reader a look into the daily habits and demands of academic life." Pelias (2003) describes academic activities such as teaching, service and research, and expresses the feelings of people in academia, which is quite uncommon to find as it explores these in a very natural, honest, direct and straightforward way. The way he describes how people in academia experience research is expressive. Academics must conduct research as their main task when they are not doing teaching and service. In general, the academics play their role in research, just like a tourist, as they "never get beyond the surface of things".

Humphreys (2005) presents an academic autoethnography using three vignettes and he claims to have become one of the "academic tourists". His endeavour is to develop a way for people who read his account to have a sense of enjoyment and understand the inconvenience of starting a new career in academia in middle-age. and hopes that the reader can detect his essential moment in his careers. His account began with his story about his doctoral work, his pain as his topics were rejected and how he felt exhausted and frustrated, and carries on with his experience on the inspirational time when his joint paper was published, being offered a position, and presenting a paper for the first time at a conference.

I strongly agree that autoethnography has become one of the initiatives to provide more space for women to speak, to contribute to knowledge, to develop theory and to strengthen *levels of agency.* I believe personal narratives provide a way to criticise academic life socially, politically and culturally and can play a role in providing context and constructing knowledge. By providing more room for women to speak, some can open the possibility of new initiatives for family friendly policies in universities, and networking and support for mothers in academia (Castañeda& Isgro, 2014).

3.5 Quantitative Data Analysis Using Secondary Data

The statistical analysis is presented after my autoethnography in order to broaden my personal narrative and to contextualise that account, as well as the material covered in the opening chapters. Quantitative data analysis is typically used to test a theory, to confirm or to reject it. As noted in the preceding chapters, it has been argued and theorised widely that inequality in higher education systems is prevalent, and based on these claims it is assumed that gender is a significant factor in higher education systems, especially for academic career advancement. The statistical analysis used in my research clarifies such theorising, and provides some quantified description of 'the gender gap' and to what extent gender is influential for academic career advancement. Interestingly, the result of the statistical analysis does not fully support the hypothesis on the gender gap in academic careers, especially in the religious university in Indonesia. (This challenge to the theory of the gender gap, that is a Western theory, is discussed more in the later qualitative data analysis from interviews with relevant informants.)

The material for the quantitative data analysis component of the research is collected from the curriculum vitae (CV) for academic staff from (i) the University of Auckland *Calendar* in 2012 and 2015, and (ii) the CV's of civil servants in Indonesia. Data from the *Calendar* consists of academic rank, year of appointment and educational qualification. The data for civil servants in Indonesia consists of name, civil service and academic rank, educational qualification, sex, and civil service identity number. Academic rank is the dependent variables and is an ordinal variable because the rank is clear and the interval between rank is not clear. The available data does not provide the exact number of points for every academic, accordingly it can not be considered as an interval – ratio variable. Data from the religious university in Indonesia is from the Centre of Data and Communication, however the name of the centre has changed with the restructuring process in the university. It is unpublished data but it is quite valid and the most updated data is for 2013. Data from the secular university is published data from the website of the Ministry of Education *Pangkalan Data Perguruan Tinggi*(Centre of Higher Education Institution) in 2014. However, it is commonly understood that the data is rarely updated but it is the only data for academics available publicly in Indonesia.

Statistical analysis uses secondary data (Hofferth 2005). Many types of social data have been available in statistical documents and social indicators from various areas such as population, family, work, and income exist and it is common for researchers to use them in their research. Bryman (2004) identifies various benefits of secondary data analysis related to cost and time, the opportunity for longitudinal analysis, quality of data, subgroup analysis, the opportunity for cross-cultural analysis, and the opportunity to have more time for data analysis. Furthermore, Boslaugh (2007) argues that secondary research gives advantages to a researcher because it does not need a long and expensive research process for conducting field research, and preparing and cleaning data.

However, it has been recognised that existing datasets frequently do not fit exactly with a design model or research question as the existing statistics collected are not for the specific purpose of testing hypothesis. Furthermore, there are many problems related to existing statistics, for example, the *fallacy of misplaced concreteness,* or false impressions of accuracy; validity problems as the researcher's definition does not match with the definition developed by the institution providing the data, and problems related to the fact that the needed data is not reported. In addition to that, secondary data analysis has another weakness, in the lack of availability of data needed if the research design is broader than the data provided (Neuman, 2000; Boslaugh, 2007). Similarly, Bryman (2004) classifies four limitations of analysing secondary data: *first,* researchers have limited knowledge of the data; *second,* the data is complex with wide numbers of respondents and variables; *third,* a lack of data quality because it is not gathered for specific topics and, therefore, leads to the *fourth* limitation which is that key variables are unavailable.

3.5 Quantitative Data Analysis

There are several processes in data analysis such as data management, reading and memoing, describing, classifying, interpreting, and visualising (Cresswell, 2003). In brief, the data analysis for this research includes; data description, data classification based on the research question and the purpose of research, and data interpretation. Data descriptions for existing statistical data is presented in the form of graphs and tables. The data is classified based on gender and countries and divided into several parts such as; data on academic qualifications, career advancement, age, length of tenure, number of

children, and age of marriage. Next, it is interpreted by descriptive analysis and inferential statistics to show significant factors for career advancement. Inferential statistics are developed based on the assumption that researchers use probability samples and random processes to come to a conclusion about a population, and to explain statistical significance, but it does not prove absolute prediction. Generally, multivariate regression analysis requires interval-ratio data, and ordinary least square (OLS assumption). Multiple regression analysis results should present findings on R-squared (R2) that is a set variable influence dependent variables and the effect of each variable for dependent variables. (Neuman, 1994: 337-338).

Secondary data analysis in this study follows a quantitative approach in terms of research design. The dependent variable is academic career advancement as the main topic, which in this research means "an advancement through career grades for academic staff and is based on scholarship measured against set criteria."However, the dependent variables in this study are from ordinal scales and the data is not distributed normally. Some scholars argue that multivariate methods for interval-level variables work for ordinal variables because these methods are flexible and only cause small bias. Moreover, Winship & Mare (1984: 523) state, "Whatever problems they may have presented methodologists, ordinal variables need present no special impediment to sound substantive research". In addition to that, the research uses almost all cases in a population and the data is fairly large and somehow can be classified as a population based study. Accordingly, ordinal and binary regression are the most appropriate methods of data analysis. Binary regression is used to model two categorical variables. On the other hand, ordinal regression is a statistical analysis between classification and regression, accordingly it presents some agreements and distinction from both classification and regression (Gutierrez P.A & Navarro F.F 2016)

Binary regression is used to compare contributing factors when dependent variables are classified into two different categories, and in my research, academic rank is classified into low and high rank. Those categories have developed from five ranks for academic careers (it is explained in Chapter 4). Ordinal regression is used when dependent variablesare classified into three: low, middle, and high rank. I use SPSS to analyse data using both binary and ordinal regression to find the score of Standard Error (SE), the score of p (value) labelled by Sig. SPSS provides the score of *odd ratio* labelled

by Exp B for binary regression but not for ordinal regression.[12] Accordingly, for ordinal regression I use the score of p-value (Sig) to make a judgement whether independent variables, especially gender with other independent variables, (length of tenure, age, and educational qualification) is a significant factor for a dependent variable (academic career advancement) and the significance level is fixed at 5% (α=0.05).

Given that ordinal regression has similarity to the linear regression I assess the multicollinearity between independent variables using the linear regression. Multicollinearity, is an interdependency condition between independent variables. It has been argued that multicollinearity has resulted a very serious threat to influence of independent variables, therefore it must be checked before running the regression test (Farrar & Glauber, 1967: 93). Multicollinearity is detected using the score of the variance inflation factor (VIF), and when the score of VIF is <10 this indicates that the parameter of estimate is not significantly influenced by the existence of multicollinearity (Dilman 1991 in Griffit & Harvey 2001: 602). If the VIF score is closer to 0 this means that the level of multicollinearity is lower: by contrast if the score is closer to 10 it means that the multicollinearity is higher.

3.6 Qualitative data analysis from in-depth interviews with relevant informants

An in-depth interview is a method of collecting data to gain information in an unstructured way. As an in-depth interview is part of qualitative research, I am interested more in the authenticity of information than the validity or reliability. Neuman (2004 171) clarifies authenticity as, "…giving a fair, honest, and balanced account of social life from the view point of someone who lives it everyday life." Furthermore, in qualitative research, researchers *"...*are more concerned with giving a candid portrayal of social life that is true to the experiences of people being studied."(ibid)

Unlike a survey, an in-depth interview does not have fixed questions, and the variables consist of a list of opened-ended or closed questions. With the open characteristics of in-depth interview questions, it is possible for a researcher to collect rich data. However, ethical issues are an essential aspect for in-depth interviews and qualitative research. Bloom and Crabtree (2006) point out four ethical issues in qualitative research. *First,* researchers must convince their informants that their

[12] http://www.ats.ucla.edu/stat/spss/faq/oratio.htm

information will not bring them into any dangerous situation. Therefore, researchers must keep the information confidential because of the *second* ethical issue which is that informants may raise sensitive issues which can cause conflict among the members of their community. Researchers can choose anonymity, or not mentioning the identity of their informants to keep the information confidential. Accordingly, I need to make the identity of my participants anonymous, so they cannot be identified by anyone. Similarly, I do not mention the name of the institution where my participants come from. The *third* aspect is that researchers must give enough information to the informants about the nature of their research and make sure they are well informed about the voluntary nature of participating in the research. That means that participants are free to withdraw from their participation. The *Fourth,* aspect is that researchers must guarantee that their informants are not being exploited so that the "reimbursement" of participant efforts is probably necessary.

I had criteria for the informants, such as heterogeneity in terms of age, faculty, gender, religious and student organisation background (especially in Indonesia) and their ethnic and country background in Auckland. The participants had to have an academic rank from Lecturer, Senior Lecturer, Associate Professor and Professor, or civil service rank in Indonesia. For the method of participant selection, I used snowball sampling, a type of non-random sample where I began with a participant, and asked the participant to recommend other participants. I decided to invite the first participant based on their profile available in the university website, and based on my supervisor's recommendation. In Indonesia, I began with my colleagues with the criteria of being interested in this topic indicated by their profile and activities, and then the first participants recommended other participants from other faculties. Some candidates or participants were reluctant to participate in my research because they could not manage their time. I focused on participants who gave positive responses, and some of them recommended their colleagues to be interviewed. I learned their profile, and I especially focused on their ethnic and department backgrounds to obtain a variety of ethnic and department backgrounds.

In general, attracting academics to be involved in my research does not challenge me too much. I invited participants by sending them e-mail. Some were very cooperative and they responded to my e-mail positively and then arranged a time for interview. However, some informants raised some questions about the confidentiality of their

information. I found an informant who decided to delay her participation for quite a long time because of her anxiety that she could be identified easily, but eventually she decided to participate. Other informant candidates withdrew from participation mostly because of issues around managing their time.

There are 30 participants are involved in my research: 15 from Indonesia and 15 from New Zealand. I have criteria for the informants, such as the heterogeneity in terms of age, faculty, gender, religious and student organisation background (especially in Indonesia) and ethnic and countries' background in Auckland. Table 1 describes the features of the participants in my research in Indonesia, and Table 2 describes the participants in New Zealand universities.

Table 1 Participants in Indonesia

Number of Participant	Age	Gender	Ethnicity/Country of Origin	School
No.1	50	F	Indonesia	Social Science
No.2	50	F	Indonesia	Social Science
No.3	50	F	Indonesia	Natural Science
No.4	40	F	Indonesia	Education
No.4	39	F	Indonesia	Psychology
No.5	39	F	Indonesia	Social Science
No.6	41	F	Indonesia	Religious Study
No.7	45	M	Indonesia	Social Science
No.8	45	M	Indonesia	Natural Science
No.9	40	M	Indonesia	Economy
No.10	52	F	Indonesia	Social Science
No.11	52	F	Indonesia	Criminology
No.12	40	F	Indonesia	Public Health
No.13	40	F	Indonesia	Public Health
No.14	45	F	Indonesia	Social Science
No.15	52	M	Indonesia	Social Science

Table 2. Participants in New Zealand

Number of Participant	Age	Gender	Ethnicity/Country of Origin	School
No.1	50	F	Europe	STEM*
No.2	41	F	The United Kingdom	STEM
No.3	41	F	Latin America	STEM
No.4	60	M	Asia	STEM
No.5	55	F	The United Kingdom	STEM
No.6	42	F	NZ	STEM
No.7	53	M	NZ	STEM
No.8	54	F	NZ	Non-STEM
No.9	42	F	US	Non-STEM
No.10	65	M	NZ	Non-STEM
No.11	54	F	NZ	STEM
No.12	50	F	Southern Europe	Non-STEM
No.13	41	F	Australasia	Non-STEM
No.14	47	M	Asia	STEM
No.15	43	M	Non-White	Non-STEM

*STEM=one of Science, Technology, Engineering, Maths[13]

I followed the guidelines for interviews (Curtis & Curtis 2010: 38) such as introducing myself, explaining the purpose of the research and at least I asked the informants if they would read my Participant Information Sheet (PIS) and Consent Form (CF) and gave them the opportunity to read these before starting the interview as I attached these together with my invitation to my participants. I asked permission to record and checked my recording device to ensure that it worked properly, and informed my participants that they can pass on answering my questions if they felt uncomfortable with sharing their information with me. I made sure that participating in my research was entirely voluntary and would not have any negative impact on my participants. Following the UoA ethics approval guidelines, in my PIS I informed my participants of the title of

[13] I use STEM category rather than the name of school for NZ participants to respect the participant's confidentiality, I found some participants were reluctant if their identity or ethnicity and school would be mentioned in my thesis. As they are a minority at their department, they do not want to be recognised easily if both are mentioned.

the project, and gave a brief and short description of it. Time allocated for an interview is around 60 minutes, but some participants asked for a shorter interview, based on agreement, and some allowed me to extent the time allocation if we had a communicative and interactive discussion. I opened my interview with a question on my participant's age, and most of participants, especially in Auckland, replied my question with smile or laugh. An important note about my field research is about the language barrier as I am not a native English speaker, and sometimes participants could not understand my question, but when I explained by using different sentences they understood me. Some were reluctant to answer my questions, and said that the questions relating to beliefs and religion were not appropriate to the topic. When this occurred I just apologised and went ahead to the next question.

Given that an in-depth interview is presented to enrich the data from my autoetnography, sometimes, I used my personal experiences to compare to experiences from my participants besides using a guideline and list of open questions. This works for participants in Indonesia but in Auckland I mostly used my list of questions which were developed based on the literature review (as attached). However, topics discussed were similar covering education background, family background and circumstances, experiences about promotion applications, opinion on promotion procedures, opinion about the gender gap and motherhood. Those topics are then formulated into headings and sub headings in qualitative data analysis (Chapter 7 and 8).

For interviews in Indonesia, managing time was the most difficult challenge. Some candidates agreed to participate but I could not get them to follow up the agreement. When I tried to remind them of the agreement, some did not really respond positively. However, I found some informants who really supported my research and spent time with me. Some asked for compensation for taking part in the research, either seriously or only for a joke, and some did not really care about compensation. I provided New Zealand souvenirs as a gift, as a tradition of friendship. It is not really an implementation of rational choice theory because the price of a souvenir is not really comparable with the value of the time spent in the interview. In terms of language, interviewing in English is more efficient because then I did not need to translate, but some were reluctant and preferred to use Indonesian.

I realised that I have used quite general criteria, and therefore, this study has a limitations in terms of participant representation. The study represents the age group of

around 40-50 and generally they are in middle or senior positions in their academic careers. The fact that I focused on participants who had experience in promotion procedures lead to this limitation (the age structure of my participants clustered in). However, I never consciously determined this age group, I just followed recommendation from previous participants and gave priority to those who responded to my invitation positively. Actually, it was very possible to find academic staff of around 30 years old who have been in middle positions but not those who have been granted senior positions in their early 30's. Academic career promotion in Indonesia can be processed soon after an academic is recruited into the civil servant system. Initially, an academic will be granted a 3B, the rank of a teaching academic, and can apply for a junior level rank after two years. It takes two years to apply for a middle-lower rank and another two years to progress to a middle-upper rank. Under the old regulations, before 2012 where an academic could apply for senior position without a PhD, it was still possible for academic staff to obtain this position in their 30's. However, in reality, the group of academics who are 30 years old are still in their early, or early middle careers and they are busy to apply for PhD. The youngest academic staff member who had been granted a senior position, based on data in 2012, is a 34 year old male, and another two male academics are 36 years old. Others are still granted middle and lower positions. Especially for female academics, they will still have a baby or young children therefore they will focus on their family because, normally, they will start to reproduce in their early 20's. Some of my respondents are around 40 years old and were newly promoted into senior positions in 2015, and some have been in middle positions for quite a long period. For those who are around 50 years old, they have been in senior positions for quite long periods and have not reached the rank of Professor.

Age is not public information in New Zealand. I only knew the age of participants after I asked them in my interview. Again, it was not my intention that my participants in NZ clustered around 40 and 50 years old. It would probably be harder to earn middle and senior positions in Auckland at around 30 years old because normally permanent positions are reached after academic staff complete their PhD and have spent several years teaching post-doctoral degree. This is especially true for female academics who have babies or young children, or are in a traditional family relationship. Those who earned senior positions before 40 years old would probably still stay single, therefore, they cannot talk about the influence of family life on their career. In brief, I argue that

although my participants who are clustered around 40 and 50 years old give some limitations to my study, this group is more rational for exploring gendered academic careers, and their experiences would probably be different from the younger age group.

The limited influence of neo-liberalism in Indonesia led to limited influence of internationalisation; therefore, all academic staff hold Indonesian citizenship. They may have different ethnicities such as Javanese, Sumatran, or Sundanese. However, those are still Indonesian ethnicities. By contrast, the strong influence of internationalisation in New Zealand led to a heterogeneity of ethnic backgrounds for the academic staff in this country. My participants are academics from various countries and continents such as the United Kingdom, Australia, Latin America, or Asia, and there are only 5 New Zealanders. Some have previous experience in other countries before they were appointed as permanent academic staff, and others started their academic careers in New Zealand. Some participants decided to develop their career in New Zealand because they feel comfortable with the economic, political and social life in NZ. Some participants have married New Zealanders and decided to move to their partner's country. Others are immigrants and have found a new life in this country.

CHAPTER IV
AUTOETHNOGRAPHY AND HABITUS

Geertz (1973) argues that "if you want to understand what a science is … you should look at what the practitioners of it do… (311) Furthermore, he argues that…what the practitioners do is ethnography, and ethnography is a thick description (314). In this chapter, I write an ethnography, with thick description to contextualise Bourdieu's theory on field, habitus, and forms of capital, based on my personal experience of an academic career. It aims to enable a deeper understanding of women's experience on this topic because my understanding of academic career, combined with my background in the women's movement in Indonesia, allow me to approach an academic career from an insider's perspective. Insider experiences are valuable and allow one to position oneself in the research. The quantitative and qualitative chapters that follow this broaden and strengthen the work by giving focus to the structural and experiential elements of the project.

I use Smith's idea (2005: 5) to include myself as one of participants in my research because personal experience, according to her, is valid data for autoethnogrphy and Institutional Ethnography. Smith's concept of Institutional Ethnography emphasises the importance of a sociology for people, where people are the standpoints and participants in social relationships and organisations. In Smith's concept of the relation of ruling, society is created by those in dominant position and it continuously excludes women from the ruling apparatus (ibid, p.xi). However, beside the power of people's agency, ruling relations are interconnected in many aspects. Accordingly, people do not accept domination without resistance (Taber, 2010). Arguably, by applying Institutional Ethnography, people can understand how the institutions work and locate them within the relations of ruling (Smith 2005: 7).

Later, in the following chapters, my experience will be compared to data from Indonesia and the situation in Indonesia will be contrasted to other countries with a specific focus on data from a New Zealand university. The data analysis within the subsequent chapters should provide a greater level of nuance than the Gender Gap Index, and explain the different types of experience between men and women in academic careers.

4.1.Context

Indonesia gained independence from the Dutch and then from Japanese colonisation on 17 August 1945. Indonesia's population is 237.641.326 (Statistics Indonesia, 2010)[14]. Indonesia, as an independent nation, was built based on *Pancasila,* or five principles (belief in the Divinity of one God, humanity, the unity of Indonesia, public deliberation based on wisdom, and social justice for all Indonesians) which were agreed by the founding fathers to be the foundation of Indonesia as a country. The diversity of Indonesia has been recognised in its motto: *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity). As the manifestation of the Divinity of one God, there are several national religions such as Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Indonesia is not an Islamic state but almost 90% of the population are Muslim so it is often classified as a Muslim country. As I work in an Islamic University, a brief discussion of Islam in Indonesia is important.

It has been argued that the character of Islam in Indonesia has been influenced by the existence of Muslim organisations such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah since the early twentieth century. NahdlatulUlama is considered a traditional Muslim organisation because it keeps to traditions developed by classical clerics *(ulama)* based on the Holy Qur'an and the Prophetic Tradition. On the other hand, Muhammadiyyah claims to be a manifestation of modern Islam because this movement has been influenced by the movement in Islam to purify Islam from heresy or practices which are not recognised by Islam.

Development of Islam in Indonesia has been characterised by the flourishing of Muslim intellectuals, who promote civil society, modernisation, democratisation, and pluralism. *Pesantren,* the original Islamic education system in Indonesia, and *Madrasah,* an Islamic education system existing in other Islamic countries (Egypt, Pakistan) have played a significant role in developing Islam in Indonesia. Muslim intellectuals usually grow from *santri* (students enjoying an education from *pesantren*) who then continue their higher education in either the Islamic or secular system. In respect of the recognition of Indonesia as a Muslim country, Welch (2007) concludes that, regardless of the emergence of some militant groups such as *Laskaar Jihad* and *Jema'ah Islamiyah*,

[14] http://sp2010.bps.go.id/

the majority of Muslims in Indonesia are moderate, open minded and supportive of scholarship (ibid.667).

According to the Gender Gap Index Indonesian rankings have fluctuated from around 68th to 97th during the last six years, out of 115 to 135 countries, which is the best among other Muslim countries. As a Muslim majority country, Indonesia is unique because, according to Freedom House, Indonesia has been considered a stable democratic country since 1998 (Luisser 2011). Moreover, Rinaldo (2008) shows that women in Indonesia have participated actively in the public sphere. Therefore, to some extent the situation in Indonesia has challenged the notion and some previous literatures that Islam does not align with democracy and that Islam has marginalised women's rights.

While it is important to note the considerable advances the country has made it is clear that, like other countries emerging from histories of colonialism, it continues to face significant challenges. After 68 years as an independent country, Indonesia still struggles with the problem of poverty. The number of people living under the poverty line reached 32 million; so almost half of all families are living around the national poverty line. According to the Human Development Index (HDI), Indonesia has been ranked 121st out of 187 countries, and between 1980 and 2012 Indonesia's HDI rose by 1.3% annually from 0.422 to 0.629, which is still below the regional average.

Previous literature on social stratification in Indonesia is quite limited, but Indonesian society is highly stratified. Social justice, as one principle in *Pancasila*, is still far from reality for the masses. In the period after independence, Van der Kreof (1956) identified six social groups from the lower class to the upper class: (1) the peasantry, (2) the rural and urban proletariats, (3) the entrepreneurial class, (4) the intelligentsia and semi-intelligentsia in government service and the professions, (5) the traditional aristocracy, and (6) the hierarchy of Muslim clerics. Several decades afterward, Dick (1985) shows that the middle class has flourished as the result of political stability and the oil boom of the 1970s (p.141).

The most recent research, Pattinasarany (2012), classifies urban society in West Java and East Java (as examples of class stratification in Indonesia) and divides the data from the Indonesian Life Family Survey (ILFS), 2007, into six groups based on profession and monthly income. Professions such as doctors, architects, accountants, lawyers, professional dancers, and company owners, are classified as the 'upper-upper'

class with monthly incomes of more than Rp 6.000.000/$NZ 750. Lower levels of managers, finance controllers, civil servants and management positions such as supervisors and advisors for the head of local government positions are considered the 'lower-upper' class, with monthly incomes around Rp3.000.000/$NZ 375 - Rp6.000.000/$NZ 750. These elite classes occupy around 14.3% of the sample.

Furthermore, Pattinasarany (2012) finds that around 33.3 % are middle class which can be divided into 'middle-upper' and 'middle-lower' class. High levels of non-manual occupations such as bank tellers, administration staff, non-management civil servants, nurses, pharmacists, teachers, and lecturers are classified as 'middle-upper' class, with monthly incomes around Rp 1,500,000/$NZ 187.5 - Rp3,000,000/$NZ 375. Meanwhile the 'middle lower' class, such as tailors, carpenters, and hairdressers are those with monthly incomes around Rp 900,000/$NZ 125 - Rp1,500,000/$NZ 187.5. Finally, the lowest levels are the'upper-lower' and 'lower-lower' classes making up 52.4 % of the sample. Technicians, security, private drivers, cashiers, and small business, are 'lower-upper' class, while shop keepers, public drivers, and domestic workers with monthly income <Rp 600,000/$NZ 75 make up those who earn the lowest income.

However, Pattinasarany (2012) also mentions that class stratification based on income and occupation in both provinces (West Java and East Java) is very difficult to assess because the range of monthly income is very broad from 0 - Rp 40.000.000 (0 - $NZD 5.000). In addition to that, many Indonesians hold dual jobs/incomes, and some have no job at all. In terms of lecturers and teachers, the data has not included information about their incomes after the implementation of *Peraturan Menteri Pendidikan Nasional No.42/2007* (The Decree of Ministry of Education 42/2000). This regulation has increased the salaries of teachers and lecturers significantly; therefore, some of them probably should be in the upper-upper or upper-lower class.

Although formal ranking showing the hierarchy among primary and secondary schools is not available, there is an assumption that some schools (usually public schools) are better than private schools (Bedi & Garg 2000). Similarly, public universities are also considered better than private universities. The quality of a school is usually measured by the school's selection criteria such as the test score earned by students in previous school examinations. This is usually a national examination score for a public school. All students receive a book which records their progress through school. The book has a report for each semester which describes students' achievements during their studies. The

schools are considered “preferred” if their students achieve the highest scores for national examinations, and they only accept the students from lower level education who achieve the highest scores. For the senior high schools, its quality will be considered higher if it achieves a high level of graduate students successfully enrolling in public universities.

The rank of students in terms of their achievement in regular, annual final tests or their national examination score will be mentioned in their report book and it determines their position among other students. Recently the importance of the rank system has decreased slightly but parents who need the information can ask the teacher about their children’s rank. Likewise, in the university a student evaluation will be given by the lecturers and every semester the student will receive a GPA (Grade Point Average) as an accumulation of all scores for the subject. The GPA system is measured from 0-4 in which 0 is the lowest and 4 is the highest achievement. It is different from primary and secondary schools’ evaluations which are still based on national examinations, as the evaluation in higher education is independently arranged by the lecturer. While the system shows the university as an autonomous space, it opens up the opportunity for the lecturers to abuse their power by evaluating students based on their personal opinions (which may be biased or partial) towards a particular student.

4.2. My Career Field

My university is my career field where I have to fit my career capital or the particular sort of capital valued within the fields of a career (Mayrhofer et.al 2004: 874). The very basic understanding of field is that of repetitious behaviour of actors, rule based play, and how they act the same way in an autonomous space where every actor aims to achieve the best post (Mayrhofer et.al, 2004). Bourdieu reveals that a field is:

> a patterned set of practices which suggest competent action in conformity with rule and roles as well as a playground or battlefield in which actors endowed with a certain field-relevant capital, try to advance their position (p.873).

Becoming a lecturer in a university was not my dream occupation when I was a student. I had a negative image of academia as being a safe job and I was committed to a role which would create social change and make a better society. An academic position was assumed to have less commitment to change and making a better society. The unpromising image of this profession was influenced by the Indonesian situation at that

time. The period during which I took a bachelor's degree was a dramatic period for Indonesian students as they were struggling through an important transition from an authoritarian country under Suharto, to the significant changes of the reformation period.[15] I thought an academic career was not really appropriate for my character as one who was actively engaged in a student movement which was quite progressive. In addition, since I was in my third semester in graduate school I had been involved with a non-government organisation (NGO) whose role was to develop the ideas of freedom, equality, and brotherhood as well as tolerance and pluralism, as part of the ideas of Abdurrahman Wahid, the fourth president of Indonesia.

The activity in the NGO and the student movement made me think that a political career could be possible. My experience confirms Rinaldo's article (2008) about the increasing trend for Muslim women to participate in the public sphere. I thought of becoming a member of the legislature, or a minister with authority to create policy, as a suitable career for me someday as some of my colleagues from the same student movement and same NGO had taken this path. However, by the time I finished graduate school, I changed my mind and thought that NGO activities and student movement were not as promising a path as I expected to support my dream to make changes and to be a prominent figure in Indonesia. I recognised that academic achievement is my main capital. My achievements in all of my levels of education (junior high school, senior high school and as an undergraduate) have been ranked in the top levels of students. Since I was one of the best students of my faculty in terms of GPA, I felt confident in applying to be an assistant lecturer while I was taking my Master's degree. I thought the university would give priority to the best alumni to be recruited as its staff. I was confident of being accepted as an assistant lecturer in my university because I believed that I had the particular sort of capital valued within the university; that is my high GPA in relation to other students.

My experiences prove some of the previous writer's findings that the reasons the higher educational institutions in Indonesia are on the periphery of global academic institutions is that the academic staff have a very poor rate of pay. A very low salary has led many academic staff to dedicate their time and energy to obtaining a second income from business, consulting and other activities off-campus. Based on a World Bank report,

[15] For information about the dynamic period and the role of the student movement see for example Aspinall (2004),Dave, M. (2001).

it is estimated that more than 50% of public sector academic staff have an additional job to increase their income (Welch 2007). Some friends, including women, have decided not to choose an academic career, although they are interested in being an intellectual and scholar, because they could not live with that low salary.

When I was a non-permanent lecturer, my salary was at a very low rate, really an under-rate payment, and could be likened to token renumeration for volunteer activity. I received payment once every 6 months, around Rp400.000 ($NZD 50). However, I survived because I am married, and at the time I did not have children. In Indonesian culture, particularly for the Javanese family I am part of, a wife can rely on her husband's income. As Brenner (1995) argues, a Javanese wife is very powerful in terms of household finance because her husband is expected to give all of his income to his wife. The wife then allocates money for the family necessities, and gives the husband only "pocket money" for snacks or cigarettes. My husband has a relatively good job, but I have never felt comfortable about conforming to the culture, to be a housewife and stay at home, to receive money from my husband and spend it. This way of life is against my beliefs about equality, and I believe it has negative effects on promoting equality in a family. I kept working hard to be financially independent.

To become a permanent academic staff member, I had to pass the recruitment process which follows a system under the civil servant mechanism at the Ministry of Religious Affairs. As a staff member of this department, participants must have good knowledge of religious issues, besides English and general knowledge, and also hold a Master's Degree in a related subject. I had just completed my Master's and held the degree of Master in Sociology. It has been argued that recruitment of academic staff in Indonesia often relates to administrative affairs, not around academic or research skills, and it has resulted in the low quality of higher education in Indonesia and its marginalisation from "the global knowledge system" (Altbach 2003; Buchori & Malik, 2004; Welch 2007). Certainly, it could be argued that the requirements to be an academic in Indonesia are less daunting when compared to requirements in other countries (Kompas, 18 August & 30 September 2013). The most important requirements for becoming a permanent lecturer in Indonesia are that candidates hold a Master's degree for a related programme, and pass the recruitment test. The mechanism for evaluating research and publication was not an element of this recruitment process.

According to Bailyn (2003) women are assumed to face more challenges than men when dealing with an academic career because, generally, they do more domestic work. By contrast, I felt that academic work generally affords a high degree of flexibility. It is very flexible in terms of the time schedule because academics only need to go to the office when they are scheduled to teach. They can write articles in many places and can be fluid in terms of how they manage their time; therefore, it is to some extent a most appropriate job for women, who generally do more domestic work. However, I did encounter many problems relating to issues of legitimacy and a lack of confidence about an academic career. I experienced a quite long period of being underestimated, and had to struggle to convince my colleagues, especially some senior male colleagues, of my competence which somehow stemmed from a political dispute.

I agree with Bailyn's statement (2003) that people working in academia will encounter many psychological pressures. She notes that academics, particularly those who have obtained a professorship, must have a high level of competence in their area. However, the rule in Indonesia is not exactly comparable to that in developed countries. It is similar to academic life in other countries in that an academic's work includes teaching, research & publication, and service. However, the role which is expected most from scholars in Indonesia is the extent to which they make their knowledge available to benefit society; therefore, service is interpreted as community service. In the past, academic activities had a strong emphasis on teaching activities, but recently research and publication are often considered more important for achieving the highest positions in academic careers.

As an academic and civil servant I must follow the structure (regularised standardised opportunity) and the career route of a civil servant which is quite clearly defined. I receive a monthly salary consisting of a base salary and salary for my rank. However, I thought that most of the academics in Indonesia did not really value the civil servant pathway of their academic career as the system was mostly about administrative requirements and the promotion system does not significantly affect their income. I did not pay attention to the broader social context of the aggressive expanding of neo-liberalism and commercialisation within academic life and careers outside Indonesia. However, I have been very curious about engaging in the international academic atmosphere and I have a dream to play a role in supporting Indonesia to become more recognised within the international academic system.

4.3. My Career Advancement

I agree with Evett's point of view (2000) that a woman's choice of career is influenced by the dimensions of culture and structure. One of the reasons why I changed my activity from being a part of a social movement to focus on an academic career is that my husband advised me of his preference for me to focus on an academic career. He said it was easier to tell his family and his friends about my occupation as an academic, because it is a well-known occupation. While working for local, national, or international NGO's has become more common, being a social activist is still an uncommon occupation in my husband's environment. Therefore, he was not concerned about the low income I obtained when I started my career with a non-permanent job. However, I still kept up my previous association with an NGO and only resigned when I decided to take my PhD.

I began my career as an academic when I was still doing my Master's, and I was appointed to a permanent position when I finished my Master's as I passed the recruitment process. For the first three years of my career, I did not progress at all. I actually faced an unexpected situation as my appointment to become a permanent lecturer was rejected by the faculty which had a vacancy in sociology. As mentioned before, the recruitment process for civil servants is under the Ministry of Religious Affairs,[16] without any involvement from the faculty. It was the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA) which announced that the faculty had a vacancy but, when I came with letter of appointment from the MoRA, the dean of the faculty explained to me that they did not need more lecturers.

The political situation in my university is quite unique. As the character of Islam in Indonesia has been influenced by the existence of Muslim organisations such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah for decades, the existence of those religious organisations have influenced Islamic university development and created ongoing competition between them too. Both organisations have developed student groups and

[16]Universities in Indonesia have a very strong dependency onthe government especially in terms of staff recruitment. My university is under the coordination of the MoRA, therefore, staff recruitment and promotion are still under their coordination. Similarly, the Ministry of Religious affairs has a right to decide the rector of a university. (For the history of the relationship of MoRA to the Islamic State Universities see Chapter 2).

organisations where the ideology and organisational principles are introduced and indoctrinated and, as a result, particular groups with particular beliefs and political orientation exist. These groups have been continuously maintained for students and alumni. Beside those two organisations another group, which originated from those who tried to be neutral and separate from NahdlatulUlama and Muhammadiyah, was established. It is *Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam* which has become one of the most influential groups.

The relationship between groups has fluctuated but generally it is quite fluid. Nevertheless, the political powers who manage the university are mostly from one particular group. The rhetoric that a university is expected to become a centre of knowledge, and that assessments for the advancement of careers are subjected to impartial criteria and must rely on the applicant's contribution to scientific knowledge, have not been fully implemented. Ideally, an academic community must avoid being involved in inappropriate assessment criteria but, in reality, the influence of an 'in group' is still significant. My assumption is that the recruitment process was unlikely to evaluate the candidate's contribution to knowledge production as is the norm for academic appointments in Indonesia. It was based only on educational qualification and the need to hold a requisite degree and passing the recruitment test by the MoRA. Although I had the experience to become a non-permanent lecturer, my experience was from a different faculty, accordingly, I was not a candidate that the faculty wanted.

After this difficult situation when the faculty rejected me, I was lucky because through my personal networks I was introduced to a senior lecturer in the university and I became part of his team teaching in a new faculty. My status as a civil servant was in a vacuum for around three years until the university opened a new programme and I obtained a letter of acceptance for this new programme. During the three years where my status was uncertain, my feelings were mixed between being anxious and trying to ignore the problem by spending time on positive activities. As a religious person, I believe that God decided for me what would be the best position for me. I was accepted to take a second Master's, in a programme called Interdisciplinary Islamic Studies. I believe this programme gave me the key to becoming involved in an international academic environment. This programme allowed me to visit McGill University, and this was my first visit to an international university where I could take benefit from a large library with an excellent resource of academic journals, and where there would be the

expectation that I would write in English, which was very challenging. My career was in a vacuum for three years but my activities were very positive which enabled me to meet the requirements to advance my career. My activities were conducive to me being able to formulate ideas and subsequent papers for submission to academic journals.

I obtained promotion and in quite a short time moved up the academic ranks from teaching staff, *asistenahli* (Junior Level), to *lector* (Low-Mid-Level), to *lector kepala* (Senior-Level) as soon as I was accepted as a permanent lecturer into the new programme. Under the old regulations an academic with a Master's degree was still allowed to be promoted to senior-level. In general, I did not have difficulty in getting promotion until reaching the senior level because I advanced under the old regulations. I think the key to promotion as a civil servant was the production of journal articles, having the supporting documents and a good relationship with the administrative staff who arranged career promotion.

However, under the new regulations, the promotion system to senior levels had become more challenging, because it now required a PhD as the educational qualification so I was quite lucky as I completed the promotion to senior level before the new regulation was issued. The new regulation requires a PhD qualification and articles published in the accredited journals for Senior Lecturer[17] and articles published by the international journals for professorship. The requirement for publication is considered challenging because only a few academic journals have been accredited by the Ministry of Education. The journal must be published regularly, be reviewed by related experts and has to have been registered for a particular period. Also, the accreditation status must be renewed regularly. While writing for a national accredited journal is still challenging, publication in an international journal is very difficult to achieve. We need to use English which is not used in our daily life and is of limited use in our academic system. I have learned English since I was in my junior high school (year 7) but it was only an introduction to English imparting knowledge about basic vocabulary and structure. Other academic activities employ the national language, therefore, writing in international

[17]There are two types of national journals: accredited and ordinary journals.If the journals have not been registered and recognised by the Ministry of Education, they are considered as ordinary national journals. If the journals are registered and authorised by the Ministry of Education, they can be considered as accredited journals. Dealing with the requirements to have articles published in accredited journals remains challenging because the period of accreditation is limited, and sometimes the status of the journals changes.

journals and being required to create recent literature for our topic for publication is “an unexpected task”.

Regarding my promotion, I just submitted my documents to the officer of staff development and they forwarded my application to the authoritative body. According to the ministry regulations on civil servants and the government official reformation No. 17, 2013, the authoritative government official is the Director of Higher Education under the Ministry of Education, the Chancellor of the university, or the Head and coordinator of a private higher education. In the process for determining promotion, the government official compiles a team of evaluators from each level, such as at the ministry and university levels. Evaluators of academics who work in private universities are under the institution called *Kordinator Perguruan Tinggi Swasta* (KOPERTAIS/the private-university coordinator). The evaluator team consists of the government official from the Ministry of Education or Ministry of Religious affairs, who works in the higher education sections, and also at least two academic staff members with the same rank. However, I had never paid attention to who the reviewers of my promotion application were. What is marked in this system is the bureaucratic nature of promotions with heavily prescribed procedural regulations and categorisation.

4.4. Dealing with the Complexity of Career Promotion

I was largely untroubled by the complex and poor incentive systems in Indonesia (Hill & Wie 2013: 170), and my achievement within this system was beyond my expectations. I see that most of my colleagues with better qualifications and reputations still have lower positions than me because they were perhaps not as attentive to the promotion process. I can understand their reluctance to apply for promotion because the evaluation sits poorly within a meritocratic framework. The evaluation under the ministry is not really based on peer review by academics with similar expertise. It is mostly about the collation of supporting documents, as academics need to collect at least 150 points to attain the junior level *(Asisten Ahli),* 300 points for mid-level *(Lektor),* 400 points for a senior lecturer *(Lector Kepala),* and 800 points for a professorship. For academic promotion, an educational qualification is a critical aspect. An academic automatically obtains 150 points for their Master’s degree and 200 points for their doctoral degree. If the Master’s degree has been used for a previous promotion then the PhD certificate will

be counted as 50 points only because, based on the regulation, a Master's and a PhD count for 200 points. Other points are collected from teaching activities, research and publication, and community service. The highest points are from publication, especially in international journals, and a reference book can contribute up to 40 points. Publication in a Ministry of Education accredited national journal can contribute 25 points, and ordinary journals 10 points. Others activities such as teaching, and being a student advisor are counted at around 0.25-1 point, calculated for each hour or credit. However, the points must be collected from across the three activities that make up academic life (teaching, research and publication, community service).

Teaching activities are regulated by each faculty, and every academic must teach around 2 to 4 classes in a week as the requirement for obtaining the monthly incentive. I have heard that some lecturers have more than 4 classes a week, but I have never had such an experience. Some academics continue to teach in more than one university for a range of reasons including the need for additional income, or because they have been employed in more than one university for a long time and have developed an emotional attachment to the institution and institutional support. The faculty and department issue letters of decision on teaching staff each semester and arrange the schedules for teaching activities. What topics academics teach is determined by a team in the faculty called SAP (set of teaching topics /*satuan acara perkuliahan)*. They evaluate students from their daily performance at mid term and also do an end of term evaluation and submit the results to the department/faculty. The faculty arranges the examination schedule for the mid and end of term. In the past, academics had to submit the examination questions to the faculty because the faculty organises all exam activities for a specific period, but recently the faculty has only arranged the schedules and the academics have organised the examinations independently. The performance of academics is evaluated at the end of every semester by their students, on the student's perception of attendance, and the quality of teaching (methods used in teaching, and their teaching competence, and their teaching preparation).

According to Ministry Regulation No. 17, 2013, other activities counted as teaching activities are; guiding students in seminars; supervising final papers, theses and dissertations; consultancy for improving student academic performance; giving speeches in academic forums; developing teaching activities (for example writing teaching guides and topics for a particular subject); taking a leadership position in the university;

becoming a mentor for junior academics; and participating in skill development programmes.

I used to think that the main task of an academic was to teach, and I believe most academics shared the same thought; therefore some academics teach in more than one university. Academics in Indonesia face very serious problems relating to research and publishing the results in recognised journals, especially international journals. One of the reasons is that the opportunity for funded research is quite rare and accessing international journals remains limited. We did not have a good access to international journals as subscriptions, both individual and institutional, are expensive. The knowledge publication and obtaining access the most recent knowledge have become more profit oriented sectors because those providing the system can take economic benefit from the activities. We from non-speaking backgrounds face difficulty in adjusting to the system, but are forced to adapt to it. We need to invest a significant amount of money to subscribe to the journal and to learn the languages used by the system. Otherwise, we are marginalised and unrecognised within the international knowledge production and academic life systems. Accordingly, my university had just begun to subscribe to some international journals, but these can only be accessed at the university library and not on live.

In addition to that, research and publication are challenging activities within this environment because they seem to rely on individual positionality and determination. Unlike teaching activities, in order to be involved in research, academics must compete in contestable funding rounds. In principle the procedure of competition is professional and regulated yet the possibility of unfairness or bias has frequently become an issue of considerable debate among academics. In terms of my personal experience, I have been involved in research funded externally and in individual research projects and generally these were for basic research and evaluation projects. I had only one research project funded by the university and one by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. My articles for the national journal were developed from my thesis, or from my involvement in an NGO project.

Recently, in my university, there has been an annual call for research proposals. Academics can propose several types of proposals: basic individual and collective research for academics in their early career, with grants of around $NZD1,500-5,000; intermediate level proposals with grants of around $NZD 10,000; and advanced research

proposals with the grant being awarded around $NZD 12,000-20,000. These must be in collaboration with a high ranking university in a developed country. Each research proposal type has a different target for publication. Basic research is expected to be published in a national journal and intermediate and advanced research is for international publication. Regulation No. 17, 2013 explains that activities considered as research activities are; producing scientific writing such as a monograph or reference book; writing an article for a scientific journal, either an international journal, an accredited national or non-accredited national journal; to become a keynote speaker at an international or national seminar; or producing a poster to be presented at an international or national event.

Community service in my university is quite flexible as all participation in civic engagement can be counted as community service. It ranges from becoming a board member of a civil society organisation or social and religious organisation, or being a member of a committee for community service activities. Academic staff can calculate their participation from being a speaker at training or workshops and giving a public speech for members of the broader society as a community service. Similarly they can count their contributions as consultants or count unpublished articles dealing with community problems.

Besides teaching, research & publication, and community service, other supporting factors for academic career promotion are necessary. Some activities are considered as supporting factors such as; becoming a member of a committee in a university; becoming a member of a committee for another government institution; being a member of an academic professional organisation; being a delegate in an international forum; writing a textbook for a senior high school; being a member of an evaluation team or becoming a student's advisor for a programme called *kuliah kerja nyata* (a kind of internship or student community service where students stay in villages to contribute to the solution of a problem in the community).

Entering and contributing to an international academic community is considered very important for academic staff. International conferences are valuable but these do not directly contribute to academic career advancement or incentives. To what extent contributing to an international academic network is important depends on the situation. Some academics are very serious about it but some are more realistic because of the limited resources. Recently, more universities in Indonesia are hosting international

conferences to connect Indonesian academics to the international sphere by inviting foreign scholars to be resource people in Indonesia. Some of us have actively participated in international conferences conducted abroad but this is a luxury because the universities do not have sufficient funds to support conference attendance and participation. I had my first presentation at an international conference because I studied in New Zealand and had access to targeted funding from my host institution. I submitted an abstract of my previous article from a national journal for the first conference, and my tentative research findings for the second conference. I was very proud when I received e-mails from the committee of international conference stating that my abstracts were accepted. I imagined that I would present in front of large forum of experts. However, the parallel discussion I took part in was quite small, only a few participants attended it. I realized that attracting participants to join a parallel discussion in an international conference is not easy, but it was quite an interesting forum. I can understand why academics are encouraged to participate in an international prestigious conference because it facilitates sharing new ideas, new research findings and builds new research networks.

The second conference, in England, was a prestigious conference. I was disappointed because a thousand participants attended the conference but only a few came to the parallel session that I was participating in. In my opinion international and prestigious conferences align with rational choice theory and are very calculative. The idea of entering into an international academic community is challenging in terms of developing ideas to be presented, the budget for travelling abroad, and convincing participants to attend our presentations. However, I was lucky, although the participation in my parallel discussion was limited, a professor from Australia attended and raised some important questions.

Recently, as I have been involved in the broader academic sphere, read more literature, and visited some universities outside of Indonesia, I am increasingly aware that academic staff in Indonesia do not have a supportive academic environment. I also have a heightened awareness that there is also the problem of inappropriate reward. It is perceived that an academic career is not seen as a promising career attracting the best people. The best students tend to choose other professions with better income prospects. However, at my university I note that it is becoming more common for top academic students to decide to become both academics and still workotside the university. Academics often make a comparison between their salary to that of politicians and

businessmen and consider their income too low. I believe the occupation is quite prestigious but many academics have another profession as their second option. One of the arguments that indicate academic position are prestigious is that academics who have double jobs rarely wish to resign from their academic role. The universities benefit from people with double jobs because of their popularity and the networks they develop are a medium for advertising and developing the profile of the university. Some people use their academic career as the medium to advance their career in another field, for example, to become a Member of Parliament, getting a ministry role, or becoming leaders for prestigious civil society organisations, because a university is considered a trusted social institution.

Besides the promotion system, the government issued a new regulation that teachers and lecturers are entitled to a monthly incentive payment when they hold a certificate as educators. This certificate is given to those who work regularly as academics for two years continuously. To obtain the certificate, the government, through the Ministry of Education (MoNE) and Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA), issue a list of academics who have worked for at least two years. They need to complete application forms and give evidence about their performance in the three areas of teaching, research and community service. Under the new system, called *Beban Kerja Dosen* or BKD (academic staff obligation), academics are required to fulfil all three activities as being eligible for the monthly incentive requires them to follow the rules. Personally, I think that the process is very administrative and just repeats the process of academic promotion. Both are about giving evidence that, as an academic, we report on our performance and give administrative evidence such as list of absences and a list of student grades as the result of our teaching processes, which are also the requirements for the promotion process. Similarly, for research activity, I had to show the journal that published my research project. If the research project had not been published, we could show the research report or, if the research has not been finished, we can show the letter of confirmation of a research grant or a letter of confirmation from the dean about research activity. These are all reviewed every six months by auditors.

Similar to academic promotion, the BKD has a strong emphasis on administrative processes. The BKD is not dealing with academic quality but it is an instrument to make sure that the academic fulfils their obligations for teaching, research and service. Some believe that officials in government hold a view that academics are not doing their job

properly. They argue that these administrative processes have developed based on a distrust of the profession and on the assumption that academic staff are lax so that the government must issue regulations to ensure that they fulfil their obligations. As the academics hold status as civil servants, academic staff salaries are funded by the government. As a result, academics must give a report on their performance and whether they have performed the three functions of teaching, research, and community service well. The government appoints auditors to evaluate the performance of academic staff for the BKD. Especially at the early period of its emergence when the system was still new, it generated more complicated tasks for academics. In its development it gives clearer guidelines about academic function and supports the academics to evaluate their performance for those three aspects.

4.5. My Educational Qualifications

As the first generation in my family to enter the higher education system, I did not have any idea of what to choose as my disciplinary area or an occupation. I just participated in a university entrance test. My senior high school was a religious education institution, and this was not good preparation for competing with other students to enter secular state universities. It could have been easily predicted that I would not pass the test. My second alternative was a religious university and I chose a subject that not many students were interested in applying for, Islamic history and civilization. I thought that most of my friends from my senior high school would go to the same university and I did not want to have the same friends, therefore, I chose a programme which was unpopular so as to make new friends in a new environment.

I was a good student but I was considered quite “naughty” because I often thought outside of the mainstream. For every lecture, I sat in the front row and paid attention, raised some questions or criticised the lecturer’s statements. I was lucky because many subjects were repeats from subjects I had already learned at school such as Arabic language, prophetic tradition, and Islamic jurisprudence. Besides lectures, class discussions were often employed. I still remember that I was considered very secular because I presented my opinion that Islamic teachings about women should be modernised because many aspects, such as the domestic role of women, were not relevant anymore. I was worried as my lecturer stated that I should not think negatively

about Islamic teachings and I must believe that God creates these for the benefit of life. He quoted many verses from the Holy Qur'an and some prophetic traditions to strengthen his argument. I still kept arguing adding that the Islamic teaching on banning women from leadership positions because women are considered weak and irrational is unfair. I was not comfortable with having a different view from my lecturer because I did not want to have a bad result in the subject. It was common for lecturers to evaluate student performance based on personal preference criteria. I was so surprised when I obtained an A (the best result) for the subject, and I thought that the lecturer was wise enough to consider my different stand point as a positive aspect and that I was brave to express my opinion.

As I joined a student movement, and developed my skills to think critically, especially about the Indonesian political situation, I began to accept the idea that students should think freely and to contribute to the betterment of society. I learned what Paulo Freire thought about silent culture, Antonio Gramsci's thought on hegemony, and Jurgen Habermas on the public sphere. I learned these ideas from informal discussions held by the student movement, and I thought that the ideas were interesting and compelling. I was inspired to learn more about critical thinking and expected to get it from the formal education process. Therefore, as soon as I completed my bachelor's degree, I applied to enter a post graduate Master's programme.

I was lucky that I could earn enough money for a programme from my activities because, when I was a member of the board for the student movement, we had a significant project monitoring the first election after the reformation period in Indonesia. The salary was quite good for my status as a student in the final year of my graduate programme. I also earned money from my private teaching activities for primary school students as well. I used my income to pay for an English course because I believed that the graduate programme certificate would not help me to survive without other skills.

I decided to take a Management of Social Development programme under the Sociology Department. As an applied programme, my classmates were mostly government officials working in local government, or staff of international institutions and Non-Government Organisations. Only a few were from the academic profession. The school taught evening classes with a huge number of students, therefore, I felt that the learning process was not very effective. However, it expanded my network, and somehow I learned new things. I joined a second Master's programme with a scholarship

from the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) to develop my expertise. The programme was very competitive because only participants with a clear research project and with good English and Arabic skills were selected.

I used to think that a PhD was very prestigious and should only be awarded to perfect people. I did not apply for a PhD when I graduated from my Master's degree as I thought that people with a PhD. qualification must be very skilful and contribute to knowledge significantly. Obtaining a PhD abroad was my dream but I could not find a way to reach it but I keep applying to do a PhD abroad. When I obtained a scholarship and letter of acceptance (LoA), I did not need to think deeply about accepting the offer and decided to leave all my activities in Indonesia, and ignored the psychological worry of being away from my children and family. I decided to go abroad to satisfy my curiosity about knowledge and education.

In general, my education process has been very complicated, and I think that this happened because I was a newcomer to this profession. I never learned from my family or from people around me. I represent the minority of Indonesians who make a significant shift from their parent's educational background. Vertical mobilisation is not an easy process. I came from a very remote area where education was not considered important. People believe they will obtain a good job after graduating from an undergraduate programme, and I felt the same thing, but I was more realistic and thought that I could not achieve this without special efforts. It was a hard struggle to convince people in this profession, especially the senior academics, that I had the competency. I think my journey to engage in this profession has been tough but so far I am satisfied with the effort, with all the failures and achievements.

4.6. My Family Background and Habitus

Previous literature demonstrates that family background such as race, class, family process factors and gender could influence career development and are sometimes also problematic (Schulenberg et al 1984 in Whiston & Keller 2004). Similarly, with regard to the influence of gender, it has been argued that daughters are more likely to build their career outside the home if their mother is employed outside the home (ibid).

In other words, those studies relate to Bourdieu's concept on habitus which is usually understood as the way people think, understand, and feel about their career field, while career habitus can be explained as habitus that is appropriate to a peculiar field, (Duberly & Cohen, 2010). As Bourdieu states (1990c; in Reay 2013) experiences in the past are a crucial aspect of habitus and can be traced through personal history but, in addition to that, it recognises and acknowledges the ongoing process. According to Bourdieu (1990, Reay 2010), habitus is "expressed through durable ways of standing, speaking, walking, thereby feeling and thinking including eating and gesturing." In brief, habitus can be interpreted as the product of family background but it is continuously renewed along with the progress achieved by the actors during their lives.

4.6.1. Parents, Brothers & Sisters

People in my father's generation tended to have big families. Older generations applied an old principle,*"banyak anak banyak rezeki"* (more children, more ways of living and earning). I have one younger sister, three older brothers and four older sisters, which is a big family compared to a modern family. As a religious leader my father did not give his children the choice of studying in the secular system. Almost all members of my family continued our education in *pesantren,*[18] except my younger sister. However, my habitus can probably still be traced through my father's profession. My father was a civil servant and a religious leader in a small city, and passed away in 2007. Although my father did not pursue an academic career, he was a religious teacher and orator who was accustomed to speaking in public. My father also wrote books for *pesantren,* and this is also another element of *habitus* from my family. Arguably, my experience confirms

[18] A study on *pesantren*was initiated by ZamakhsyariDhofier (1980). Later many writers from both Indonesia and outside Indonesia have published articles on *pesantren,* for example, Martin Van Bruinessen, Robert Hefner, AzyumardiAzra.

the notion that a career habitus develops continuously, and is not only limited to past experience but also covers all parts of life experience.

The element of *agency* on habitus is powerful and it is necessary to be taken into account. As Reay (2010) writes, habitus is "the product of opportunities and constraints framing (p.433)." They involve a very great range of "possibilities and impossibilities, freedom and necessities, opportunities and prohibition" (Bourdieu 1990: 54, Reay 2010) that make a predicted probability and avoid "unthinkable'' and unexplained facts. Likewise, career habitus, according to Mayrhofer, et al (2004), strongly correlates to the "stability of career behavior" that is obtained from birth and through the learning processes during life.

I can say that the element of *agency* in my life is very powerful. My father did not really support me in progressing to higher education. He was reluctant when I asked to go to university because it was expensive. He thought university was not as important as *pesantren*. He believed that education from *pesantren* was enough as he was proof of it. He was appointed to be a *penghulu,* (a government official with the main duty of marrying couples, so that they gain religious and state legitimation to be husband and wife) because he was knowledgeable about religion, and he learned it from *pesantren*.

Only my older brother went to a university and only because he obtained a scholarship from an institution funded by the United Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. However, he resigned because he often confronted the teachers about religious issues and he could not overcome the disputes[19]. In addition to that, my father thought that daughters should not have a better education than sons. My oldest sister was the best student in her school but, when she finished her senior high school in *pesantren*, suddenly my father asked her to marry the son of a religious leader in another village. However, in my generation arranged and forced marriages are not common anymore, therefore, my father probably would have never forced me to marry.

By contrast, my mother strongly supported me to continue my education in a university because she wanted to improve our family's status. My grandfather and grandmother on my mother's side lived in a quite big city, and were businessmen. In my

[19]In the 1980s, the dispute about how to interpret religion between traditional and modern groups was very prevalent. The former considered *fiqih* (Islamic jurisprudence) following classical scholars *(ulama),* while the modernistsemphasised*ijtihad*(to interpret religion based on the holy-Qur'an and directly, without emphasizing classical scholars). For example, the traditionalists consider that it is highly recommended to read *qunut*(specific prayer verses) in prayer,*shubuh*(in the morning), praying for the dead, pray *teraweh* in Ramadlan 20 raka'ah. The modernists consider those practices as heretic, as they were not performed by Prophet Muhammad. Both groups claim that only their principles are right, and other principles are wrong.

village my father was considered to have a high social class but that was not comparable to the social class in the city. My mother's family gained their education in the secular system. My mother went to a Christian junior high school. Later her cousins and nephews graduated in law and economics which was very prestigious in the new regime period.

There was a consciousness that my family was marginalised during every extended family meeting, such as at a wedding party. It was not only at my mother's extended family meetings, but also at my father's, and we could not comfortably mingle because every conversation focused on the stories of how great their family is because they had *sarjana* (sons or daughters who has graduated from university), something we did not have. However, in terms of property such as land and modern technology, such as a radio and television, and the type of house we had, we were classified as having quite a high status among my father's extended family. It was ironic because, although we were considered eligible to donate money to the poor for them to gain an education, none among us went on to higher education.

4.6.2. Husband, Children, and Division of Labour in My Family

My husband strongly supports my career. Just like my father, my father-in-law is a religious leader *(kyai)* and farmer. My husband is the only son in his family who obtained his degree from a public state university. The others graduated from religious universities or private universities. He works in a state owned company as a civil engineer, and interacts with the higher echelons of society. Most of the wives of his friends hold professional occupations. However, he is a typically traditionalist Javanese and Muslim man, very humble and moderate and believes strongly in progressive Islam. He believes that Islam encourages us to work hard and to be successful in education but the final goal is to devote one's life for God, family and community interests.

Generally, the importance of having a good career and making a contribution in life has been accepted deeply among my husband's family. I found an unusual expression of this from my brother-in-law when we discussed whether I should ask to delay my departure to Auckland University or not. It appeared my Letter of Acceptance would fall in Ramadlan and IedulFitri/Lebaran, which are very important months for Muslims in Indonesia for gathering with their families. He said that the opportunity only comes once

while Ramadlan and Lebaran come every year. However, later, some family problems appeared because both my husband and I have very different types of job. Especially as geographically our family is often separated, our children's education and dealing with daily domestic jobs are challenging aspects of the relationship.

Due to my engagement with NGOs and the student movement I am uncomfortable about employing domestic workers, although people in my country usually employ them to help accomplish domestic tasks.[20] I thought of domestic workers as having an inhuman job as their work does not have career path at all. The negative aspect of employing a domestic worker is that children tend to become very bossy and tend to be dependent. For quite a long time, I did not use this strategy, and I created another strategy for dealing with domestic tasks. Since my husband and I come from quite big families, members of the extended family or neighbours from our original village often live with us, and participate in domestic jobs while they continue their study at university. This cooperation is based on reciprocity, for those who wish to continue their study but who do not have families who are able to financially support them. We have quite a big house, moderate facilities (a motorcycle for transportation, and a computer) and some times offer support for their tuition fees for those who really could not pay them. When they have finished their studies and gained employment they leave our house and create their own lives. I personally believe that this kind of initiative contributes to alleviating poverty and eases the high level of tuition fees for university. We believe that the Javanese principles are to live in a modest way and to think rationally and give priority to education, as these principles are important for surviving in this era.

The strategy has not always been effective because traditional relationships based on family and neighbourhood have changed significantly. It has allowed some people to complete their graduate programmes however, the strategy has sometimes resulted in strained relationships as well due largely to different expectations. The most common problem was that everyone gave priority to activities outside the home and could not manage the time and commitment within the home which caused conflict. In addition to that, the influence of the patriarchal division of labour from their family origins was strong. Boys cannot be expected to contribute to activities such as cooking, washing

[20]Murniati (2012) finds that an important aspect of female academic career advancement in Indonesia is having assistance with domestic chores, therefore her respondents from senior female lecturers could focus on their careers.

dishes, and laundry which are considered a women's job. Therefore, I re-evaluated the strategy and began to follow the trend of employing a domestic worker.

I think most members of my family behave in a similar way: women must serve their husbands as a religious obligation. Women must be responsible for domestic jobs and serve their husband and their children, and a husband must be responsible for the family's income. A husband needs his wife's assistance to prepare his meal which shows his authority over his wife, and his wife perceives this as showing devotion and loyalty to her husband. Husbands need their wives to provide their clothes before they go to their daily activities; to clean their shoes; to prepare their meals; and to welcome their husband and to provide an environment that he can relax in. Women usually resign from their jobs and focus on taking care of their children. This happens for those who have enjoyed higher education but, for those who have a lower education, both men and women work hard with the additional burden for women being responsible for the domestic work.

4.6.3. My Experience of Challenging Gender as a Constraint to My Career

An academic career may be seen as an ideal choice for woman because previously its main focus was on teaching, and women are culturally considered as the best teachers for their children. I think I faced a different situation from the general trend that most women are considered not to need to take work seriously. Very similar to Luke's findings (2001), about women in Hong Kong and the majority of Asian countries, most women in my country begin their life with a strong dependency on their male counterparts. They can have boyfriends and then marry them and stay at home to raise family, and for some it may become a life of luxury. I could not follow this rule because I did not meet the criteria for such a life. As a child and adolescent I grew up in constrained economic circumstances. My parents always told me to live moderately and to work hard. At the same time, I saw my friends could live more easily than me as their parents gave them money regularly and they could buy food, books, and clothing freely. I was jealous but I could accept the reality and be patient. Therefore, when I was studying in the undergraduate programme, I worked hard at part time jobs, such as teaching recitation of the Qur'an for children, and also competed for scholarships. In the second year of my graduate programme, I obtained a scholarship and part time job at a NGO.

Having the scholarship and part-time job as well meant I was able to accumulate financial capital and this was significant since I was still young.

Being born slightly after the middle of the 1970s means that I have a mixed culture between the old and new generations. Generally, I have to say that the constraints for women to be treated equally are numerous. The stereotype that women are weak, subjective, and irrational is still robust. Since I was a child, I have learned the principle that women are housewives and must take responsibility for domestic jobs. My teachers and lecturers frequently repeated the same things in formal or non-formal ways. Repeatedly I heard that the most important role for women is to become housewives with the responsibility of keeping their family. There was a stress put on the belief that a good and pious woman would get a good and pious man for their partner. Especially in religious teaching *(pengajian),* I heard frequently that women will follow their husbands when entering heaven, after passing away, to meet God.

I think my engagement in NGOs, the student movement and women's organisations influenced my way of thinking as an independent woman with quite powerful agency, and the ability to interpret religion to be a norm for equality. For example, while the patriarchal interpretation of religion tends to emphasise the domestic roles of women, I argue that this emphasis emerges not so much from Islam but from a cultural emphasis and probably more of an Arab-culture centred orientation. I believe that, in terms of how people live in the world, Islam gives a guidance as *Antum A'lamu bi Umuri Dunyakum* (you know better about your world) which means that we can use our minds to understand which way is best for your life.

Balancing family and career is challenging, especially for women with children. As I understood this problem, I delayed having a child until two years after my wedding. I still planned to continue my education for a Master's degree, and I realised how it would be difficult to have a baby while I was studying. My son was born as I wrote my Master's thesis and my daughter was born six years later. It was challenging but it was a natural phase. That both men and women believe that they should reproduce is just like *a doxa*, in Bourdieu's concept. A controversial issue about marriage, Law Number 1, year 1974 (verse 4), is that a man is allowed to marry another woman if a wife cannot reproduce. Although some women's organisations have proposed an amendment, the law is still implemented. It means that a child is essential in a marriage and traditionally is one of the central purposes of marriage. Moreover, Islam teaches us that one of the

aspects in which God will continuously give mercy and reward is through *waladunsholihun* (good generation), besides beneficial knowledge, and making donations *(shadaqah).* I agree that having children is very important but I did not want to have many children since I was born into a big family, and raising many children is demanding. I wanted to enjoy my life and my children without having to make too many sacrifices. In my country, some people enjoy having large families but choosing to be childfree is rare. Indeed is likely to be perceived as a violation of a cultural and religious norm, but I chose the middle position.

My experience strengthens Luke's findings (1997, 1998, 2001) that balancing professional careers with family is quite challenging for Asian women. Culturally, women are only expected to earn the secondary income. It is very uncommon for women to work hard outside the home because their main obligation is to family. Most women share the same feeling that men are the main breadwinners, and women work only as a hobby, distraction or to supplement the main income. However, whether women work seriously or to occupy themselves will depend on individual choice and the situation.

My husband is very proud that I work to achieve the highest position in my career. Both of us share the same vision about life, not only in the short term but for the long term: to be role models for our children teaching them to be resilient and achieve in life. My husband has never been reluctant to do domestic work, and is even better than me in terms of child-caring. He goes shopping for family necessities which is usually considered a women's job in Indonesia, and is more informed than I am about the price fluctuations of detergent, coconut oil, and sugar, and can choose the best price. However, because the demands of working in a private company are so high he only spends a very limited time with our family. He often works outside Jakarta building highways, hospitals, and dams and usually spends around one or two days a week in our home. It is a very difficult life but we enjoy and make the most of it.

I think that up to my second year of my PhD programme in Auckland I was able to powerfully interpret religious and tradition values about family, to ensure that my family supported my desires. I acted as an active agent to challenge established beliefs and culture and to propose new trends. When I decided to go overseas without my husband and children, it seems that the people around me, both friends and relatives thought that there was something wrong. They tended to worry about my son, my daughter, my husband, and kept asking me if they could live without me. However, in

my opinion, giving priority to family is an obligation for both the husband and the wife, therefore, a long distance family, either for men or women, because one is studying overseas, should be accepted. I try to accept the reality that life is difficult because my career was threatened as my legitimacy as an academic was still questioned. I felt marginalised among my colleagues and my competence was underestimated.

I ignored some of my female colleagues' arguments that women's priorities are to be a wife and a mother. The tradition is that being away from the family for a long time is acceptable for men, but not for women. And I thought that it was unfair because I have engaged at every education level but I was stuck in my position. When I began my international programme, I felt it helped build confidence in my choice of profession, and I have tried to do my best. However, it is unavoidable that working and career women will face a complicated situation. I never imagined that my husband and I would not be able to solve the problems we have had to encounter in a long distance relationship. There was a time when he was very enthusiastic about trying something new when he was dissatisfied with his work. He thought his company would allow him to take time off for two years and he prepared for it. However, when he re-evaluated his planning he became doubtful and then considered that it was impossible. We negotiated and renegotiated several times but the result was that we argued with each other and this has put stress on the relationship. Eventually, as Luke (2001) argues, I must follow Asian culture, that women are expected to respect and be responsible for the emotional care of the family, to raise successful children, and to make their marriage a success. Ever since, I have realised, at a very personal level, that the challenges women face in integrating an academic career with familial responsibilities are real.

It is true that a professor is expected to be a role model and they are expected to generate new knowledge. In order to achieve a professorship, academics need resources and skill. Academic jobs which prioritise teaching are attainable, but gaining international recognition in terms of research and publication is very challenging, especially for female academics with strong cultural expectations of domestic obligations. International recognition requires international journeys and staying outside the country for quite long periods of time, which is not easy for women. Some female academics with husbands in the same profession could adjust to this but most of them find this is a serious challenge.

Similarly, for female academics positions of leadership are much more challenging. They have to spend more time attending official meetings and running seminars. Leadership is a scarce source competed for by many actors. For particular situations, female academics could play a leadership role in university but in general, leadership is still seen as largely the domain for male academics. Leadership positions in terms of career progression in Indonesia are critical because academics can get better access to research funding and resources when they take on leadership roles. However, unlike their male counterparts, leadership for a female academic career is something that seems less planned and occurs more fortuitously. In general, career advancement for most women is not strictly planned but, for me, I attempted to manage it. I do have a passion for the profession and I believe I can live appropriately, socially and economically without worrying about the income, and I have so far demonstrated this.

4.7. Religion, Culture, Islamic University

Several studies draw on Bourdieu's four types of capital, i.e. cultural capital, social capital, economic capital and symbolic capital, in which they note the relationship to power and recognise that the first three are strongly aligned (Duberly & Cohen 2010). Mayrhofer et.al (2004) translates cultural capital into "what can I do" which can involve aspects such as education, social and technical skills, and acquiring a diploma. In research careers, according to Duberly and Cohen (2010), researchers are more likely to use human capital than cultural capital. Social capital, Mayrhofer et.al (2004) argues, can be explained by the term "who I know and who knows what I am about". Social capital, according to them, can be observed from social relations, networks, and group membership. Economic capital is about "what I possess" and it can be converted easily. Finally, symbolic capital, according to Mayrhofer et.al (2004), must be understood as the combination of the previous three capitals that ensure that an actor may be socially recognised, and it is heavily correlated to a particular field.

The initiative to create the Islamic State University opened the opportunity for a group of santri[21] to develop career capital. My educational background from pesantren,

[21] Clifford Geertz (1961) has divided Muslim religious orientation in Java, Indonesia into three categories: *Santri, Priyayi and Abangan. A santri* is a pious Muslim, usually graduated from *pesantren, priyayi* is high class society from aristocracy family, and *abangan* is working class who are considered less pious in Islam. Regardless, some critiques have appeared of this book, so understanding the nature of santri here is very

an Islamic university, my Master's from a public university, and having the experience of continuing my PhD overseas are my cultural capital. It has created a network of both Muslim and intellectual communities within my university, and outside of it. Sometimes I feel proud because I have developed skills not only in Islamic knowledge but also in terms of skills related to social science such as sociological theory, research methods, statistics, and contemporary issues. Those who graduated from secular universities are probably experts only in social science skills. As a majority Muslim country, Indonesia needs experts in Islam and, to be recognised at international levels. English and social science skills are of critical importance. It can be said that I have quite distinctive factors that have enabled me to prevail in the field of the university.

As a strategy to overcome the problems of marginality in higher education in Indonesia, the government and university support academic staff to go overseas for higher degrees, conferences, and research. Welch (2007) observed that many Indonesian students have been exposed to international influences from the Middle East and European countries since the colonial period, such as Muhammad Hatta. Since the 1980s, many prestigious universities such as Columbia, McGill, Leiden and Australian National University have collaborated with IAIN *(Institut Agama Islam Negeri*/State Insitute for Islamic Religion) so that more Islamic students have studied abroad studying modern history, sociology, and anthropology. I have been interested in participating in this programme for a long time.

If the system of higher education in Indonesia remains the same as the present system of civil servants, female academic staff will maintain their position. However, recently, the demand that Indonesian universities must follow the international system has flourished. The university will only accept academic staff with PhD qualifications and they must have research competence and publish their articles in international journals. I believe the internationalisation of higher education will challenge female academic staff. However, more and more female academics can challenge the patriarchal culture, and negotiate with their partner to be able to adapt to the demand.

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important. Many writers have demonstrated the marginalisation of *santri*from education and politics in Indonesia since the colonial period. Several efforts to eliminate Muslim marginalisation include the emergence of the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoNA) immediately after acquiring independence from the Dutch colonists. The adaptation of secular education in *Pesantren*and and the emergence of the Islamic State University are part of the strategies to deal with the marginalisation of *santri.*

4.8. Conclusion

My experience shows that an academic career is one of the most effective ways to gain class mobility because, to some extent, this implements an objective rule. It enables someone from a lower class family background to improve their position. As a female academic I obtained equal career capital to that of a male academic, despite the various challenges encountered.

As a field, in Bourdieu's terms, is similar to a playground, the rule of the game in the university is quite clear. Educational background and passing the recruitment processes are the most important factors for becoming an academic. For career advancement in Indonesia, academics must adjust to the administrative promotion process. It means that they have to have supporting documents for teaching, research publication, and community service. In addition to that, they have to build a good network with the administrative staff. For leadership positions, academics must obtain support from their senior academics and professors because they exercise power in electing the university chancellor and recommending academics for roles in leadership positions. A leadership position is very important for getting access to resources in a university.

Regardless, of the fact that Indonesia has been regarded as a country with a low rank on the Gender Gap Index, more and more women can prosper in academic careers. Domestic work in a family is continuously challenging, but Indonesia has a labour market which means that there are greater levels of domestic labour available to support professional women and this is culturally sanctioned. Patriarchal religious interpretation is still significant but some female academics can overcome religious and cultural constraints. In fact, being an academic can be considered as the most suitable job for women. While teaching activities are quite clear, research is still a dark area for both female and male academics. Yet, in terms of leadership, female academics remain marginalised. My work with its quantitative and qualitative approach intends to look closely at the data and draw on experience to develop a better understanding of the gender dynamics in Indonesian and New Zealand universities and to look at the opportunities for transformative positive change.

CHAPTER V

A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF ACADEMIC CAREERS IN INDONESIA: COMPARING A RELIGIOUS AND A SECULAR UNIVERSITY

5.1 General Overview

In this chapter I present some statistical data analysis on academic careers in Indonesia to understand the influence of gender compared to other independent variables such as educational qualification, age, and length of career. As mentioned in Chapter 2, academic career advancement in Indonesia is different to that in New Zealand's system. This chapter presents statistical data to begin to explore whether the gender gap operates similarly across different national frameworks (a discussion of New Zealand follows in the next chapter). In addition, as the higher education system in Indonesia is a dual system -a state/public vs private system, and a religious vs secular system- the discussion will cover the comparison of a state/public religious and a secular university in Jakarta.

Accordingly, this chapter is based on data obtained from Jakarta Indonesia; specifically, from a public religious and a public secular university. The data from the religious university consists of the curriculum vitae of 749 tenured academics with the status of civil of servants in 2013. This is almost all the civil servants employed at the university. The data from the secular university consists of 1570 academic profiles for 2014[22], which is around 65.5% of the available data from the Centre of Higher Education data from the Ministry of Education. While the datasets are not perfect matches, both encompass material about gender, year of appointment and length of tenure, age, and educational qualification.

The most recent research around the topic of my thesis in Indonesia, and using multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA), shows a trend where gender affects the career success of academic staff, and male academic staff are advantaged (Kholis 2013). The research by Kholis (2013) was conducted at Islamic higher education institutions in seven provinces in Indonesia, with 221 respondents. The seven provinces are South Kalimantan, West Nusa Tenggara, East Java, Central Java, West Java, Yogyakarta, Riau,

[22] http://forlap.ristekdikti.go.id/perguruantinggi

and Aceh. However, it did not include Islamic higher education in Jakarta, the capital city. It tested the gender affect for two kinds of dependent variables: career productivity and career success. It used six indicators to measure career productivity: thesis supervision, committee appointment, publication, teaching, research, and scholarly presentation. There were four indicators to measure career success: academic rank, leadership position, monthly income, and career satisfaction. Other, intervening, variables consisted of gender, higher education, age, marital status, parental status, spouse education, and spouse occupation.

The conclusion of the Kholis' research is that women and men differ significantly only for publication. Other indicators (thesis supervision, committee appointment, teaching, research, and scholarly presentation) are statistically insignificant. On the other hand, in terms of career success, men obtain higher academic rank as well as salary; and reach better leadership positions than women. Following Dunkin's thesis (1991), Kholis (2013) concluded that gender is influential in terms of objective measurement with men being advantaged. In terms of career satisfaction, women have a mean higher score, but it is not statistically significant. Likewise, men have a better mean score for work engagement, but the score is also not statistically significant. The argument goes that there is nearly equal scoring between men and women for the subjective measurements which cover career satisfaction and work engagement. The influential variables are age, spouse education and spouse occupation. On the other hand, marital status is marginally significant. Factors that are insignificant for career productivity are gender, highest education of respondent (educational qualification), and parental status.

5.2 Measurement and Variables

The Dependent and Independent Variables

The dependent variable in my research is academic career advancement.The independent variables are mostly demographic variables available in curiculum vitae such as gender, length of career, age, education qualification, type of university (origin of degree), marital status, number of children.The data set is classified into comparable and uncomparable variables because the datasets are not perfect matches. Comparable

variable means that information is available in both universities, on the other hand, uncomparable variable means that information only avalailable in one university.

The dependent variable can be classified as comparable variable. Some independent variables are comparable such asgender, length of career, age, education qualification. On the other hand, type of university, marital status, number of children are classified as uncomparable independent variables, accordingly, these variables are only used in descriptive statistics not in inferential statististics (binary and ordinal regression). Type of university is available in both universities but the number of missing data points for the secular university is significant, therefore, type of university is classified as an uncomparable variable.

Academic Career Advancement

Academic career advancement is measured by academic rank in the civil servant system. Based on Decree 38/1999, there are fiveacademic ranks:*Tenaga Pengajar*(teaching staff),*Asisten Ahli* (junior level), *Lektor* (lower mid-level), *Lektor Kepala* (upper-mid-level) and *Professor/Guru Besar* (senior level). The lowest level is coded 0 for *Tenaga Pengajar,* 1 for *Asisten Ahli,* 3 for *Lektor,* 4 for *Lektor Kepala,* and 5 for *Professor/Guru Besar*.For the reason of binary regression analysis, academic career advancement is classified into low and high rank; where the low rank consists of the three lowest levels in academic rank (*Tenaga Pengajar*, *Asisten Ahli*, *Lektor),* on the other hand, high rank consists of *Lektor Kepala* and *Professor/Guru Besar*. For the ordinal regression, academic rank is classified into three levels: low, middle, and high rank. The low rank is *Tenaga Pengajar, Asisten Ahli;* the middle rank is *Lektor,* and high rank covers *Lektor Kepala* and *Professor/Guru Besar*.

Length of tenure and age

Length of tenure has become a debatable independent variable for measuring career advancement because, in principle, it is not included in criteria for career advancement in many countries. However, the literature demonstrates its significant influence (Pezzoni, et.al 2012). Similarly, age does not formally affect career advancement, but the variable of age is clearly influential. Therefore, this research uses

age and length of tenure as control/covariate variables. Both variables have characteristics as variables with ratio scales, and therefore can be incorporated directly in the model.

Educational Qualification

Educational qualification is expected to represent field-relevant capital for an academic career. According to Pierre Bourdieu (1986 86):

> "…academic qualification, a certificate of culture competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture; social alchemy produces a form of cultural capital which has a relative autonomy vis-à-vis its bearer the cultural capital he effectively possesses at a given moment."

Furthermore, Bourdieu (1986, 86) mentioned:

> "It makes it possible to establish conversion rates, between cultural capital and economic capital by guaranteeing the monetary value of a given academic capital. The material and symbolic profits which the academic qualification guarantees also depends on its scarcity, the investment made (in time and effort) may turn out to be less profitable than was anticipated when they were made (there having been a de facto change in the conversion rate between academic capital and economic capital). The strategies for converting economic capital into cultural, which are among the short term factors of schooling explosion and inflation of qualification are governed by changes in the structure of chances of profit offered by the different types of capital."

In contrast, it is interesting that the highest education level in one previous research paper is a statistically insignificant variable (Kholis 2013), while the promotion system by the law is determined, officially, by education qualification. The education qualification which has been accepted recently for an academic career in Indonesia is a Masters degree. However, as many academic staff still hold Bachelors degrees, the education qualification variable still includes the three levels of higher education which are coded: 1 for a Bachelors degree, 2 for a Masters degree, and 3 for a PhD/Doctoral degree. As each type of degree shows that one is higher than the other, the coding can also represent the value of each degree. However, some analysis uses two categories of

educational qualification, low level coded 1 for Bachelors and Masters and high level coded 2 for PhDs.

Type of University (Origin of Degree)

The type of university is also a quite controversial issue. The most often used method to measure the type of university is the university rank system, either internationally, regionally or nationally. This thesis follows the idea that the form of social capital can be seen from all the social ties of actors and their relationship to prestigious universities. In Indonesia, for academics, obtaining a degree from international universities can be considered as having a better level of social capital, as they have expanded their networks into other countries and learnt to communicate in a different language. However, in terms regional rank, some public universities in Indonesia have reached a quite good rank among Asian countries, such as the University of Indonesia (UI), Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB), Gajah Mada University (UGM), Airlangga University, and Bogor Agriculture Institute, Padjajaran University (UNPAD) which have been ranked according to QS Top University in 2016 at 67, 85, 105, 109, 135, 191, 199 respectively out of the top 300.[23]

In terms of local universities, the prevailing modelling is based on the assumption that obtaining a degree from a public secular university is better than that from a public religious or private university. Some public universities have been ranked among the top 300 universities in Asia, but public religious universities have not achieved this position. A public religious university is considered better than a private university as it is a public university, and the percentage of academic staff holding only a Bachelorsdegrees is lower than that at private universities.

As it has been argued, the quality of private higher education has been challenged by the lower percentage of formally qualified, competent staff. By 1990, only 11% of academic staff in private higher institution educations had earned more than a Bachelors degree (Buchori & Malik, 2004; Welch, 2007). Similarly, World Bank studies in 1996 presented that only 5.5% of academic staff in private higher education institutions held Masters or Doctoral qualifications. The limitation of the variable type of university is that

[23]http://www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings/asian-universityrankings/2016#sorting=rank+region=+country=97+faculty=+stars=false+search=

the rank is based on assumptions which relied on the previous literature on undergraduates in private and public universities in university in general, not the situation in post-graduate programmes. In fact, the data for analysing the type of university is the data for the highest educational qualifications; either a Bachelors degree, a Masters degree, or a Doctoral degree.

Despite the weaknesses of the classification of universities, data from Indonesia is classified based on three types of university: foreign, public and private universities. Academic staff holding Masters or Doctoral degrees from a foreign university are considered to have obtained better networks and experiences than those who hold degrees from Indonesia. Likewise, the measurements in this thesis are based on the assumption that academic staff who graduated from a public university in Indonesia have better social capital than those who graduated from a private university. However, for binary regression analysis the type of university is classified into national (coded 1) and overseas university (coded 2).

Gender, Marital Status, Number of Children.

Gender, marital satus and number of children are demographic varibles and relate to family life and the divison labour in society. However, for statistic analysis gender is similar to sex. Gender and marital status are dummy varible because both represent two different categories male and female (for gender) and yes or no (for marital status). Male is coded 1 and female 0; and similarly for marital status yes is coded 1, and no is coded 0. On the other hand, number of children is ratio scale variable.

Tabulation of the Dependent and Independent Variables

Table 1 demonstrates the coding of variables.

Table 5.1. Measurement of Dependent and Independent Variable

	Name of Variable		Category	Explanation	Scale
		Dependent Variable			
	Rank of Career		0= teaching staff 1= junior level 2= lower mid-level 3= upper-mid-level 4= senior level	Based on civil servant system. It can be classified into high rank and low rank; or three ranks consisting of low, middle, and high rank.	Ordinal/binary
		Independent Variable			
	Gender		0=Female 1=Male		Dummy
	Length of career			Based on number of civil servant identity number	Ratio
	Age			Based on number of civil servant identity number	Ratio
	Educational Qualification		1=Bachelors Degree 2=Masters Degree 3=Doctoral Degree	It can be classified into high rank and low level	Ordinal/binary
	Typeof University		1= Private 2= Public 3= Overseas	It can be classified into national and overseas	Ordinal/binary
	Married Status		0=No 1=Yes		Dummy

5.3 Data Analysis

There are at least two strategies for analysing the data. The first method is descriptive; to present data based on gender and related percentages using means analysis, graphics and tables to illuminate the gender gap. The second method is statistical including binary and ordinal regression. Those method are considered the most appropriate because the characteristic of data does not meet the requirement of ordinary least square regression. The purpose of using binary and ordinal regression is to answer

the next question: does gender matter for career advancement in both countries? Both descriptive and statistical analysis will test the following hypotheses:

(1) Based on the Gender Gap Index, it can be assumed that the gender gap in academic careers between men and women at universities in Indonesia very significant.
(2) Based on previous literature, the gender gap will be prevalent and gender is expected to be a significant factor for career advancement in Indonesia.

The data classification into religious and secular universities is expected to answer another research question: how do cultural and religious interpretations, as well as institutional policies, influence academic career advancement? Based on existing literature about women in Indonesia, it can be assumed that the circumstances of family life of lecturers in Indonesia has been significantly influenced by religious and cultural interpretations that prevent women's academic career advancement and support men's careers. The religious interpretation of the role of women has been argued to be a factor in women's marginalisation (Shaheed 1986). For example, literature on women in Indonesia (e.g. Brenner 1999; Adamson 2007) demonstrated that under existing religious and cultural discourses, women are expected to take on family responsibilities and domestic work as their primary occupations and they are not free to engage in public roles and careers. From these assumptions it is expected that the gender gap will be greater, and that gender will affect academic career advancement more significantly, in religious universities than in secular ones.

5.4 Data from a Religious University in Indonesia

The research is based on the available data for 749 academics from a religious university in Jakarta which consists of 282 female (38%) and 467 male academics (62%). However, there are only 736 pieces of data for the variables of age and length tenure, and 526 pieces of data for age of marriage.

5.4.1 Descriptive Statistics

The following table (Table 5.2) presents means, standard deviation (SD), and standard error of means (SEM) for numeric variables consisting of academic rank, age, length of tenure, educational qualification, type of university, and age at marriage.

From the proportions of males and females, the data confirms the previous literature about the gender gap in academic careers.The literature has reported the same trend in various countries where there has been obvious progress in the area of educational achievement for women. More women are gaining access to higher education in universities; however, the trend is less encouraging for women in regard to their academic careers.It can be assumed that the data will confirm the Gender Gap Index[24] and previous literature about the gender gap in academic careers. Table 5. 2 shows that male academics on average obtain a higher score than female academics for five variables: academic rank, educational qualification, age, length of tenure, age at marriage.On average male academics in this data are around 7.68 years older and are tenured around 9 years longer than female academics. However, females married younger than males and also had fewer children. Only the variable of type of education demonstrates that female academics have a higher means score than their male counterparts.

Table 5.2. Means, Standard Deviation, and Standard Error of Means

Variable	Gender	N	Means	SD	SEM	Min	Max	Mode
Academic Rank	Female	282	2.51	.88	0.052	1	9	3
	Male	467	3.17	1.06	0.049	1	5	3
	Total	749	2.92	1.04	0.038	1	5	3
Age	Female	277	39.23	7.61	0.458	26	65	33
	Male	459	46.91	9.44	0.441	28	70	37
	Total	736	44.02	9.55	0.352	26	70	41
Length Tenure	Female	277	9.34	7.83	0.470	1	46	3
	Male	459	16.62	10.75	0.502	1	50	9
	Total	736	13.88	10.36	0.382	1	50	3
Age at Marriage	Female	192	26.37	2.89	0.209	18	38	27
	Male	334	28.89	3.66	0,201	19	46	28
	Total	526	27.97	3.612	0.155	18	46	27

[24]https://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2015/

Academic Rank

Female academics dominate the positions of teaching staff, which is the lowest level of functional rank. For other positions such as *Asisten Ahli* (junior level), *Lektor* (lower mid-level), *Lektor Kepala* (upper-mid-level) and *Professor/Guru Besar* (senior level) they are overshadowed by males. Particularly, for the second highest position *Lektor Kepala* (upper-mid-level) and *Professor/Guru Besar* (senior level), these are granted to only a very limited number of female academics. There are only two female out of 56 professors.

Table.5.3. Academic' Rank Categories Based on Gender

	Female	**%**	**Male**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Tenaga Pengajar (Teacher Staff)	40	5.3	30	4	70	9.3
Asisten Ahli (Junior Level)	89	11.9	84	11.2	173	23.1
Lektor (Low-Mid-Level)	123	16.4	181	24.2	304	40.6
Lektor Kepala Upper-mid-level)	28	3.7	118	15.8	146	19.5
Guru Besar (Senior-Level)	2	0.3	54	7.2	56	7.5
Total	**282**	**37.7**	**467**	**62.3**	**749**	**100**

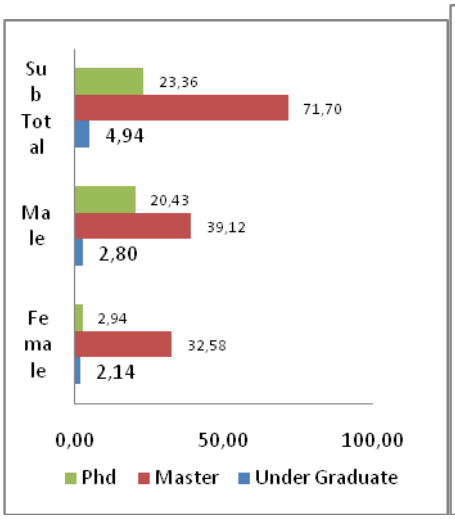
Educational Qualifications

In terms of educational qualifications, generally, most academic staff in religious university hold Masters degrees at around 72%. By contrast a smaller proportion havePhDs and Bachelors degrees at around 23% and 5% respectively. It is interesting that there are slightly more male Bachelors degrees than for their female counterparts, but the gap between male PhDs and female PhDs is strong, as the number of male PhDs is almost eight fold that of females. By contrast the gap between the number of female

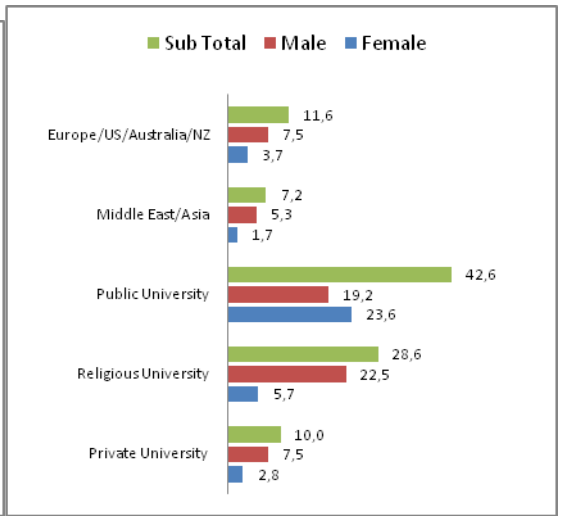
and male Masters degrees is quite moderate, as male Masters Degrees are only 3 % more than for females.

It is necessary to take into account that the majority of female academics in the data obtained their degrees from public universities, while more male than female academics graduated from religious universities and private universities. However, around 13% of male academics earned their degrees from overseas universities from Western countries and Middle East/or ASIAN Universities at 7.5% and 5.3% respectively. On the other hand, 5.4% of female academics earned their degrees from overseas.

Graph.5.1. Education Qualification



Graph.5.2. Type of University



Females with Masters Degrees from public universitiessurpass those of males by more than 18%, while males with Masters degrees from religious universities are more than double of that of females. Male PhDs from every type of university are 4 -18 times of that of females, but male PhDs from Western countries are only three times of that females..

Comparative means analysis strengthens the descriptive statistics that show female means for educational qualifications are lower than for their male counterparts. In contrast, the types of universities females attend, on average, are better than for males. Females with better type of university are statistically significant as presented in the difference between the means for females and males at 2.94 and 2.72 t (682)= 2,882 at p <α=0.05. This reflects the fact that more female academics graduated from public

universities than religious and private universities which leads to better means for female academics than for their male counterparts.

Length of Tenure

As previous research has found that seniority is an important factor for an academic career, the length tenure variable will be discussed further as the variable to describe seniority. Based on length of tenure, the data consists of academic staff who have worked for one year (minimum value) to 50 years (maximum value). The length of tenure variable has a mean of 13.88 with the mode being 3, which is different significantly, suggesting that the data is spread evenly. The length tenure of females ranges between 1 and 46, and has means and mode being 9.34 and 3. While the pattern of spread for male data is similar to that of the female (from 1 to 50), the length tenure for males tends to be longer with its means and mode being 16.62 years and 9 respectively. The data shows that the means for males is higher that means of general data. By contrast the mean for females is lower. However, each of means for general data, male and female is higher than the standard deviation (SD) and Standard Error of Means (SEM) suggesting that all of means represent means of data.

It can be concluded that most female academics (24.2%) are in their early career because they have been appointed as academic staff for 10 years, and 10.1% of the female academics have been tenured for around 11-20 years. Less than 4% have been tenured more than 21 years. On the other hand, the male tenured category has been spread over every stage of the career with 20.1% of them in their early careers, while 21.3% and 13.6% have been tenured for around 11-20 years, and 21-30 years respectively. And finally, 7.3% of them have held academic staff positions for more than 31 years.

Age Composition

Based on age, the data encompasses academic staff from 26 to 70 years old in 2012, with the mean and mode being 44.02 and 41 respectively. The age range of female academics from 26 to 65, has the mean and mode of 39.23 and 33. On the other hand, the

age range of male academics is between 28-70 with a mean and mode of 46.91 and 37 respectively.

To understand the proportion of academic staff based on age better, the data is classified into four groups: from 26 to 39; from 40-49, from 50 to 59, and finally from 60 to 70. From both individual data analysis and from age classification analysis the data based on age is not distributed normally. While most female academics are under 40 years old in 2012, male academics are spread in the 40s and 50s. Likewise the average age of females is 39.23 and for males the average is 7.68 years older than that of females.

Marital Status

The available data on family formation among academics in this research does not cover all the data. Of 749 CV's available 722 (96%) have data on marital status with 661 (88.2%) being married, and 61 (0.08%) not married. There is no marital data for 27 (0.036%). Likewise, only 526 CVs provide information about the age of marriage, which ranges from 18-46. However, the data does not present information about whether it is the first or second marriage.[25]

Table 5.4. Data on Marital Status

Marital Status	**Female**	**%**	**Male**	**%**	**Sub Total**	**%**
Married	238	32%	423	56%	661	88%
Have Not Married	34	5%	27	4%	61	9%
Information not Available	10	1%	17	2%	27	3%
	282	38%	467	62%	749	100%

The data is interesting as, in Indonesia, the 1974 Marriage Law allows women to marry at 16 and men at 19 and early marriages are still prevalent. Both culture and

[25]Previous research on divorce rates in the 1990s in Indonesia shows that the divorce rate was highest among the Muslim countries, and higher than the divorce rate in developed countries. Indonesian's divorce rate per 1,000 persons aged 15 above was 15.1, which is more than double than that in the US which was at 6.0 (Nilan, 2008).

religion in Indonesia consider marriage an important aspect of life, and it is considered as the promotion to adulthood (Nilan, 2008). Marriage is the only lawful place where sex is permitted. Both males and females are expected to know their *kodrat* (nature) is to be a husband or a wife; women are taught to dedicate their lives to the well-being of family and men are endorsed as being heads of households (Utomo, 2005). In the 1960s, young women had little freedom to leave their homes, and waited for men to marry them. However, the median age at marriage has increased significantly, from 18.9 in 1971 to 20.9 in 1990. (Nilan, 2008, p.69).

The data presents mean, mode, and median as the same, around 27 years old, which means that delayed marriage is common among academics in Indonesia. In addition to that, there are more female academics who have not married than their male counterparts. However, the mean, median and mode of the female ages of marriage are lower than for their male counterparts by 26.3, 26, 27 respectively, and 28.9, 28, 28. It can be concluded that female academics generally married earlier than males.

Number of Children

Similarly, of the 749 CV's available only 503 (67%) have data on the number of children. While all academics renew their promotion data they do not renew data about new born children in their family. Only 66% (173 out of 262 female academics) and around 71% (330 out of 467 male academics) provide information about the number of children. The number that often appears (mode) for males is 2 and for females is 1, with the maximum number of children being 10 for males and 8 for females. The majority of female academics have one to three children while some male academics have up to four and five.

5.4.2 Correlation and Regression

From the previous descriptive analysis, data from the religious university is not distributed normally. Academic rank has the mean (2.92) which is close to mode (3.00). However, the means and modes of civil service rank and career advancement are skewed. For independent variables such as education qualification the mean (2.18) is close to mode (2), and so is the mean and mode for type of university (2.80) and (3.00). The data

confirms the findings of Finney and DiStefano (2006) that often the data modeled in social science do not follow a multivariate normal distribution. Likewise, Micceri (1988) argues that the non-normal data was often found on data collected to measure variable achievement and other variables as well. Based on Nunnaly (1978) Micceri (1988: 270) they state:

> "Strictly speaking, test scores are seldom normally distributed". The item of a test must correlate positively with one another for the measurement method to make sense. Average correlation as high as 40 would tend to produce a distribution that was marked flatter than the normal".

Following an argument that it is very difficult to find normal distributed data for social science, therefore, although the existing data is not distributed normally, some methods such as correlation still can be used to understand the relationship between gender and career advancement. Another reason to use these tests is that the research uses almost all cases in a population and the data is fairly large. In other words, this research somehow can be classified as a population based study. Statistical methods such as regression are also useful to understand the contribution of gender variables in career advancement because the number of cases is quite huge.

Another issue for standard regression is multicollinearity because gender correlates to all of the other variables of age, education qualification, type of university, and tenure.

Table 5.5. Correlation between independent variables

IV	DV (Type university)	DV (Educational Qualification)	DV (Length of Tenure)
Gender	-.100*	.254*	.338*
Age		.346*	.903*

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

The issue of multicollinearity is assessed and determined but it was not a problem for the analysis because the score of tolerance is>0.10 and the VIF (Variance Inflation Factor) <10.00[26].

As mentioned before, gender and other independent variables (type of university, educational qualification, age and length tenure) were expected to be a significant factor for career advancement in both countries. Table 5.6 shows the result of the correlation test, and as expected, gender and all of the independent variables significantly correlate to dependent variables.

Table 5.6.Correlation between independent variables and assessment for career advancement.

Independent Variable	**N**	**Dependent Variable** **Academic Rank**
Gender	749	306*
Type of University	749	-.108*
Educational Qualification	749	.573*
Age	736	.595*
Length of Tenure	736	.624*

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

My study applies logistic regression because the data especially for dependent variables is categorical and it does not satisfy the assumption of Ordinary Least Square. The research uses almost all cases in a population and the data is fairly large. In other words, this research somehow can be classified as a population based study.

Unlike the result of the correlation test, the influence of gender for career advancement using ordinal regression demonstrates a different result. Gender is not a significant factor compared to other variables (age, education qualifications, and length of tenure) when academic career advancement is classified into three categories (low rank for teaching staff and junior level, medium rank for lector, and high rank for upper-mid-level and senior level). Being a male academic does not have a probability to advance their academic career faster than their female academic because p=0,348 > α=0.05 means that the Exp (B) score statitically is insignificant.

[26] See Appendix 1

Table 5.7. Factors contributing to academic career advancement applying ordinal regression

IV	B	SE	Sig
Gender	-.159	.170	.348
Age	.043	.019	.023
Length of Tenure	.098	.019	.000
Education Qualification 1	-4.600	.494	.000
Education Qualification 2	-2.063	.223	.000
Education Qualification 3			

However, a statistical analysis using binary regression where academic career advancement is classified into categories low rank (for teaching staff, junior level, and lector) and high rank (for upper-mid-level and senior level) shows that gender is a significant factor together with length of tenure and educational qualification. On the other hand, the age variable is statistically insignificant because p=0.056, and this p-value is higher than α=0.05. However, as age and length of career has a multicollinearity, both are significant factors if analyzed using regression separately.

In the binary regression the gender influence is significant because p values score is 0.043 <α=0.05. Being a male academic has a positive impact for high rank by 1.701 and the ExpB of gender variable is higher than length of tenure variable. Being longer in a tenured position increases a probability to obtain high rank by 1.078. On the other hand, being older is predicted as an increased tendency to have a high rank by 1.046 but it is statistically insignificant.

Table 5.8. Factors contributing for academic career advancement applying binary regression

IV	B	SE	Sig	Exp (B)
Gender	.531	.262	.043	1.701
Age	.045	.023	.056	1.046
Length of Tenure	.075	.022	.001	1.078
Education Qualification 1	1.914	.215	.000	6.779

From the descriptive analysis, ordinal and binary regression it can be concluded that the gender gap is significant at the highest rank and less significant at the middle and

low rank positions. If the classification of academic rank is only between low and high rank, the influence of gender is more prevalent. On the other hand, statistic analyses using ordinal regression fails to show that gender is a significant factor for academic career advancement in the religious university. These analyses use academic rank as the dependent variable and is classified into 3 categories consisting of low rank, middle rank, and high rank.

The following table (Table. 5.9) shows that type of university (classified into national and overseas university) is not a significant factor for academic career advancement because the p value=0.531 and the score is >α=0.05. However, type of university is incomparable variable because it is available only in the secular university with many missing data.

Table 5.9. Contribution of typeof university with binary regression

IV	B	SE	Sig	Exp (B)
Gender	.516	.263	.050	1.675
Age	.044	.023	.061	1.045
Length of Tenure	.075	.022	.001	1.078
Education Qualification	1.926	.216	.000	6.863
Type of University	-.080	.127	.531	.923

5.5 Data from a Secular University in Indonesia

The following data was collected from a public secular university in Jakarta. This is one of the oldest and the best universities in Indonesia. The selected data with nearly complete information for independent variables is for 1570 academics out of 2397. The proportion of data based on gender is almost equal: 49.55% of females and 50.45% of males. This is almost similar to the proportion of the real data based on gender from the Centre of Higher Education (50.5% and 49.5% for males and females respectively).

5.5.1 Descriptive Statistics

The following table (Table 5.10) presents means, standard deviation (SD), and standard error of means (SEM). The dependent variable is career advancement by using

academic rank; and the independent variablesinvolve gender, age, length of tenure and educational qualification. These independent variables are available in religious university data as well. Table 5.10 shows that male academics on average obtain a higher score than female academics, and also means scores for the total data for four variables: academic position, educational qualification, age, and length of tenure.

Table. 5.10.Means, Standard Deviation, and Standard Error of Means

Variable	**Gender**	**N**	**Means**	**SD**	**SEM**	**Min**	**Max**	**Mode**
Academic Rank	Female	778	3.01	1.10	0.041	1	5	3
	Male	792	3.36	1.16	0.041	1	5	4
	Total	**1.570**	**3.19**	1.15	0.029	1	5	3
Age	Female	778	49.1	9.54	0.342	24	67	53
	Male	792	51.1	8.71	0.310	23	66	52
	Total	**1570**	**50.1**	**9.18**	**0.232**	**23**	**67**	**52**
Length tenure	Female	778	21.04	10.5	0.378	0	43	25
	Male	792	22.8	9.3	0.332	0	41	26
	Total	**1570**	**21.9**	**10.0**	**0.252**	**0**	**43**	**25**

Academic Rank

From Table 5.11, the data shows that 41.72% of academic staff in the secular university are at their highest career level *lector kepala* (Low-Mid-Level), *guru besar* (Senior-Level), and 58.28% are at their early *tenaga pengajar* (teacher staff), *asisten ahli* (Junior Level) and middle career *lector* (Low-Mid-Level). Of the female academics 32.6% are at their early and middle career; only 17% are at their second highest career level. On the other hand, male academics are spread more equally in at all levels of their careers (25.6% at their early and middle career; 24.7% at their second highest career).

Table. 5.11. Academic rank category

	Female	**%**	**Male**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Tenaga Pengajar (Teacher Staff)	94	6.0%	71	4.5%	165	10.5%
Asisten Ahli (Junior Level)	129	8.2%	99	6.3%	228	14.5%
Lektor (Low-Mid-Level)	289	18.4%	233	14.8%	522	33.2%
Sub Total	**512**	**32.61%**	**403**	**25.67%**	**915**	**58.28**
Lektor Kepala (Upper-mid-level)	205	13.1%	255	16.2%	460	29.3%
Guru Besar (Senior-Level)	61	3.9%	134	8.5%	195	12.4%
Sub Total	**266**	**16.94**	**389**	**24.71**	**655**	**41.72**
Total	**778**	**49.6%**	**792**	**50.4%**	**1570**	**100%**

Educational Qualification

In terms of educational qualifications, generally, most academic staff in the secular university hold Masters degrees, at around 45.1%. By contrast a slightly smaller proportion have PhDs and Bachelors degrees, at 40.9%. The different percentages of male academics who had earned a PhD is significant compared to that of female academics (24.4% for males and 16.4% for females). By contrast, females had more Masters degrees than their male counterparts (25.5% and 19.9% respectively). Academic staff holding only a Bachelors degree reached 14.1% with more females than males (7.7% and 6.4% respectively).

Table. 5.12. Educational Qualification Based on Gender

	Female	**%**	**Male**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Bachelor	119	7.7%	99	6.4%	218	14.1%
Master	389	25.1%	308	19.9%	697	45.1%
PhD	254	16.4%	378	24.4%	632	40.9%
Total	762	49.3%	785	50.7%	1.547	100%

In other words, the pattern of data from the secular university for the educational qualification is quite different from the religious one. Although the majority of the

academic staff in the data for the secular university shows the highest educational qualification is the Masters degree, the majority of male academics in the secular university had been granted a doctoral degree. There are 16.54% more PhDs and in secular university than in the religious one. On the other hand, the majority of academic staff in the religious university hold Masters degrees. There are 26.6% more Masters degrees in the religious university than in the secular.

Type of University

Available data for the type of university in the secular university where the degree had been earned is not similar.The available data for a Bachelors degree and type of university for this degree is 770. The available data for a Masters degree and type of university for this degree is more limited, only 340. Finally for, a PhD there are only 174. While this is not a high enough number to make a generalisation, it is fair enough to give information about the proportion for each type of university.

The majority of the academic staff graduated with Bachelors degrees from a public university (99.9%). There are only 2 pieces of data for academic staff who earned them from private universities. Likewise, most of the academic staff of the secular university (91.9%) earned their Bachelors degrees from inside the university and only a minority earned it from outside the university (8.1%). Similarly, 91.8% of the academic staff earned their Masters from public universities, 1.2% from private universities and 7.1% from foreign universities. The majority of them (79.1%) earned their Masters from inside the university and only a minority earned it from an outside university (20.9%).

Age Composition

Since the government issued the policy of using the birthday for civil servant identity, it is quite easy to measure the age of civil servants. As the identity number is available, the age can be predicted accurately. The age of academic staff at the secular university ranges from 23 to 67. For the majority of the data, 73.2 %,' this was between 45-67; and only 26.8% were between 23-44 years old. The majority of female and male academics are in the same class, around 45-55 years old and between 56-67.

The difference in the age of academic staff at the secular university and the religious one is significant. The mean for the secular university is 50.12 while at the religious one it is only 39.6. The mean, median, and modes for male and female academics at the secular university are almost similar, while the different ages of males and females at the religious one are extremely different.

Length of Tenure

In terms of the period for being appointed as a civil servant or the length of tenure, it ranges from 0 (newly appointed in 2012) to 41 years. This information is available from the civil servant's identity as well. Similar to data from the religious university, there is a significant correlation between age and length of career (the score is 0.648 at α=0.000). Mean, median and modes of length of tenure of females is slightly below their male counterparts. A smaller proportion (39.6%) of academic staff in the data had worked for 22 years or less; and 60.9% had worked for between 23 and 41 years.Looking closer into the data shows that both female and male academics have served between 23 to 41 years, so are almost at the end of their careers.

Table 5.13. Length of Tenure Classification

	Female	**%**	**Male**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
0 - 10	139	8.9%	82	5.2%	221	14.1%
11 - 22	196	12.5%	204	13.0%	400	25.5%
23 - 33	339	21.6%	390	24.8%	729	46.4%
34 - 41	104	6.6%	116	7.4%	220	14.5%
Total	**778**	**49.6%**	**792**	**50.4**	**1570**	**100%**

5.5.2. Correlation and Regression

Similar to data from the religious university, the data for the secular university is almost a population based study with large amount of data (around 65% of population in *Pangkalan Data Perguruan Tinggi*/ the centre of higher education). As it is expected gender, education qualification, age, and length tenure correlate significantly to career

advancement in the secular university. Similarly, the issue of multicollinearity is assessed the score of tolerance is>0.10 and the VIF (Variance Inflation Factor) <10.00[27].

Table. 5.14. Correlation between independent variables and assessment for career advancement.

	N	**Career Advancement**
Gender	1570	149*
Age in 2012	1570	577*
Length tenure	1570	627*
Education Qualification	1570	390*

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

In the secular university, three independent variables (gender, length of career and educational qualification) are significant factors influencing academic career rank in all types of statistical test, and only the age variable is not significant. Age is not significant because it has multicollinearity with length of tenure with the VIF of age and length of tenure being 7.454 and 7.533 respectively. Accordingly, the length tenure variable seriously distracts the influence of the age variable, in fact both length of tenure and ageare significant factors for academic advancement when the statistical test introduces age or length of tenure separately.

Table 5.15. Factors contributing to academic career advancement applying binary regression

IV	B	SE	Sig	Exp (B)
Gender	.529	.122	.000	1.698
Age	.006	.019	.747	1.006
Length of Tenure	.126	.019	.000	1.134
Education Qualification	.695	.090	.000	2.005

[27] See Appendix 1

Table 5.16. Factors contributing to academic career advancement applying ordinal regression

IV	B	SE	Sig
Gender	-.320	.108	.003
Age	.003	.017	.849
Length of Tenure	.139	.016	.000
Education Qualification 1		.168	.000
Education Qualification 2		.118	.000
Education Qualification 3			

Gender is a significant factor with various statistical tests (correlation, ordinal regression and binary regression). From the binary regression test, the result can be interpreted that being a male academic will contribute to being promoted Tinto a high rank by 0.601, and having a longer tenure contributes to being promoted into high rank by 1.132

5.6. Discussion, Comparison and Conclusion

I can now compare the data analysis conducted for the religious and the secular universites in Jakata, Indonesia. I can also address the hypotheses and questions I raised at the start of this chapter. From the statistical analysis result two hypotheses can be argued that *first,* the gender gap in academic careers between men and women at universities in Indonesia is very significant and *second,* that gender is expected to be a significant factor for career advancement in Indonesiacan be proven by three statistical analysis (descriptive, correlation, binary regression).

The descriptive analysis shows that male academics on average obtain a higher score than female academics for all related independent variables: academic rank, educational qualification, length of tenure, (Table 3.2) For the academic rank, the gender gap in academic between males who are granted higher civil service ranks and females who are granted lower ranks is too extreme in the religious university in Indonesia. Similarly, in terms of academic rank, female academics dominate the positions of teacher staff, which is the lowest level of academic rank. The number of males in the second highest position are more than six fold that of their female counterparts.

While the gender gap is sustained, the data from the secular university (Table 3.11) is quite different from the data from the religious one as the later has more

academic staff at their early and middle careers (the total for teacher staff, junior level and lector is 73%). On the other hand, data from the secular university is mostly at the middle level (low middle level and upper middle level by 62.5%) with female academic staff being at the low middle level (18.4), and their male counterparts being at the upper middle level (16.2). The percentage of academic staff in their highest position (upper mid-level and senior-level in the secular university) is 14.7% more than in the religious one. The number of males at the highest positions at the religious university is almost six fold that of females, but the number of males in the secular university is only twice that of females. It means that the gender gap is lower in the secular university than in the religious university.

A statistical analysis using binary regression in the religious university shows that gender is a significant factor together with length of tenure and educational qualification. Age and length of career has a multicollinearity, both are significant factors if analyzed using regression separately. The gender influence is significant because p values score is $0.043 < \alpha = .05$ with the ExpB of gender variable is being 1.703. Similarly, applying binary statistics, gender together with age, legth of tenure, and education qualification is a significant factor because the p value score is 0.000 accordigly, ExpB 1.698 is meaningful.

On the other hand, a statistical analysis using ordinal regression in the religious university shows that gender as an independent variable has p value$=0.348 > \alpha = .05$ means that it is statistically insignificant. Gender influence for academic careers sometime is invisible in statistical analysis is not an extraordinary because previous researches found the similar data (for example Nielsen 2015; Aksnes et al 2011; Mairesse and Pezzoni 2013). Based on crosstab, it can be interpreted that the gender gap in low and middle positions is not prevalent in the religious university but it is prevalent in the high rank positions. The gender gap is very prevalent at the highest rank and it is more likely that those with highest ranking positions are male academics who are older in age and longer in their tenure period. While age and length of tenure are significant factors for academic career advancement, most female academics are under 40 years old, and male academics are spread in the 40s and 50s. Likewise, the average age of females is 7.68 years younger than that male academics. It can be inferred that the gender gap is very prevalent among the senior generation and less prevalent among the young generation. It relates to the fact that the religious university is a new university

transformed from an institute for Islamic studies which used to focus on religious study and it has expanded to secular studies since 2000. It seems that many female academics have been recruited in the new staff and, accordingly, are within the low and medium ranks, so gender is an insignificant factor for academic career advancement.

The gap in academic rank between male and female academic staff in the secular university is not as wide as in the religious university, accordingly, gender significantly effects academic rank in all statistical models (descriptive, binary and ordinal regression). Furthermore, the mean, median, and modes for male and female academics age at the secular university are almost similar. The secular university is an old university and it implements the State Owned Legal Institutions system and, accordingly, has a more independent staff recruitment system, and the civil servant system is less likely to be used to recruit the academic staff. The old university has a new recruitment system which is not civil service based, therefore, the gender gap for academic staff with civil servant status is not only at the highest level positions but also at the middle and low positions because most of the academics are from the old generation with long tenure periods. Arguably, research on the gender gap in a secular university for new staff must include non-civil servant staff.

Despite the weaknesses, my findings extends previous research by Kholis (2012) as gender is a significant when it is tested as a single independent variable, using MANOVA in his research and binary regression in my research. Similarly, my research proves a similar conclusion using descriptive and binary regression. However, my research proves that the influence of gender for career advancement using the ordinal regression is less significant compared to other variables (age, education qualifications, and length of tenure) regardless the weaknesses of the claim. While Kholis's data are from Islamic higher education in seven provinces, my data is from an Islamic university in capital city and it is compared to a secular university where the situation is not very comparable.

Regarding the fact that my finding challenges the theory of the gender gap, that is a Western theory, it is important to note that the influence of gender and academic career advancement in Indonesia should be assessed by understanding the higher education system in Indonesia (as discussed in Chapter 2) and Indonesian's culture regarding primary and secondary bread winners, where male academics are primary breadwinners while female academics are secondary earners which will be discussed in the next

chapters. In Chapter 7, based on in-depth interviews, I present findings on the perception that an academic career is considered as a mother friendly occupation because it is close to teaching which is commonly perceived as a woman's task in a family. In addition to that, the fact that being a civil servant is considered a secure job with low remuneration, accordingly, most male academics give priority to generating secondary income and ignore applying for academic promotion. Arguably, the fact of the limited influence of the gender factor should be understood from this point of view.

In addition to that, it is important to take into account that gender is an influential factor when it is tested with only two independent variables (gender and length of career) without introducing educational qualification. Similarly gender is a significant factor when attaining an international degree and adjusting to an international academic system. While an international degree is not a significant factor in academic career advancement it correlates significantly to a professorship[28]. It can be speculated that the correlation between international experience and a professorship is significant. Based on the new regulation of academic career advancement, the importance of internationalisation will be stronger in Indonesia. In addition to that, I present the gendered constraints on female academics in their daily lives, based on the in-depth interviews in Chapters 6 and 7.

[28]See Appendix 1

CHAPTER VI

A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF ACADEMIC CAREERS IN NEW ZEALAND: A FOCUS ON THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND

6.1 General Overview

In this chapter I present my findings on whether male and female academics advance their careers differently at the University of Auckland, New Zealand, in comparison to some findings from previous research from the New Zealand Census of Women's Participation, 2012, and PBRF Quality Evaluation data. The fact of the gender gap in New Zealand has been argued in previous research. Baker (2012) pays serious attention tothe influence of managerialism and university restructuring as well as subjectivity for the gender gap. Furthermore, Doyle et.al (2004:52) argues that female academics are different from their male counterparts in several aspects. For example, women are more likely than men to mention obstacles to academic career advancement. They are more likely to agree that they do not have sufficient time for developing a research profile, lack time to put together an application, acknowledge that they have a lack of information on promotion procedures, and lack the opportunity to be involved in university committees. The argument goes further, that it is more common for women to consider that their time spent on family matters and the expense of childcare prevents them from getting fast promotion.

Other previous findings, beyond New Zealand, for example, Pezzoni, et.al, (2012), report that gender has a negative effect on promotion chances in France and Italy as female academics have only half the chance of being promoted compared to their male counterparts. On the other hand, Sabatier et.al (2006), argues that the influence of gender on promotion is not uniform but it interacts with other covariates. This research says there are three factors that cause female academics to speed up or slow down their career promotion. Graduating from top universities, acting as a PhD supervisor and mobility before recruitment to the INRA (National Institute of Agronomic Research, the institute of focus for this research) all lead to faster promotion, but mobility after promotion significantly slowed down the promotion process. Sabatier et.al (2006) argues that after

recruitment, internal networks are more important, as shown by the positive effect of holding a managerial role. Sex differences contribute to speed up or slow down the length of time between promotions but there is not enough evidence to indicate sex discrimination or the *glass ceiling* effect. The reasons for the influences of sex difference are mainly focused on the sum of involvement and if the activities of female academics are fewer than their male counterparts.

Based on views of academics Doyle et al (2004) argue that important factors contributing to academic promotion are the number of international publications in high rank journals and presentation in international forums. The second factor is securing funding for research, then followed by the number of local peer-reviewed journal publications, number of papers presented in conference, contribution to university leadership, and service, respectively. These factors have been mentioned in academic standards in the next discussion. Beside these academic standards another factors such as qualification, age, gender, and ethnicity are mentioned by limited numbers of respondents.

The gender gap has been identified as the most common problem in New Zealand's academic careers (Baker, 2012). Other factors of unfairness in academia have been identified in many countries especially those which have a lack competition among universities. Compared to scientific merit, the period of working at the same university and participating in research work with the president of the university are more significant for a Professor's career advancement in Italian universities (Abramo, Angelo, Rosati 2015). Non-scientific criteria, such as nepotism, have been identified as important factors in previous research (Zagaria 2007; Paroti 2008). In Spain, previous findings show the role of connections between candidates and the evaluators (Zinovyeva and Bagues, 2012).

This chapter is based on data obtained from New Zealand, from the University of Auckland *Calendar* in 2012 and 2015. In the 2015 calendar there are 2040 separate pieces of data available for the classifications I am using but this included tutors and research fellows. This was then refined to those who hold the academic positions of Lecturer, Senior Lecturer, Associate Professor and Professor, and there are 1,383 complete pieces of data. It then is refined by omitting double names, if the name of an academic is written in more than one school or department, or for incomplete data (year to be appointed in the university is unavailable). In comparison to the data used in

chapter 5, the data obtained from the university *Calendar* has only limited variables, only one dependent variable (academic career rank) and two independent variables (gender, length of careers). Therefore, only limited analysis can be generated from the data and it cannot be used for comparative study between Jakarta and Auckland because comparative quantitative research requires the similar variable. However, as previous research about the topic has been extensive, this chapter augments previous discussions.

6.2 Academic Career Promotion Procedurec in New Zealand

6.2.1 Professor and Associate Professor

Baker (2012: 5) argues that Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States have almost similar academic practices because they implement similar university restructuring processes and patterns of institutional governance. Therefore, it can be assumed that academic rank and academic promotion in universities in those countries share similar procedures, but each and every university has their own regulations. For example, in terms of academic rank, there are seven ranks in the University of Canterbury: Assistant Lecturer (entry level without PhD), Lecturer (entry level with PhD), Senior Lecturer (career grade), Senior Lecturer above the Bar, Associate Professor (equivalent to Reader in the UK system), Professor, and Distinguished Professor.[29] Academic ranks in the other New Zealand universities are similar. In terms of academic career promotion, Doyle et.al (2004, 8) demonstrate the policy at Massey University. There are three stages of promotion: level 1, level 2, and level 3. A level 1 promotion consists of three types: *first*, movement over the bar; *second*, movement to a higher grade; *third*, acceleration within the Tutor/Senior Tutor, Lecturer/Research Officer, Senior Lecturer Range 1 and Senior Research Officer Range 1 scales. A level 2 promotion covers two types of promotion: advancement to and within senior lecturer, and advancement to Associate Professor. Finally, a level 3 promotion is the promotion to the rank and salary of Professor.

Furthermore, each university publishes guideline procedures for the promotion process. For example, the University of Canterbury provides information about promotion procedures for Associate Professor and Professor in their website. It is stated in the University of Canterbury website that the NZ system does not have a tenure or

[29]See http://www.canterbury.ac.nz/hr/aca_proms/tenure_etc.shtml).

probationary period of employment. From the beginning academic staff are employed in a permanent position and advance their careers through the academic career ladder.[30]The University of Auckland (UoA) provides information about its promotion policy procedures for all academic ranks (Professor, Associate Professor, Senior Lecturers, Lecturers, Senior Research Fellows, and Research Fellows).[31] In addition to that, the website provides academic standards and policy for Research Fellows, Senior Research Fellows, Lecturers, Senior Lecturers, Associate Professors and Professors.[32]

The policy of the University of Auckland states that the basic policy for promotion follows merit based principles, and principles and practice of equity and promotions.[33] Similarly, the information publicly available for the University of Canterbury explains the role of the independent advisor for preserving the objectivity of promotion procedures. The Independent Advisor will be asked to provide an impartial academic opinion of theapplicant for promotion. They will be asked for their considered opinion about whether the candidate has met the criteria for promotion, and in forming that view, to draw on their understanding of the achievements expected of an Associate Professor or Professor in their particular field. They will be provided with the referee's reports.

> An Independent Advisor will usually: not know the applicant personally; be familiar with the promotions process in a university environment similar to UC; be of high international standing; be from the discipline or allied discipline to the applicant; be at the grade of Associate Professor or Professor.[34]

International recognition for publication, academic leadership, and research collaboration is heavily emphasised in the requirements for a professorship. It has been argued that, since the late 1980's, the policy for tertiary education which relies on being market based has been endorsed in New Zealand. Furthermore, the Tertiary Education

[30] http://www.canterbury.ac.nz/hr/aca_proms/tenure_etc.shtml
[31] https://www.auckland.ac.nz/en/about/the-university/how-university-works/policy-and-administration/human-resources1/academic-processes-and-standards/academic-promotions/promotion-policy-and-procedure-.html
[32] https://www.auckland.ac.nz/en/about/the-university/how-university-works/policy-and-administration/human-resources1/academic-processes-and-standards/academic-standards/academic-standards-other.html
[33]https://www.auckland.ac.nz/en/about/the-university/how-university-works/policy-and-administration/human-resources1/academic-processes-and-standards/academic-standards/academic-standards-other.html
[34]ww.canterbury.ac.nz/hr/aca_proms/referee.shtml

Strategy, 2007-2012, issued in December 2009[35], designates strengthening the agenda of higher education towards internationalisation and emphasises worldwide trends (Shannon 2009: 53-54).

Similarly, in the University of Auckland, academic standards and policy for Professor and Associate Professor are classified based on the field of study: natural science, social science and humanities. Academic standards are based on the contribution of academics for three aspects of academic work: teaching, research and creative work, service and leadership. Those three fields of study share similar standards for contribution to teaching and service and leadership. However, the standards are quite different in terms of research and creative work especially for standard of publication for peer-reviewed journal articles and book chapters and for securing research grants where natural science expects the highest standards and humanities have the lowest standards.

Similar to the academic standards for Professor, the measure for Associate Professor also relies on contributions in three areas: teaching, research and creative work, service and leadership. Some academic standards such as number of student supervisions, publication, and securing grants are measured quantitatively but others do not have exact expected numbers. Academic standards for Associate Professor share the same criteria for service as well as leadership among the fields of study. And again, to be promoted to Associate Professor in natural science requires more research and creative work than other fields of study.

For the contribution to teaching aspect, based on the academic standards, Professors are expected to successfully supervise six Honours, eight Masters and eight Doctoral candidates, while Associate Professors are expected to successfully supervise four Honours, eight Masters and six Doctoral candidates. In terms of research and creative work, Professors must have published 80 (natural science), 50 (social science), and 40 (humanities) peer-reviewed journal articles/books; on the other hand, the number of publications for an Associate Professor in natural science, social science and humanities are at 45, 35, 25 respectively. In terms of securing grants, Professors are expected to secure 8, 3, 2 grants for the field of natural science, social science and humanities respectively. However, it is mentioned in Academic Standards that the requirements should be viewed holistically. If the score in one area of contribution is

[35]https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0010/20341/Monitoring_the_Tertiary_Education_Strategy.pdf

higher than the expected performance, that can compensate for other areas of contribution.

6.2.2 Senior Lecturer and Lecturer

A Senior Lecturer in the NZ system is the middle position in an academic career,just below the Associate Professor. This rank is similar to Associate Professor in the North American university system. The next lower rank isLecturer which can be compared to an Assistant Professor's rank in similar systems (Baruch, 2003). Similar to the first and second highest rank (Professor and Associate Professor), in the University of Auckland, the academic standard consists of three areas;the contribution to teaching, research and creative work, service and leadership. Academic standards for the three highest ranks (Professor, Associate Professor, Senior Lecturer) determine number of contributions for those three areas quantitatively, but for Lecturer the academic standard does not mention exactly the expected number to be contributed.

Academic staff collective agreement divides Senior Lecturer positions based on a remuneration schedule into eight positions (Senior Lecturer 1-8) and two kinds of promotion Senior Lecturer above the Bar (for Senior Lecture 6-8) and ordinary Senior Lecturer (Senior Lecturer 1-5).[36] The remuneration for Senior Lecturer 1 in 2013-2014 was $95.957-$97.300 and the remuneration for Senior Lecturer above the Bar was from $113.667-$115.228 annually. For Senior Lecturers 1 in natural science within the area of teaching, they are expected to supervise to successful completion two Honour's and two Master's candidates or one Doctoral candidate. The teaching contribution in social science at this stage is higher than for natural science as they are expected to supervise to successful completion two Doctoral candidates besides two Honours and four Master's. For the contribution to research and creative work, they are expected to publish 15 peer-reviewed journal articles/book chapters/creative and generate $50,000 in external research grants and contracts. Senior Lecturers 1 for social science are required to supervise to successful completion two Honour's and two Masters candidates, and two Doctoral candidates. For research and creative work they are expected to publish three fewer publications than Senior Lecturers in natural science [37]

[36] file://files.auckland.ac.nz/MyHome/Documents/Signed-Academic-CA-Dec-2013-to-June-2015.pdf
[37] https://cdn.auckland.ac.nz/assets/central/about/the-university/how-the-university-works/policy-and-administration/academic-standards-rf-srf-l-sl-ap-p.pdf

Similarly, Senior Lecturers 6 in social science are expected to contribute more than for natural science at a similar stage, but require lower contributions in research and creative work. For social science their teaching contribution should be to successfully supervise three Honour's, four Master's and three Doctoral candidates; on the other hand, at the same rank, natural science are expected to supervise two Honour's, four Master's and two Doctoral candidates. The number of publications at this stage should be double of that of Senior Lecturers 1, with 30 publications in natural science; and 25 for social science.

Lecturers are expected to become "active in research" and to contribute within the area of teaching, research and creative work, and service. It explains in the Appendix (p.30) that "Staff who are active in research have, during the last three years, produced an average of one substantive quality-assured research output per year" However, the academic standard does not mention the number of contributions of academic staff at the level of Lecturer.

6.3 The Gender Gap in New Zealand

Number of Professors Based on Gender

Data from the New Zealand Census of Women's Participation, 2012, shows that there were 1,132 Professors from eight universities in New Zealand, giving 18.73% female Professors[38]. There was a moderate increase in the percentage of all Professors from 2010 to 2012 by 1.51%, with highest contribution from Canterbury and Lincoln Universities.

[38] https://www.hrc.co.nz/files/2314/2360/5171/web-census.pdf

Table 6.1 Number of Professors in NZ in 2012

University	Female (2012)	Male (2012)	Total (2012)	Female % (2012)	Female % (2010)	Female % (2007)	Percentage Point Change from 2010
Waikato	21	67	88	23.86	25.00	18.89	-1.14
Auckland University of Technology	14	51	65	21.54	18.03	15.22	3.51
Canterbury	24	90	114	21.05	16.50	7.25	4.55
Auckland	28	220	277	20.58	18.10	16.81	2.48
Victoria	57	118	148	20.27	17.69	17.69	2.58
Massey	30	132	160	17.50	16.44	16.44	1.06
Lincoln	32	34	40	15.00	10.53	10.53	4.47
Otago	6	208	240	13.33	14.55	14.55	-1.21
Totals	212	920	1132	18.73	17.22	17.22	**1.51**

Source: New Zealand Census of Women's Participation, 2012

Based on the NZ census 2012, there are 277 Professors in the UoA but in my input there are 294 Professors. This number does not include honorary, adjunct, or emeritus Professors. However, the percentage of female academics in my input is only slightly different from the NZ census in 2012, and there is a moderate increase of the number of female professors based on calendar 2012 and 2015, at around 1.5%.

Table.6.2. University Professors 2012 & 2015

	2012	**%**	**2015**	**%**
UoA	294	100%	313	100
Female	59	20.8 %	70	22.3%
Male	233	79.2%	244	77.7%

Source: University of Auckland, Calendar 2012 and 2015

Data from the university Calendars 2012 and 2015 shows that the gender gap in this rank is slightly narrowing around 3% from 58.4% to 55.4%. This strengthens Baker's conclusion (2012) that the gender gap in NZ is prevalent but the trend shows that the gap tending to be smaller.

Number of Associate Professors Based on Gender

Based on the New Zealand Census of Women's Participation 2012, there were 1,054 Professors in eight universities in New Zealand with 30.46% female Associate Professors. The percentage for this rank had increased around 2.44% within 5 years. Canterbury University contributed the highest percentage point of change at 4.51% followed by Massey and Auckland University respectively.

Table.6.3 University Associate Professor 2012, 2010 and 2007

University	Female (2012)	Male (2012)	Total (2012)	Female % (2012)	Female % (2010)	Female % (2007)	Percentage Point Change from 2010
Waikato	29	52	81	35.80	32.89	26.09	2.91
Massey	50	90	140	35.71	31.20	24.14	4.51
Auckland University of Technology	19	39	58	32.76	32.14	38.64	0.62
Canterbury	35	72	107	32.71	27.93	16.00	4.78
Auckland	85	207	292	29.11	24.73	24.16	4.38
Otago	68	172	240	28.33	27.46	18.54	0.87
Victoria	29	77	106	27.36	29.11	26.79	-1.93
Lincoln	6	24	30	20.00	24.00	13.04	-4.00
Totals	321	733	1054	30.46	28.02	23.19	2.44

Source: New Zealand Census of Women's Participation 2012

Table.6.4. University Associate Professors 2012 & 2015

	2012	**%**	**2015**	**%**
UoA	296	100	306	100
Female	83	28.05	108	35
Male	213	71.95	199	65

Source: Input Based on University Calendar 2012 & 2015

Female academic representation at the rank of Associate Professor is much better than for the rank of Professor. Data from the University Calendars, 2012 and 2015, shows that the gender gap for Associate Professor is significantly narrowing. The percentage of female academics in this position increased by 6.5%; and the gap in 2015 reached 30% from 43.9% in 2012.

6.4. Length of Career at The University of Auckland

The following table (Table 6.5), presents means, mode, maximum and minimum length of career based on rank and gender. The length of career can be seen from input data in the 2015 calendar because the calendar provides information about year of entering university for each academic. In New Zealand and other liberal countries, moving from one university to another university to gain promotion is very common, and their position in their new universities will depend on the position offered by the university. Therefore, academics do not need to start their careers from very beginning. In other words, they can start their career from the lowest rank, middle, or the highest level.

Looking closely into the data shows that the mean for the period for academics to be promoted to Professor is 18.25 years. The total mean for the length career at The University of Auckland of female academics in each rank is below the total mean. On the other hand, total mean for male academics is higher than their female academic counterparts. Male academics with faster career advancement and slower advancement in every stage are more numerous than their female academic counterparts. In other words, the data of academic mean, especially for male academics has been spread across all stages unlike for female academics.

Table.6.5. Means, Mode, Length of Career based on Gender

Academic Career Rank	Gender	N	Mean	SD	SEM	Min	Max	Mode
Professor	**Total**	312	18.25	11.298	.637	1	47	4
	Female	70	17.80	10.115	1.209	1	42	24
	Male	242	18.26	11.635	.748	1	47	4
Associate Professor	**Total**	305	16.62	9.371	.536	1	48	4
	Female	108	15.22	7.145	.688	2	34	16
	Male	197	17.467	10.274	.732	1	48	20
Senior Lecturer	**Total**	570	11.47	7.677	.322	1	42	7
	Female	247	11.42	6.960	.443	1	38	13
	Male	323	11.51	8.194	.456	1	42	7
Lecturer	**Total**	191	5.40	4.724	.342	1	26	2
	Female	99	5.44	4.689	.471	1	23	1
	Male	92	5.36	4.787	.499	1	26	**2**

Table 6.6 below shows that the majority of academics, 29.7%,obtain their professorship at between 1-10 years of their career. Male Professors are more likely to be promoted faster than female (43.5% of male professors need 20 years or lower: on the other hand only 12.2% are promoted in the same rank and period for female Professors).

Table.6.6. Length of Career of Professor Based on Gender in 2015

		Total		**Female**		**Male**	
		Count	**%**	Count	**%**	Count	**%**
	Length of career	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1	1-10	93	**29.7**	18	**5.8**	75	**24**
2	11-20	81	25.9	20	**6.4**	61	**19.5**
	Sub Total 1-20	174	55.6	38	**12.2**	136	**43.3**
3	21-30	91	29.1	27	8.6	64	20.4
4	31-40	39	12.5	5	1.6	34	11
5	41-50	9	2.9	1	0.3	8	2.6
	Sub Total >20	**139**	**44.5**	**33**	**10.5**	**106**	**34**
	Totals	**313**	**100**	**71**	**22.7**	**242**	**77.3**

Source: Input Based on University Calendar 2015

The majority of academics, both female and their male counterparts, are promoted to Associate Professor at 11-20 years of their careers at The University of Auckland (19% and 22.2 % respectively). Of the19.9% of male academics who are promoted they achieve this rank at 0-10 years, while only 8.8% of female academics reach this level. It is interesting that 22.6% of male academics are promoted to Associate Professor after a career of >20 years. On the other hand, 7.6% of female academics who are promoted to this similar rank need a similar length of career. It means that times spent obtaining a professorship vary significantly between individual male academics. However, in general male academics out number their female counterparts at this rank.

It has been discussed that the system introduces two types of Senior Lecturers (Senior Lecturer 1 and Senior Lecturer 6). However, I cannot distinguish the difference between those types of senior lecturers based on the calendar, therefore, the study combined all senior lecturers in one group. Male academics still over number their female counterparts at Senior Lecturer level and most of them have been at the university for 10 years or less (by 29.1) but only 21.9% of female academics spend asimilar period

reachingSenior Lecturer rank. However, the number of male academics at Senior Lecturer level for more than 20 years is higher than their female counterparts (by 7.3% and 4.4 % respectively). As the data available cannot distinguish the type of Senior Lecturer, the study cannot make a conclusion on the fact that more male academics are classified as spending more time at this rank. On the other hand, female academics are dominant in the rank of Lecturer as the lowest rank included in this study. There are 51.8% of female academics in this rank compared to 48.2% of male academics. Most female and male academics spend 10 years or less at this stage. Surprisingly, there are more male academics than their female counterparts with a length of career of more than 21 years (1.6% compared to 0.5%).

6.5. Correlation and Regression

There are only two independent variables in calendar academic university: gender and length of career, and both are significant variable for academic career advancement in correlation, binary and ordinal regression.

Table 6.7. Correlation between independent variables and academic career advancement

	N	Length Tenure at The University of Auckland	Career Advancement
Gender	1383	113*	204*
Length tenure at The University of Auckland			424*

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

The issue of multicollinearity is assessed the score VIF (Variance Inflation Factor) is 1.013 means that the parameter estimate is not significantly influenced by the existence of multicollinearity. Binary regression analysis demonstrate that gender and length career contribute to 1.933 and 1.096 respectively for academic career advancement. From the p value the analysis shows that both are statistically significant. The p-values of independent variable are at similar score at .000.

Table 6.8 Factors contributing for academic career advancement applying binary regression

IV	B	SE	Sig	Exp (B)
Gender	.659	.123	.000	1.933
Length of Tenure	.091	.007	.000	1.096

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Similarly, ordinal regression demonstrates the similar result that gender and length of career are significant for academic career advancement.

Table 6.8 Factors contributing for academic career advancement applying ordinal regression

IV	B	SE	Sig
Gender	-.645	.111	.000
Length of Tenure	.108	.007	.000

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

6.7. Conclusion

Using a limited number of independent variables, my study finds similar conclusions to previous researchers (Baker, 2012; Doyle et.al 2004) that the gender gap in academic careers remains prevalent. The influence of gender in this statistical analysis is due to the absence of independent variables which represent meritocratic principles in Lutter and Schroder's terms (2014). They apply regression analysis to show that publication of articles in the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) and publication of books have become the most influential factors for being a Professor in Sociology in Germany. On the other hand, women with similar qualification related to publications, years of experience, as well as social and symbolic capital had 1.4 times opportunity for professorship than men. Similarly, Nielsen (2015, Aksnes et al, (2011) and Mairesse and Pezzoni (2013) found that the influence of gender in statistical analysis has been unclear.

In Chapter 8, it will be discussed how under the system which is considered Western and based on meritocratic principles, female academics find it more difficult to compete than their male academic counterparts. Based on in-depth interviews some

participants acknowledge that the New Zealand system of an academic career is still very much influenced by Western and male values and, accordingly, female academics and non-Western academics are still marginalised within the system. Especially for female academics who are mothers, they face the most difficult challenges in adjusting to the system. My research expands previous research because, beside the gender factor, I present the intersectionality between gender and race. In addition to that, an important finding is that the narrowing of the gender gap in academic careers is significant for the rank of Associate Professor, and moderate for the rank of Professor, based on the University Calendar of 2015.

CHAPTER VII

QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS FROM INDONESIA

7.1. Introduction to the Chapter

Previous research has found that female academics are less productive in terms of research outputs (Kholis 2012). However, statistical analysis in Indonesia from Chapter 3 shows that gender is a significant factor in binary regression but not in ordinal regression. By contrast, the length of one's career is more important than gender in both statistical tests. Arguably, it can be speculated that gender equality for a public role is gradually being accepted in Indonesia. It has been argued that the gender wage gap in the country has steadily decreased. Women's income was around 40-60% less than for men in 1992, and it had reached around 20-23% less than for men a decade later. However, the gender wage gap is still significant and gender equality in domestic roles is still seriously resisted(Utomo 2008:2).

This chapter presents the main findings on female and male academic perceptions about their academic careers, their experiences and expectations, career satisfaction, and the influential factors for academic career advancement, including the influence of family and religion.

7.2. Female Academics: Household, Domestic Roles and Their Position in the Family

Clark (2004:116) argues that symbolic violence has been embedded within gender relations in Indonesia and is legitimised by religious and political principles. Women do not have similar rights to men and have a lack of freedom in their lives. Indonesian history seems to situate a woman's position in her family as one that is influenced by her social class. According to Locher-Scholten (2000: 13) *adat* (tradition) in regards to women's submission to their husbands, was more marked among women from high status families *(priyayi)* in the Dutch colonial period. On the other hand,

women from non-*priyayi* families enjoyed better rights in terms of legal position and property rights.

In the new order period[39], women were excluded from public ceremonies and public roles because only men of high level status were invited to participate. In general, it was uncommon for women to participate in the public sphere or undertake political participation (Saptari, 2000:15). State ideology about noble women follows the *priyayi* tradition: to strengthen women's role for their *kodrat* (inherent qualities of God's creatures) particularly in regard to their reproductive functions; to raise children and to take responsibility for their household. This norm is relevant to religious values where the ascribed gendered role is seen as at the behest of God's instruction (Utomo 2004).

However, researchers have noted that Indonesian women in general enjoy a higher status than other women in South and East Asia in terms of their economic position within a bilateral kinship system (Blackburn 2001: 270; Saptari 2000: 16), regardless of the low ranking level in international measurements, such as the Gender Development Index and Gender Empowerment Measure. The fact is that from 2001-2004 Indonesia was led by a woman president (Megawati Soekarno Putri) which illustrated that status, property and legitimacy could be inherited equally by a son or daughter. Similar to women in South East Asian societies, Indonesian women historically had more authority over money, trading, property and family business than their male counterparts who were expected to pay more attention to elements of status such as engaging in education or politics which did not really directly relate to wealth (Reid 2003: 35).

In modern life, Blackburn (2001) identifies that women's desires in Indonesia are not different from women's aspirations in other countries and traditions. They want to have better access to education, health, and work. However, these aspirations do not prevent professional women from believing that their responsibility to be a good mother and a good wife based on religious norms remains. Men and women may adhere to a belief that they are equal and that they can participate in public roles and share domestic work (Rinaldo 2008; Murniati 2012). Accordingly, the findings of this thesis show that

[39] Indonesian history post the 1945 independence is usually classified according to political regimes such as old order period 1945-1965 (under the Sukarno as the first president), new order period 1966-1998 (under Suharto as the second president) and reformation period (the period after 1998 when democracy has been growing under President BJ Habibie (1998-1999), President Abdurrahman Wahid (1999-2001), President Megawati Sukarno Putri (2001-2004), President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004-2014), President Joko Widodo (2014-2019). The second period referred to as the new order period was where the president could hold the position without limitation and President Suharto led Indonesia for 32 years. It changed in 1998 as the period of transition, and the constitution was amended that a president can be elected a maximum of twice only, with a period of 5 years.

women's expectations about their position in the family demonstrates the identified need to accommodate modern aspirations according to their religious values.

For example, the belief about the need for women's submission to their husband and the importance of husband's support for women's careers appears clearly, especially for female academics working within a religious university.

> I personally have determined to implement religious teaching from God and the Prophet Muhammad, and I always try to figure out about what has been done and what has not been done (a female academic 40 years)[40].

This woman notes that her commitment to practice religious teachings does not prevent her from critiquing some religious beliefs and engaging in a rational assessment of them, but on the whole she has decided not to follow her rational mind because God's instruction, according to her, is clear. For example, she expresses dissatisfaction with the religious obligation to ask her husband's permission. However, she accepts the teaching because she recognises that by following this instruction she is able to demonstrate her submission in front of God and his prophet.

A husband's permission to allow women to have a career is essential Islamic teaching for women. This belief is derived from Islamic teachings on the rights of husbands and wives, based on the prophetic tradition that it is forbidden for wives to go outside their houses without their husband's permission. Traditional interpretation of this principle relates to the Quránic verse: *Arrijalu Qawwamuna álannisa* (men are leaders of women). Husbands' authority over their wives may cause problems for women trying to realise their educational or career aspirations, and only women who are very determined attempt to negotiate the difficulties of convincing their husbands that being educated is not necessarily a sign of being arrogant or showing a lack of respect for their partner. A participant reports that she completed her Master's degree but she had to fight to convince her husband that she was still a good wife and mother. Her husband complained to her frequently, and anytime they had a problem he would always relate the problem to her educational qualification which is higher than his. He never banned her from taking her Master's but he was frequently worried that the impact of the higher degree would lead to a waning of her respect for him. Eventually, she was able to prove that she could maintain her religious values about respecting and treating her husband as an *Imam*

[40]Interviews in Indonesia generally are conducted by national language (Indonesia) and then transcribed and translated into English. However, three female participants were interviewed using English because they are happy to use English as they obtained their degrees from English speaking countries.

(leader). Sometime, his extended family provoked him saying that women will not respect their husband if they have a better education. Her position of following her religious beliefs is clearly articulated.

> I don't care what people say because I still believe that husbands, as men, have a higher status than wives. As a couple I consider my husband as a friend but I respect him as my leader in my family. I share and ask his opinion about my planning and my problems and he does a similar thing with me (a female academic 40 years old from a religious university).

As a result, she is genuinely grateful to her husband because he allows her to work and earn money. Without this support she would not work in a university and be on the academic staff. She does not want to work without his permission, because she does not wish to divorce him. As she was able to convince her husband that she would remain pious when she took her Master's degree, she easily got permission to continue her PhD and her husband supported her entirely. Similarly, a husband's permission is critical for female academics when deciding whether they can take up opportunities to develop their skills, especially if they need to go abroad to continue their study. However, the fact that a woman's decisions depends on the authority of her husband does not necessarily hinder women from improving their skills. Support from parents and relatives enables them to leave their children while undertaking study away from home. This position has been stated in earlier research which has found that Asian women, especially Indonesians, enjoy various forms of support from spouses, relatives and neighbours (Luke 1998; Murniti 2012: 38). Two female academics, one from a secular university and one from a religious university, undertook their Master's and a doctoral degrees from outside Indonesia.

> When I did my Master's in Australia, I went there alone without my family, so my parents took care of my kids, I have two kids, one stayed with my mum and the other with my mother in law. They also allowed me to continue my study. My husband didn't accompany me to Australia. I did my Master's for one and a half years, so it was too risky for him if he had to resign from his company for me and follow me to Australia. So, we decided that it was only me who would go to Australia, while my husband and kids stayed in Indonesia (a female academic 40 years old from a secular university).

The rights of women have been declared in the Indonesian constitution of 1945 that all citizens have equal rights (Article 27). This was followed by government policy to ratify several international conventions on the rights of women such as the International Labour Organization (ILO) remuneration convention, UN Convention on

Political Rights, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1951, 1968, and 1984 respectively. However, each regime has different approaches in implementing gender equality policies. Traditional division of labour and motherhood ideologies were significantly influenced by the gender ideologies of the new order era. This approach was considered to prevent an active women's role in the public sphere. The emergence of the women's movement in Indonesia and the introduction of progressive feminist thought in Islam are considered to have changed this approach gradually. Indonesian women have increasingly been able to obtain support to engage in the public sphere. However, socially the controversy and resistance to the question of whether and to what extent women should be allowed to play a role in leadership remains strong. As a result, Dewi (2012) notes that, in the political field, around 10% of the local governments were headed by women leaders in 2005-2008 (11 out of 111 local elections). This achievement is still far from meeting the standard of gender equality in the public sphere, but at least it shows that some women in Indonesia, who are surrounded by a male dominant culture, can exist in non-domestic roles well.

In addition to that, it has been argued that gender role ideology and gender relations in Indonesian families are developing. Especially within middle class families, it has been argued elsewhere that gender relationships are becoming more equal. Yulindrasari and Mc Groger (2011: 607) found a significant change in gender relation expectations in the reformation period, compared to the previous period (new order era) based on their research for a popular magazine *Ayah Bunda*. The argument posits that state ideology intervened in an attempt to develop the ideal women, based on Marriage Law Number 1/1974 for implementing the *kodrat*. Recently, a new dimension of thinking about gender equality has developed with the introduction of the idea of the 'super dad'. This position declares that a father should take responsibility for domestic and household jobs. The idea of a 'super mom' and 'super dad' indicates a perceived desire to achieve a more equal division of labour in a family (608). Though of course the notion of 'super parents' has limitations it is important to recognise that positioning fathers as having responsibilities in the domestic spheres is a significant cultural shift.

However, traditional gender relationships remain the dominant form of familial relationship for female academics. It follows the pattern of domestic work which is mostly based on hierarchical-male domination. Most female academic participants recognise that they share the domestic jobs with their husbands. Their husbands

occasionally help them, especially for cleaning and washing, but rarely for cooking or ironing. In many cases, some husbands still expect to be provided with special attention that denotes their familial status, and wives must cook and serve the wider family, to demonstrate that the husband has authority over their wives. Sometimes, wives feel happy to meet all those expectations, but occasionally they find them cumbersome.

> Generally, we share domestic jobs in our family. However, frequently I feel very uncomfortable when I have to wake up earlier to take care of my children and prepare them to go to school, and prepare breakfast for the whole family. Coincidentally, my husband may ask me to make a coffee while he is watching television in the morning. I will be very angry and then my husband will grumble and make his own coffee, reluctantly. It commonly happens that my husband wants me to serve him. I have a maid but she comes in the afternoon. I handle all domestic jobs in the morning such as cooking, and washing dishes. I mostly do everything that relates to the household by myself (a female academic 41 years old from a religious university).

Although the traditional gender relationship is still robust, this study strengthens Luke's findings (1998, 2000) that domestic jobs among the middle-upper class are often onerous. Women from the middle and upper classes can manage their family relatively easily because of the availability of low wage domestic workers. The availability of domestic workers in Asian families has lessened work-family conflict among career women because career women can rely on them for their domestic activities (Caparas 2012; Utomo 2004; Murniati 2012).

> I have a domestic worker in my family, so I do not need to clean my house, wash clothes, and iron them. I only need to coordinate the preparing of food, to determine what she should cook every day. I give her a schedule for irregular jobs such as cleaning the toilet, or storage. I work by myself for jobs such as cleaning our small fish pond or the garage (a female academic 39 years old from a religious university).

The job description for domestic workers amongst families is different. Some academic females only ask them to do the cleaning and washing; some employ them full-time and some only hire them part time and still prefer to do some work, such as cooking, by themselves.

> I usually cook before going to the university. I have a domestic worker for cleaning the house and washing clothes. I prefer to cook and enjoy my role as a queen in my home. When my domestic worker comes in the morning, I make sure that I have washed all the dishes. My husband, as the primary earner and head of my family, is a very good partner for me. My domestic worker works a schedule that follows a civil servant's schedule. They get a break on weekends and public holidays. I am very happy that my husband and I co-operate and work together to accomplish the domestic jobs. I prepare breakfast and my husband cleans the house. My husband can do all the domestic jobs, except for cooking, washing the dishes and ironing (a female academic 39 years old from a religious university).

In brief, all participants who are married and mothers who are responsible for the domestic tasks of their family mostly get support from a domestic worker or a family member. On the other hand, male married academics can focus on their career because they do not need to spend time on domestic tasks. Overall there is a reinforcement of both gender and class positions that women seem comfortable/complicit with. They align with gender stereotypes and in some cases extend them. Male academics contribute minimally to domestic jobs, as mentioned in the following quote:

> We live in a patriarchal culture, and I think I have more opportunity to focus on my career. My wife is a housewife only, she does not work outside home. I only need to drop my kids at their school and my wife will pick them up (male academic 44 years old from a religious university).

7.3. Being a Single Academic Female

It has been argued that successful career women in the Western world usually remain single or childfree, or uses the strategy of exploiting a nanny or cleaner (see Evetts 2002). However, using 'exploitation' to describe hiring a nanny or cleaner is a radical departure in the Indonesian context because, similar to the situation of other developing countries, Indonesia has limited institutional support for raising children such as day care, or parental leave to facilitate raising children. The lack of institutional support from either the state or the private sector for children makes traditional support from family or a neighbour the one of the primary ways to balance family and career for women in Indonesia. This situation where people's needs are met by family and community in Indonesia is characteristic of a state with an informal security regime (Wood and Gough 2006). Rather than considering domestic work as an 'exploitation' hiring domestic help is seen as a kind of *reciprocity* to help others, to provide jobs, and mitigate the effects of poverty. However literature shows that the working conditions of the domestic worker has been very poor (Komalasari 2008: 364).

Being single or childfree is still very rarely the case in Indonesia because being married is one of the important norms. Relatives and friends will keep reminding unmarried men or women to marry (Situmorang 2007) and, especially for women, the pressure will be stronger. Compared to other countries in Asia, the number of unmarried women in the 40-44 age group in Indonesia is quite low at 1.2% in 1970; which

increased to 2.4 % in 2000. The number is almost triple this in Thailand going from 3.9 % in 1970 to 9.3% at the same period (Tan 2010:750). The increasing number of never married women indicates that modernity is significantly transforming social relationships related to family and kinship which are the most important norms. The impact of modernity on family life has long been apparent in the West, and it has expanded to Southeast Asia but the pattern of changes in Southeast Asia is not as strong as the changes in the West. The 'never married' women in three urban cities (Jakarta, Bangkok, Manila) mostly achieve higher education and have high status occupations, with family commitments still being their main social relationship after office hours. Their life is still constructed by their careers and family life, and it means that the local context is still very influential for the daily life of the unmarried women (Tan 2010: 751, 760, 763).

One of the most dominant characteristics in the West for female academics advancing in their careers is being single, unmarried or childfree. Based on previous literature it can be concluded that childless women are more likely to have a better education, better income and jobs (Baker 2012: 27-28). A senior lecturer from a secular university acknowledged that being single means she is able to have a better career and it makes it easier for her to deal with activities related to her academic job than for her colleagues. She is likely to be the first women promoted to the position of full professor in her department. That no-one has achieved this position before is largely linked the fact that many female lecturers are also home makers.

> I think if I ever become a professor and the first female professor, it has something to do with the fact that I am not married. Because I am a single woman, I can do a lot of the work that is required by the system. I can fulfil a lot more of the work commitments because I do not have to take care of a husband or children. My time is fully for my career. The culture in Indonesia is that, if you are a man with family it does not matter, you do not have to take care of your home as the wife can do that, but if you are a woman, you are expected to be responsible for your home and household (a female academic 55 years old from a secular university).

However, another female academic reports that being a single academic or being childfree does not necessarily correlate to being more productive and having a better chance in her career. Some female academics with children have better career advancement that those who are childfree, or single academics. In other words, for some female academics, their career advancement is mostly from individual effort. Some female academics report that they have domestic help from their parents and extended

family. This confirms previous research that being single does not mean being free from domestic tasks.

7.4. Academic Careers: an Ideal Career for Women in Indonesia (?)

According to Baker (2012: 123) one of the characteristics of the academic gender gap is that females and their male counterparts have different perceptions and expectations of their academic career advancement. The perception about career advancement has a strong relationship to career motivation, career aspiration and self-confidence. It has been argued in a previous chapter that the dimensions of culture, structure, and action are determinant factors for a women's choice of career. However, it is important to take into account that there will be different strategies for female individuals in adjusting to the culture and structure of their universities (Evetts 2000). The study finds that an academic career in Indonesia is likely to be considered as a "family-friendly occupation" for female academics and a quite "low income profession" for male academics.

The following participant interview extracts indicate that many women, with their partners' support, choose to become civil servants. Both wives and husbands expect to maintain the traditional division of labour and to adopt modern values as women can still obtain additional income but they can also prioritise family life.

> I worked in another field (in the private sector) before deciding to choose an academic career. When I planned to marry, my fiancé proposed that I change to an academic career because working in the private sector meant that we had to work from around 08.00 am in the morning to 04.00 or 05.00 in the evening. Sometimes, we had to go outside the city. My fiancé said, "if you work very hard for the whole day in that way who will deal with family and kids?" My fiancé arranged everything for my application for my academic career, such as writing a letter of application and sending it in. Then I got married, had children, and he was right because I was very busy and I could not leave my children to go outside the city (a female academic 40 years old from a secular university).

Furthermore she emphasises:

> I believe this occupation is prestigious enough but in terms of salary, we have a lower income than those who work in the private sector. My salary as a civil servant in 1998 was less than 1/3 of my salary in the private sector but I still had savings from my previous activities and I was supported by my husband (a female academic 40 years old from a secular university).

The notion of having both family and career is emphasised by a participant from a religious university who is slightly above 50. According to her, women should have a career beside their position as homemakers although, in Islam, it is believed that generating income is not an obligation for women. However, according to her, income is a symbol of social dignity (especially income from a white collar and skilfull job) and it promotes feelings of confidence; it makes women look more intelligent and have a better character, and they can avoid useless activities such as chatting or gossiping[41]. By contrast, according to her, a stay home mum without activities outside home will get bored and have a low level of confidence among her family and friends. In other words, following Hakim (2006: 289) female academics in Indonesia have a similar preference to many women elsewhere to be adaptive women who prefer to combine work and family. Certain occupations that facilitate work-family balance are seen as desirable. In this regard, a civil servant is considered as the best choice as Azmi et.al (2012) found that Muslim women obtained benefits from the public servant system such as child care and the flexibility to manage time. In addition to that, being a civil servant has high job security and so has a long career-path from appointment to retirement, with fewer job demands than the private sector and one where incumbents rarely face dismissal. The civil servant system treats men and women equally in terms of salary and does not expect high levels of geographic mobility to obtain career promotion. Civil servants, especially academic staff, are most likely to remain at the same institution until they retire from their job, unless they propose to move to another city for family reasons. On the other hand, it is very common for staff in the private sector to expect to be regionally relocated. It is common for promotions to entail the need to relocate to another area.

Based on tradition and religious interpretation, husbands are still expected to become the primary breadwinner and wives are only secondary earners. Therefore, husbands are expected to work longer and wives should work less in paid labour (Utomo 2012). Women from the middle class largely adhere to principles about a religiously informed noble life where to marry and have children is key. This may mean that a woman can anticipate and plan for a job after marriage but on the proviso that family will always be the first priority (ibid). Following this pattern, some participants consider an

[41]It is very common that perceptions reinforcing gender stereotypes about what women do appear in daily conversations. Likewise, a participant mentions that housewives focusing on domestic work without a public role tend to spend their time gossiping. Gossiping is most likely to be identified as a characteristic of women rather than men.

academic career as the ideal occupation for women because time management can be quite flexible, so that women can have both a career and a family.

> The academic career profession is very friendly for children. When I was breast-feeding, I could give my children breast milk freely, I could bring them to the university, or return home anytime as my home is very close to the university. When they grew up, I could accompany them in their learning. I think teaching activity is very flexible (a female academic 39 years old from a religious university).

Women do make decisions to change their profession from the private sector to an academic career even though it will mean a reduction in salary. This confirms Utomo's argument (2012) that women are most likely to choose an occupation which enables them to have family life balance, which may mean working in a less demanding occupation with a stable income. As secondary earners, women can adjust to the moderate income which is generated from being a civil servant. Comparing their salaries in the private sector two participants stated that they received around one third of their previous income when they started their civil service career, and the most important factor which motivated them to choose an academic career was their fiancée or husband's support. Once a couple decide to marry, they understand that they will have children, and the women recognise that they will have the greater responsibility in taking care of the children.

Several participants reported that their decisions to choose academic careers were influenced by their husband, or the decision was due to their having a baby or young children and they could not manage their time if they kept their jobs in the private sector.

> It was not my intention to pursue an academic career. I worked as a consultant for human resources, and I had two babies and their ages were very close to each other. I could not manage my time working in the private sector. I heard of a vacancy to teach in the university from my husband. He really supported me to apply because he thought I could enjoy the flexibility for managing time if I worked in a university. I was unsure about an academic career but I thought positively, in that if I pursued an academic career I would have good and positive things in my life. I was successful and now I have been working for about 10 years. I did not know anyone here, because I was accepted into a new programme. But I was a lecturer assistant in my previous university, and I received very low incentives. I was quite worried thinking that I would obtain a very low salary compared to my salary in the private sector. However, I decided to take the risk and re-evaluate my life goals. I am happy to give more benefit to other people and not to spend my time only for material gain (a female academic 39 years old from a religious university).

An academic career with civil servant status has been considered a low paying profession and the wage gap between ranks under the civil servant system is not very

significant. Academic careers require a high level of education as an entry requirement but their basic salary is not very different from a civil servant such as a teacher or the administrative staff in various ministries whose education qualifications tend to be much lower. As Filmer and Lindauer (2001) found, civil servants with high school educational qualifications, or those with lower than high school levels obtain a higher income than private sector employers with similar educational qualifications. On the other hand, those with higher educational qualifications (starting from diploma and above) obtain a lower salary in the civil service system than employees with similar qualifications in the private sector. However, according to the World Bank (2003, in Kristiansen Ramli 2006: 217), various additional forms of compensation in Indonesia (such as monthly certification, monthly remuneration based on attendance, or remuneration for a professorship) have been received by civil servants recently; therefore, they should not be classified as an underpaid occupation.

> I began my career here with receiving only 30 % of my previous salary in the private sector so I lost 70 % of my income, I was quite worried because I had to adjust my expenditure to income, but I am happy because I love teaching activities (a female academic 39 years old from a religious university).

Another female academic acknowledges that her salary was just around half of her salary in her previous occupation in the private sector. However, she has many opportunities to generate income from the community service projects. The amount of income from an academic career depends on the field of study that an academic is working in. If within the corporate sector there is a need for experts from a field of study, for example, health and safety, the companies will seek expertise from disciplinary units in a university related department. The companies provide funded projects that draw on the services of academics to help them establish their project. From those activities, academic staff can obtain additional income that aligns with their position. Civil servants more generally cannot supplement their salaries in this way. It has been argued before that additional work for academic staff, especially non-administrative work, can increase their income significantly (Clark and Gardiner 1991).

> When I worked in a company, I think my salary was quite good, and when I moved to the university, my salary was cut by about a half, but there were also a lot of opportunities from the university like doing projects, what we call public or community service.

> During my first year, I think my salary was quite low, about half compared to what the private company paid me, but now I think I earn quite a lot compared with people from the company. It is because we have a lot of projects, working with companies, doing consultation, so I have extra money from that (a female academic 40 years old from a secular university).

The income academics earn, according to her, depends on individual efforts to generate income from activities related to individual expertise in the university, she explains as follows.

> It also depends on how active you are building your networks with the company and funding agency, like me and my friend in the department. We have received grants from a prestigious company to develop a chemical management system in this university, with good money, and we are using the fund to develop our lab facility and systems and it is extra earning for us as well (a female academic 40 years old from a secular university).

Being involved in consultancy activities means that some female academics must be actively engaged in corporate activities to gain funding. Sometimes they have to travel outside the city (Jakarta) and stay away for some time, mostly without their family. Some informants in this study report that their consultancy activities do not contribute significantly to their academic careers although they could get points if they publish something from their consultancy activities. Some female academics report that they rarely use the data obtained from consultancy projects for their journal articles because the research procedures implemented for these activities are not as strict as for academic research. The fact that the activities are funded by certain companies may mean the results sometime serve the company's purposes, which means that it does not give priority to the value-free principles which are the academic norms. However, some mention that consultancy activities can be counted for community service.

In terms of the activitieswhich mean they leave their family, these can be classified as work related travel, which is very common within an international academic career system. Both hiring and promotion within the international academic career system requires academics to engage in high quality research, make presentations nationally or internationally, and publish their articles in the highest quality journals. These requirements have been indicated as one of the sources of the gender gap in academic careers. Tower & Latimer (2016) note that traditional gender roles create difficulties for female academics as they may need to give priority to their research needs which may require prioritising travel over their family commitments. Activities such as travel, fieldwork, and conferences will be much more stressful given the gender role

expectations. Childcare issues have been found to impact on decisions to plan or attend research, submit papers for professional conferences or give a presentation if these involve traveling. Those activities are important for international academic careers as they promote the exchange of ideas, increase personal connections and extend networks, and eventually have an impact on intellectual recognition. They are seen as a standard and expected role of the international scholar. While these roles are often seen as gender neutral roles my participants were aware that not being able to fully participate could have an impact on their career path.

Demographic mobility among female academics in this study was more likely to be about obtaining a degree from an international university outside Indonesia, and work-related travel was more likely to be about conducting consultancy projects from private companies or the government. Female academic participants were more likely to conduct their research within their own locality. However, it is increasingly common for female academics to travel between cities for research, study visits or faculty meetings. Some informants preferred to gain their degrees from universities in Indonesia because their husbands would not support them to study abroad, and to have a long distance family; but female academics are most likely to accept travelling abroad for short periods for academic or managerial reasons.

7.5. The Motherhood Penalty; Flexible Work and Female Academics as Secondary Earners

The previous discussion demonstrates that female academics choose an academic career due to its flexibility in terms of time arrangement, and the nature of the job which can be considered family friendly. Therefore, it can be assumed that the motherhood penalty, the wage gap and gender inequality in income are unavoidable. The motherhood penalty means that having children and raising them influences the accumulation of women's human capital which means women get lower salaries than men. In addition to that, women with children will encounter the problem of discrimination because they are considered less competent than men or women who are childfree.It has been found that the motherhood penalty will be harsher for the 20 to 30 year old age group and be felt less over time women by women in their 40s to50s (Kahn, et al 2014: 56 & 69).Similarly, Aguero (2012) argues that the motherhood penalty in developing countries

is stronger for women employees who have young children and infants. The situation changes when daughters grow to be adolescents, especially among the low-educated sample, as an older daughter can contribute positively to reducing the motherhood wage penalty as they stay home and, culturally, they have an obligation to help with domestic work. Low-educated mothers tend to work in the informal sector and encounter less of a motherhood penalty than the high-educated mothers who tend to work in the formal sector (p.3-4).

Previous researchhas proven various findings on the effect of marriage status on men's and women's wages. Some argue that family formation behaviour influences the wage effect of marriage. In addition to that, the extent of the labour market participation rate, the extent to which women play a role in family well-being, and the percentage of shared house work are also considered influential factors (Cheng 2015: 5). Therefore, it has been argued that the motherhood penalty is lower among women of colour than for their white counterparts because it is common for women of colour to marry men with lower resources. However, based on data from the National Longitudinal Survey 1979 in the US, Cheng (2015) finds that the marriage wage premium grew similarly between white and black men.

Similarly, research about the relationship between flexible work arrangements, productivity and wages demonstrates various results. Traditional worker norms expect professionals to work full time in the office, work for long hours, devote themselves to work, and have the ability to travel anytime. On the other hand, flexible work arrangements solve work-family conflicts, have a positive effect on physical and mental health, and reduce unexpected absences (Munsch 2015). But flexible work is considered ambiguous and uncertain and fails to challenge ideal work norms (Perlow and Kelly 2014 in Munsch 2015). However, Weeden (2005) finds a spurious correlation between flexible work and wages, and that mothers are the most likely to benefit from flexible work arrangements. Similarly, Munsch (2015) finds insufficient evidence of gender discrimination and the motherhood penalty within flexible work arrangements (but she acknowledges that her research is only applicable to professional roles).

While, individually, some female academics do not pay attention to the wage penalty or mother hood penalty due to their being supported by their husbands, some realise that female academics in Indonesia encounter problems in advancing their careers.

> I think I have to admit that… even although my husband never prohibited me from doing something, or not let me participate in some activities, during the night I still need to take care of my son, putting him to sleep, something which he (my husband) rarely does, or he does only during the weekend. Although I know it is not working time, still I sometimes use that family time to do some work. Ideally, when we are at home, we should do something else, not work, but it also difficult to finish all the work during working hours (A female academic, 39 years old from a religious university).

As discussed before, demographic mobility for gaining an international education is very hard for female academics. Some recognise the importance of having international experience but they realise the serious challenge it presents. Female academics represent a group of women who are ofen not home-centred women (Hakim 2006). Although family life and children are their priority they also want to work, but they do not want to give full commitment to their careers.

> In my opinion, generally, a female academic's career is slower and their inspiration and motivation are not very strong. It is probably their motivation… or their dual function in their family... I think that is difficult. As women, we could not leave our family freely, unlike men they could just go and do their activities outside the home if they want. My own experience is that I do not want to go abroad to study as I don't want to leave my family and that is my responsibility as a wife and as a mother. In fact I know that studying abroad will expand our knowledge, will give us better opportunity to enhance our skills in international languages and improve our confidence (A female academic, 40 years old from a religious university).

In terms of family income and female autonomy the situation among female academics varies. Previous research about female autonomy demonstrates various results. The older anthropological research, such as that of Stoler (1977), argued that women maintained a significant contribution to the household economy in traditional Javanese families. Similarly, Wolf (1988) found that industrialisation in Java increases females' economic power in their family. In more detail Lont (2000) explains that women in South Asia, especially in Indonesia, have a very dominant position in determining how the shopping budget will be spent. However, the willingness and ability of their husbands in supporting their family needs influenced the women's position significantly. If their husbands do not have stable and sufficient income, or their husbands only give part of their income, wives will encounter financial problems.

A participant from a religious university feels fortunate to have her job as an academic staff member and she believes that her job is not significant for only economic reasons, as her husband supports her financially. Similarly, a participant from a secular university has never shared her salary with her husband because she follows the cultural

norm that the husband is the breadwinner, and a husband does not have authority over a wife's income. That income is for her to have fun with.

> Thanks be to God that my husband has a good income, therefore, my activity is more for self-actualisation, to give benefit for others beside for myself and my closest family (A female academic, 38 years old from a religious university).

> In terms of money, my husband still supports my family and I have never given him my salary. My salary is for myself, I think that is a consequence of his promise not to expect income from me (A female academic, 40 years old from a secular university).

The situation is almost similar to the situation in liberal countries where, when female academics live in marriage or partnership with high income males they are more likely to have a better economic status. They still tend to have greater responsibility regarding domestic work than males (Baker 2012: 166). However, as there is the influence of strong religious beliefs among female academics in Indonesia, they rarely criticise the unequal division labour in their family and rarely choose separation if they encounter problems with their husband because of pursuing higher education. Compromising and negotiation with their husband is preferable to taking up other options that could impact unfavourably on family life.

Both male and female academics from a secular university, especially from a social science faculty background, have quite a different lifestyle from their academic counterparts in religious universities. More male academics are becoming secondary earners because their wives have a better income and have graduated from faculties which are considered more prestigious. Some female academics contribute equally and in some cases female academics are the primary breadwinners because they are single after their 40s. Being single or unmarried until their 40s is more common in the faculty of social sciences for both male and female academics. In other words, it can be speculated that family transformation has been more influential among academics with social science backgrounds in a secular university. It is a situation that rarely occurs in a religious university. This is a very interesting phenomenon and needs to be elaborated on more to understand whether academics with social science backgrounds in secular universities are progressive in the way they interpret family and family responsibilities. Is the decision to not marry due to the types of things they study? Is it because they are thinking to have children later when they are more established, or that they are not interested in developing a family, or for other reasons? Unfortunately, my research does

not provide detailed information on this topic because I was worried about them not giving informed consent and avoided asking for personal information on this issue.

Based on my observation and discussion with several participants, it seems that the influence of social science and modern thought are more significant in the secular than in the religious university therefore the transformation of family life is stronger. Academics in the secular university are more heterogeneous in terms of religiosity and religious affiliation ranges from the pious to the most secular expression.In secular universities, religious belief is also influential but the expression of religious belief and the level of influence in both universities are quite different. All academics in the religious university which is involved in this research are Muslim; on the other hand, not all academics in the secular university are Muslim. However, the majority of them are Muslim with a variety of ways in expressing their religious beliefs, especially in terms of practicing some aspects of religiosity (in Islam) such as praying, fasting, pilgrimage and the acceptance of alcoholic drinks. Academics in the religious universities are not necessarily homogenous in their Islamic practice either, but the differences are less marked. Most of them practice ritual religious services (praying, fasting, pilgrimage) but probably the ways they are practiced differs. In the religious university, social science paradigms are discussed and influence the way people think and act, but those are mixed with religious beliefs and tradition. However, this is an area that deserves more targeted research as the current study only offers limited information.

7.6. Gendered Career Ambition and Motivation

Although an academic career is considered ideal for female academics, generally they do not have strong ambition and motivation to advance their careers in Indonesia. Career ambition can be defined as individual development, mastery of the task and career mobility (Benschop et.al, 2013). On the other hand, career motivation relates to career resilience, career identity, and career insight (London 1983; Ricketts & Pringle 2014). The measurement of career motivation has been developed by London (1997) and it includes; the capability to adjust to dynamic circumstance; solve conditions of uncertainty and work through problems; the ability to work in a team; understanding weaknesses and strengths and career goals; feeling involved in their career; and considering that professionalism is an important attitude.

The concepts of gendered career ambition and motivation are not similar but have quite comparable meanings for how individuals can survive and advance their careers. Similarly both concepts are gendered and have been discussed to be factors in the lack of progression for women's careers (Benschop et.al 2013). In the Indonesian context, women with strong career ambitions are perceived in a negative way and are considered to have lost their female personality. Ambitious career women with high income are considered to make women arrogant and have less respect for their husbands (Utomo 2012).

Similar to the general trend, females in academic careers give priority to their family. While their children are growing up and starting to go to school they will begin to struggle to be involved in university activities.

> I give greater priority to my family than my career... because if I obtain the highest career position but if I cannot manage my family, it will be a serious problem for me. I have to be responsible about my children's achievements in their school. I will check whether they understand their mathematics (division, multiplication, division). Before going to bed I question them and my children will answer some of the questions, usually related to basic questions for some subjects (A female academic, 38 years old from a religious university).

Other factors which keep women at similar ranks for years are because they have played a role in administrative and leadership positions. Two female academics from a secular university have remained in similar positions for more than 10 years and even up to 18 years. They played administrative roles becoming secretaries of a programme. Later, when they planned to apply for promotion, they had yet not completed their PhDs. Promotion cannot be processed for academics who are studying for a higher degree.

> I ignored my promotion because I was so busy with my activities playing a role in leadership positions and I did not care about promotion. I am happy with my research activities. I have been a lucky academic because I obtained scholarships for all my tertiary education so that I did not have serious challenges regarding economic hardship, and I did not have certain ambitions about academic promotion (a female academic 42 years old from a secular university).

This quote shows that it is very common for female academics to play middle leadership roles. This confirms previous reseach that female academics are more like totake on leadership and service roles and are largely unambitious around promotion and other career goals.

> I had the rank of lector (low middle-rank) for around 18 years from 1998-2008 because I had never applied for promotion. I applied for promotion in 2009 but I had to stop the process because I did not meet the requirements. I spend most of my time in administrative and leadership roles as I am a head of department. I learnt many things about developing the curriculum and learning methods but it could not be transferred into credits for promotion (a female academic 42 years old from a secular university).

A female academic from a religious university emphasised that her weakness was publication. Other factors such as monitoring the application documents could be a problem because some report that their application could not be processed, as they needed to complete the supporting documents for teaching, research, service, during the process. Supporting documents for teaching are letter statements from the dean explaining that academics teach specific subjects, and they are given early in the semester. It is important to save the documents in a specific place, and for them to be readily available. Supporting documents for research can be a letter statement from the institution which provides funding for research, or reports of research, or evidence of publication for research. Supporting documents of community service are usually certificates stating the involvement in community service activities, or letters of information from authoritative institutions. It is time consuming to find new supporting documents when academics are careless and lose them because the mandatory and standardised procedure for promotion is supplying the required supporting documents. The bureaucratic process is sometimes not helpful when a letter of application may be lost in the process. Collating and monitoring documents are central to this bureaucratic process. They must be readily available so that the highest authoritative officer in the promotion system can receive the documents as necessary.

> I think the problem is about my publications, but I have my article in a journal already. It is believed that we have to monitor the process by contacting the officers dealing with the promotion process. A promotion application requires many documents, and we need to check and monitor them intensively, contacting the government officer from the Ministry of Religious Affairs if we want to get a faster process. Unfortunately, I did not do it. I obtained a mid-level position in 2009, and to be promoted to a senior lecturer (4A), I needed to wait for two years because I did not have any journal publications in a journal recognised internationally. For those who have a journal publication recognised internationally they can be promoted faster. I applied in 2009 and the letter of decision about my appointment was issued in 2011(a female academic 40 years old from a religious university).

Confirming previous research about gendered career expectations, several female participants mention that they are not really serious about planning their careers to achieve professorship. Female academics in Indonesia are most likely to give priority to

their husband's career and keep the traditional relationship with their husband. A senior female academic in her 50s, who was deeply involved in the women's movement chose to support her husband to obtain his higher education and sacrificed her opportunity because she thought that allowing her husband to get a better education would give her family a better life. Another female academic argues that achieving a professorship is like a bonus because of the uncertainty of the requirements.

> I think being a professor is kind of like a bonus. I think the most important thing for me is my family and my career is going well, so that is enough. Sometimes if you want to be a professor, it's pretty subjective. In my department, I have one friend who wants to be a professor, she actually deserves to be a professor, but people around her do not really like her, so they try many ways to stop her progress. I also think that there are too many criteria to be a professor; you have to be a role model, like be perfect in everything. If you have made mistakes previously and the people still remember, they will stop you (a female academic 40 years old from a secular university).

However, besides the fact that women have problems with their domestic role, a participant expressed her dissatisfaction with the poor promotion system which most likely relates to administrative tasks.

> I was not thinking to become a Professor, for me the highest academic degree is the doctoral degree. A professorship is not a degree, it is title for people who are teaching, but my attitude in general, is that if I deserve to be a professor through the process, then I'll be very grateful, but I'm not aiming to become a Professor. I work to become a good researcher in my field. Basically, that is what I am aiming for, so I don't worry too much about it, but the department, faculty and university always push me towards the professorship (a female academic 55 years old from a secular university).

Furthermore, she mentions:

> Those who got promoted are not really good scholars…excuse my language, but there are people who are very diligent in taking care of administrative tasks, filling out forms, requirements, but who are not really people who are good at academic work, so I don't think the system of promotion here quite reflects the ability or capacity. You have a lot of people who are not professors, but who are much smarter and much more knowledgeable than those who carry the title of professor, so there is a problem of the promotional system here. It just …you know just …fill out the form, then you get promoted, there is not a really good system of recruitment and promotion for lecturers in Indonesia.

For some participants, being in a traditional relationship does not prevent them from having the confidence to advance their careers. Younger female academics in their late 30s still have the attitudes about respecting and giving priority to their husband as

the leader in their family, but they are most likely to be supported by their husband to obtain the highest educational qualification. However, they are more confident about their career and they can state clearly that at a certain time they will achieve a professorship. A young female academic argued that she could apply for a professorship within 5 years.

> I am quite confidence and I feel I am competent enough in this profession. I think that within 5 years I would have applied for my professorship with all the documents required. Whether my application would be successful, I don't know... (a female academic 38 years old from a religious university).

Another young female academic considered the promotion system in Indonesia to be quite simple but her involvement in managerial jobs makes her more realistic and she does not have a specific target for obtaining the highest promotion in her career. Being a mother of two children and leading an institution in the university makes her unable to publish regular articles in a good reputable journal[42]. She was successful in publishing once but further publication has been delayed. She has the high criteria needed to become a professor but she needs to publish more than 10 journal articles which are recognised internationally. In fact, the regulation does not mention this criterion clearly and many male academics are confident of becoming professors with the minimum standard required by the university and Ministry of Religious Affairs. There are many male academic staff who have been appointed to professorships with only limited publications in high ranked journals, or they have achieved professorships without international publication. A female academic expresses her dissatisfaction with the process of professorship appointments as follows:

> I am not going to be satisfied, and become a professor if I only have one or two articles published in an international journal. Maybe I should have like 10 at least, then I feel like, ok, I'm going to apply for professorship. If I only have one, two or three publications in high rank journals then to me it's nothing like being a professor (a female academic 40 years old from a religious university).

Some female academics in their 40s do not feel that their articles are less valued than those of men. While the research tradition and the competence to gain international

[42]Serving as a head of a department, research institution or other institution is a quite prestigious career for both male or female academics but not everyone has the ambition to take the role. It is believed that being involved in the centre will give more workload and prevent academics from being actively involved in academic activitiesespecially research and writing. However, this activity can give more opportunity to generate more income and women are still rarely trusted to hold the position.

recognition is still weak, young female academics do not feel that their competence is behind their male counterparts. A female academic believes that the availability of research grants is not as good as research grants in liberal countries. However, academic promotion should follow the international standard for professorships to strengthen the academic tradition in Indonesia. Furthermore, an academic staff member argues that, in general, the academic system has been improving recently.

> I think now the system has become much better than before, they have quite an objective way of evaluation, I think, so they evaluate us based on publications, grant achievement, and also the students give us feedback in an online system, we call it EDOM (Lecturer Evaluation System), so the students give us marks as well. So the way lecturers get evaluated is not only based on our boss, but also our colleges and the students. Sometimes female academics encounter problems with work-related travel. However, work-related travel can be managed and it depends on individual choice (a female academic 40 years old from a secular university).

It can be concluded that while, generally, career motivation has been gendered, some participants have higher motivations and opportunities than others. Those with high career aspirations manage their domestic lives in similar ways but they tend to focus more on their career. Murniati (2012) argued that women supported by their family and husband have self-effort, motivation and opportunity so can achieve their highest career level.

7.7. Academic Careers from a Male Academic Perceptive

Baker (2012: 145) concludes that male academics have high levels of ambition and confidence in their academic career. Some male academics are confident to apply for promotion although they acknowledge that they have not enough publications, and they perceive the promotion system as a game. For male participants in Indonesia, some choose an academic career intentionally, some seriously plan their career advancement but others take it slowly. In terms of career motivation, the male participants of this study have different experiences. Being the main breadwinners mean that they must give priority to securing additional income as well as being an academic staff member. On the other hand, according to male academics, their female academic counterparts are not the main breadwinners, therefore, they can focus on academic tasks without worrying too much about money and additional income.

A male academic reports that he loves education and he values the education field as it is more prestigious than his previous job in an embassy. When he completed his first three year contract, he was offered an extension but he considered working in an embassy as secondary choice because his first interest was an academic career. Some male academics argue that academic staff, with their civil servant status, have a quite low income but it is stable and opens other income generating opportunities. A male academic shared the information that, based on his experience as a main breadwinner with a homemaker wife, income from his profession as an academic cannot meet his family's needs adequately. On the other hand, his income in the embassy was several-fold that of being an academic, but he nevertheless chose to become an academic.

> My parents were teachers, and I always remember my father's words that I have to pursue a higher profession, higher than his. My brother is a teacher so, as an academic, I think that I have achieved a better profession than my brother and his wife. However, I often feel too lazy to apply for promotion because I need to collect the documents such as evidence of teaching. I am not very neat, and often forget where I put my documents and sometime I lose them. The last three years I could not apply for promotion because I was completing my PhD (a male academic 44 years old from a religious university).

Another male academic made a serious effort to be accepted as an academic. In order to expand his opportunity in his previous university, where he took his undergraduate programme, he took a Master's degree and chose a field of study where the expertise was still limited among his colleagues. He studied very hard to adapt to a new knowledge discipline, moving from religious study to social science. He began his career as a lecturer assistant, took the civil service test three times, and tried his fortune for every vacancy which was related to his expertise. He has a good relationship with a powerful person in the university and he is knowledgeable about the university. However, it did not prevent him from several failures in the civil service test including having it suggested that he should pay an amount of money to pass the test. He rejected the "offer" to pay an amount of money to buy the position. As it has been argued, the demand to become a civil servant, which is considered to be the source of a stable income, is very high in Indonesia and, as a result, hidden market activities for obtaining it have flourished (Kristiansen & Ramli, 2006: 206). However, it is very rare that a participant acknowledges encountering the problem of buying an academic position.

Another male participant recognises that powerful people decide to accept a candidate in the recruitment process, although the process can be considered to be open

recruitment. Three male participants recognise the nature of the tough completion to be an academic, where there is a mix between the candidate's educational qualifications and the power of networking and nepotism. However, during the recruitment process one of the participants was confident enough to be accepted in the recruitment process because he had the appropriate certificates, and has teaching assistant experience.

Some male participants have clearer targets in their academic career advancement and make a serious effort to achieve them. A male participant from an academic couple believes that achieving a professorship for academics is a must, especially for academic civil servants: otherwise academics have failed in their careers. In order to achieve the highest position, academics must have meet academic as well as administrative requirements. He shares his experiences as follows:

> As the competition for a civil service appointment is quite tough, I was quite late and old to be accepted as an academic civil servant. It is my intention that I must catch up with my friends who are from my generation and they are lucky to have been appointed several years ago. Therefore, I have had a clear target for my promotion, and I always monitor my application (a male academic 41 years old from a religious university).

His high motivation means he has never faced serious problems with his application and promotion process. He loves both administrative and academic tasks, and he enjoys managing documents and having things well ordered. Similarly, when writing journal articles, which is considered the most difficult aspect, he has had a target to write four articles for national academic journals. He can achieve his target because he has many friends from other universities who are editors of national academic journals. It makes journal submission simpler and easier. Other aspects, like teaching and community service are much easier because he can obtain them automatically from his faculty and from his social activities from religious service and other activities.

> ... I think we need to plan writing seriously. Many academic staff are challenged, and do not go for promotion regularly because they unable to provide evidence of their academic journal articles. If we are successful in producing these, other components such as teaching and service will be easily obtained, and we can apply for promotion once every two years (a male academic 41 years old from a religious university).

For those who take promotion quite slowly, the administrative aspect is the most challenging. A male academic who frequently loses his teaching evidence documents because he is not well-ordered often delays his application for promotion. Now, all

academics must be careful about their supporting documents for teaching, research and community service, otherwise they cannot meet the criteria for accomplishing academic obligations, which is a requirement for making a claim for their certification allowance.

> In the last three years I could not apply for promotion because I was taking my degree for a PhD When I finished it in 2013, I was still lazy and delayed applying, but my colleague who completed his PhD at the same time has obtained a position as a senior lector (4A). I should have reached a similar position as the old requirement was easy. However, when I prepared to apply, suddenly, the regulation had changed, and we needed to have an article in an accredited journal (*laughing)* ...I think I will apply for senior lectureship in December this year (2015). (a male academic 44 years old from a religious university).

7.8. Additional Income & Being late in Academic Career Advancement

It is interesting that most female academics in this research chose an academic career as their profession because they perceived it as a family friendly job, and make the connection between being educators and their function of educating their children. On the other hand, male academics are more likely to see the academic profession from its social status. However, in general, most participants, both male and female, mention their preference for teaching and academic tasks. Most male academics are the primary breadwinner and, because of the low income of civil servants, they give priority to activities that generate additional income. By contrast, female academics are secondary earners and give priority to paying attention to family and domestic-related tasks. In other words, both male and female academics have additional commitments for family and give their priority to either domestic roles or to gaining additional income. Therefore, it will be more relevant if the influence of gender on academic career advancement in Indonesia can be assessed from this particular framework.

Giving priority to generating additional income is the most common reason for experiencing delay in career advancement, especially for male academics. Based on the experiences of the participants, the sources of additional income vary such as; teaching activities at another university (mostly private universities); being the editor of a journal which is not necessarily academic; or doing consultancy or applied research for various ministries or other institutions. They will not take another permanent job to get additional income but take on contracts to get the fees from such activities. However, the writing and research activities sometime do not follow as their main motivation is money.

> I am an editor for a journal, and sometimes I help others to write articles. I think my expertise relates to writing, but I give priority to this as writing enables me to get money. I don't like teaching very much, therefore, I have never taken additional income from teaching activities. I prefer writing and to help others to write, and to help others to analyse problems and conflict around the House of Worship. It relates to my profession as an academic, but my first motivation is generating additional income (male academic 38 years old from a religious university).

Generating additional income from teaching activities is the most common response. This confirms previous arguments that part of the income for academic staff is obtained from non-university tasks such as teaching in another university, consultancy projects, or from research projects. Teaching activities are considered not only useful for generating additional income but also related to enhancing the necessary skill set as an academic. They choose to teach subjects which are similar to their subjects in their main university. As the activity is to raise their income, they will only take teaching positions offered by universities that offer the highest remuneration. However, some female academics report that teaching activities give them the opportunity to mingle with more people and to expand their professional networks. Teaching, according to some female academics, is a vocation or a kind of "calling". The central feature of the profession is for knowledge sharing and teaching about wisdom rather that an activity for generating income. It is believed that teaching activities do not distract them from their research activities as they, as academics, have limited access to research funding. Some report spending only two days teaching and using the other days for research or other activities. However, some report having an overload of teaching activities due to the limited number of academic staff in their faculty. In general, they do not think that teaching in other universities slows down their opportunity for research activities for academic career advancement.

A male academic shares his experience about being unlucky in the promotion process because it took a very long time for him to gain rank because he works in a new department. With a PhD, he was granted only 3A for his civil service position and he stayed in the same position for three years. Arguably, being unlucky can become another reason for experiencing delay in career advancement and the perception of being unlucky seems to be a polite way for expressing his dissatisfaction with the promotion process. Besides, the term 'unlucky' may be a way to disguise his problem because he does not want to criticise and blame the system. He perceives it as unlucky but many people in new departments probably face a slower pathway because of structural problems.He feels that the regulations for his generation of civil servants are very different from the new

regulations. Therefore, he has been left behind in terms of promotion as some of the academic staff with the new civil service positions can advance faster than him. They obtained professorships in relatively quickly. He shares his experiences that he often protested about his slow promotion, because it took around seven years to move up from 3A to 3B (lecturer assistant), and two years more to achieving 3C (mid-level lecturer) and go directly to senior lecturer. When he obtained the level of senior lecturer, he should have been 4A in his civil service career but he was granted 3D, and it took a long time for him to achieve 4A.

Besides being in a new department, he felt that his slow and late promotion is because he does not have a developed network drawing from a particular group affiliation. He beleives that he did not have the necessary support to achieve a senior-lecturer level. It is commonly understood that this rank is a strategic one for an academic when taking a leadership position.

> I think I was unlucky, because I had several leadership positions. I was a coordinator for a programme, secretary for a programme, head of programme, the director of a research centre and, with the facility of the university chancellor, I had began to open a network with a Canadian university in 2003 (four years from my first appointment to be a civil servant). However, I did not get any benefit for advancing my career. I worked professionally, but…I was unlucky. I should have written collaboratively in an internationally recognised journal. I could not manage this because I was too busy as sometimes I had double positions. We had a very limited number of people in this new programme and I had to manage everything. In addition to that, I worked in a new programme and faculty, but my letter of appointment was for a different faculty. Therefore, I could not apply for promotion as I had complicated administrative problems (a male academic 45 years old from a religious university).

However, generally female academics are perceived to have slower advancement than men. In one of the faculties, which is considered prestigious and is a new faculty in a religious university, the Dean of Administration shared the information that there are lot of civil servants, mostly female, who have been in positions for a long period but still have a low academic rank (3B. In his opinion, these female academics have never applied for promotion because they cannot manage their time for domestic jobs so that they have difficulty in meeting the criteria, especially for writing articles in academic journals. The fact that they are only secondary earners with high-income husbands means they lack the motivation to arrange their promotion. As they have marketable expertise with high demand from other universities they prefer to teach in other universities so they have limited time for researching and writing.

It can be concluded that the factors that slow the promotion process can be classified into low individual motivation or systematic factors from the bureaucracy of the university or the related ministry. Academics who obtain their degrees from national universities have a simpler process for promotion; therefore, statistical analysis demonstrates that obtaining a degree from abroad negatively influences academic career advancement. For academics that earned their degrees from outside Indonesia, they have to pass a certificate standardisation process from the government. Administrative processes can take time, and many feel uncomfortable with the bureaucracy. When applying for certificates of standardisation, they have to show all their documents such as a passport, or letters of permission. If one document is missing, the certificate of standardization cannot be processed. Indonesian academics that obtain degrees from an international university frequently complain about the administrative process. They could have problems with their letter of permission, passport, and other documents. Again these problems relate to supporting documents being produced as standardised procedure and therefore, it is time consuming to obtain them. On the other hand, academics that obtain their degrees from national universities frequently mention their difficulty in meeting the requirements to write in internationally recognized academic journals. The weak promotion system is the most substantive problem, and academics from both religious and secular universities, male and female, are concerned about this. They criticise the fact that many professors in Indonesia are appointed based on their engagement with administrative tasks while academics who have a good reputation for their engagement in scholarly activities are more likely to experience a slow promotion process.

7.9. Conclusion

That women are the secondary earners has become the basic principle of the majority of female academics. Their choice to pursue academic careersis most likely motivated by the nature of this profession which is considered a mother friendly job. As a civil servant they enjoy asecure job with a moderate monthly income. They began with quite low remuneration compared to their previous salary in private sector, but they feel satisfied as they can balance their family life to compensate for their low income. On the other hand, male academics give priority togenerating more income. As the primary earner in their family, they feel that the income from an academic career does not cover

their needs. In addition to that, only a minority of participants navigated the promotion system well. Many felt dissatisfaction with theuncertainty of the promotion system.

Unfortunately, the study does not collect data on the remuneration of male and female academics because questions related to income are sensitive question within the Indonesian tradition. Based on the information that males are more active infinding additional income, arguably, it can be speculated that, individually, female academics earn a lower income than their male academic counterparts. However, the fact that female academics are the secondary earners, and that they are supported economically by their husbands, in terms of family income they could be advantaged by the present system.

The next chapter discussed qualitative data analysis from New Zealand based on in-depth interviews with 15 academics from two universities in Auckland. Chapter 7 presents the experiences of participants in Auckland to adjust the academic system under neo-liberal system, and how they manage their personal and family life.

CHAPTER VIII

QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS FROM NEW ZEALAND

8.1. Introduction to the Chapter

Neo-liberal policies, as discussed in Chapter 2, are in place in universities in New Zealand, Australia, Canada, and the United of Kingdom with a strong emphasis on managerialism, research audits and internationalisation. Since 1990, universities have become institutions with strong bureaucratic processes and forms of managerialism. Academics are exposed to a range of measures and audit monitoring as the way of measuring their accountability and their performance (Stewart and Roberts 2015: 3). Traditionally academics perhaps tended to view their occupation more as a vocation or a calling. While they recognised that they were part of an institution and a collective they often regarded themselves as having a high degree of autonomy to teach and research in ways where they could make their most significant contribution. Under neo-liberal policies, and with the implementation of New Public Management (NPM), the management of universities have increasingly adopted business oriented values (Heijstra, et.al, 2016). Therefore, Kaulisch and Enders (2005) argue that, similar to other professional occupations, academics cannot be seen as disinterested and altruistic (ibid 133). Under neo-liberalism higher education has become a commodity and a private goodand academics are expected to support the development of income streams to ensure some measure of financial sustainability and self-financing of their university (ibid).

It is undeniable that the main activities of a university and academic careers are focused on knowledge and knowledge management (Baruch 2003). It is natural to expect that an academic career is a professional and merit based profession. The principle of meritocracy has been emphasised in the academic standards policies for Research Fellows, Senior Research Fellows, Lecturers, Senior Lecturers, Associate Professors and Professors. In addition, an application for promotion requires evidence covering three areas: teaching, research and publication, and service. This includes details of teaching and teaching evaluations including peer and student evaluations; indicators of service to the university or community and evidence of contributions to the research environment

including peer review activities and editorial boards. For research and publication, academics need to demonstrate evidence of research and publication activities such as their list of journal articles and other publications. In addition to that they have to convince the committee about their contribution of expertise to their colleagues, and to knowledge in general (Baker 2012). It is stated in the University of Auckland – Human Resource Policy:

> Judgment on permanent appointment, continuation, and promotion are made by committees of academic peers through a process designed to enable fair and consistent application of standards and shall reflect expectations appropriate to particular terms of employment of an individual
>
> To be promoted, staff members must on objective evidence, be able to perform at an advanced level at their current grade and demonstrate achievement or ability of a kind appropriate to the grade to which they are seeking promotion[43].

Arguably, research productivity which represents the principle of meritocracy and is perceived as gender neutral has been considered as the most important factor for academic careers. This chapter presents the experiences of academic staff in terms of their career advancement and promotion opportunities with a focus on how female academics are 'doing gender' in their personal life and family. In other words, it aims to demonstrate how 'doing gender' influences female academic career advancement. I will present female academic experiences on domestic roles and child rearing in New Zealand. I compare female academics experiences of a group in their 40s and another group in their 50s which does enable an understanding of the influence of neo-liberal policies. It can be assumed that the younger generation has been challenged by the implementation of some aspects of neo-liberal policies, such as research audits, since their early career while the older generation began their career before the introduction of neo-liberal regimes. Arguably the challenges in their academic careers have been different. Additionally, other factors such as race, faculty background and country of origin are also explored.

[43]ttps://cdn.auckland.ac.nz/assets/central/about/the-university/how-the-university-works/policy-and-administration/academic-standards-ptf-st.pdf

8.2. Domestic Roles, Child Rearing and Female Academic Career Advancement

It has been argued that a strong commitment to the job is very important in academic careers in the neo-liberal period. In order to achieve successful career promotion, academics need to spend much of their time and energy in research, publishing or teaching. The implementation of research audits and the demand for efficiency and accountability in academia has changed the characteristics of flexibility in academic careers to increasingly be seen as one where a sense of overload and stress is common and this is coupled with the career being seen as a less-secure occupation that it once was (Emmaline et.al 2011). Commitments such as family and child rearing have been identified as an obstacle to academic career advancement for women, though far less so for men (Baker 2012: 110). Indeed having a family is more likely to increase social capital for male academics because family tends to prioritise a male's (husbands) career over that of a female's (wives) career (Baker 2012b: 11).

Monosson (2008) argues that some female academics want both a career and a family but the academic job is designed with male and masculine values therefore female academics are expected to behave like their male academic counterparts. (William 2000). Recently, Baker (2012b) notes that that being childfree has become more common among female academics than male academics. Grottenthaler (2003) finds that many female academics postponed motherhood until they felt more secure in their careers and then found they were too late to have children. In my study, three out of ten of my female research participants do not have children. One single participant of around 50 explained that she started her university career at 27 and was focused on that career and did not start a family (a European female academic). Another female academic of around 40 from the US is in a same sex marriage and decided to be childfree. She does not feel that she needs to have children, she considers child rearing to be complicated and child-care to be too expensive. Similarly, a married, child free, heterosexual of around 50 has a similar message, that she never had a desire to have children, but she enjoys other's people children without having a need to have them herself (a female academic from the United Kingdom). Arguably, this study shows a similar trend in that being childless is familiar among female academics, and therefore, the fertility rate is low among women in this occupation.

Another seven participants are married with children: four participants are around 40 years old and another three are around 50 years old. From the interviews, my research finds similar trends, that female academics who choose to have a family and have children are more likely to have experienced slower career advancement, especially if they are younger and their partners conform to traditional male models. Female academics in their 40s who are also mothers and have strong domestic obligations are less senior than a mother who has fewer domestic obligations and her husband stays at home. Three mothers in their 40s acknowledge that their careers have been slower than their male colleagues because they are responsible for 80-90 % of domestic jobs in their family. On the other hand, a female academic of the same age with a stay-at-home husband has progressed better.

In other words, it can be said that younger female participants with children perceive that career advancement is harder. A female academic with a traditional husband (in her early 40s) and doing almost 90% of the domestic jobs believes that, if she had the same opportunity as her husband has, she might be in a more senior position.

> So because I'm the mum, and my husband is a traditional male, the gendered parenting has affected my career. …. So, he jumped a long way ahead of me. ….And I took a part time one day a week or two times a week role. …We're different, so I work very hard and I'm enjoying what I do. He likes the administration. He is a Head of Department. So, he jumped a long way ahead of me (a female Senior Lecturer from university one from the United Kingdom).

Similarly, this strengthens previous findings that the barriers for female academics is greater than their male counterparts because they have to fulfil both career and family expectations. It has been argued that both an academic career and family are "greedy institutions" as both need full commitment and "undivided and exclusive loyalty" (Coser 1974 in Wendel and Ward 2006: 490). Women are more likely to be expected to choose family commitments than men, accordingly, it is very common that female academics, especially those who were mothers to consider their family as their first priority with their careers coming in second place. An interviewee of British origin and anacademic from Southern America shared the same feelings about their choice to have children and to make them their priority.

> My career advancement has been affected by having children and it's my choice to have children, I love having children, I work part time because I have children, and so I have advanced more slowly than I would have done if I didn't have children. My career has been affected by spending time at home. … I think the hardest is getting support at home (a female Senior Lecturer from university one, from the United of Kingdom).

> I have ambition, but my family comes first, so I just work 8 hours per day, and I don't work more than 8…. It all depends on the priorities, if you want to work day and night for a certain period you'll succeed (ibid).

Furthermore, sheemphasises:

> I don't have a family in NZ; my family aren't here; my husband's family are here and he has a sister, so we got a little support, and he is a traditional male academic and that affects my career more. If we don't share the parenting, then I don't have time. So, I would have chosen a different path. So, it's my home life that affects my career more (a female Senior Lecturer from university one, from the United of Kingdom).

> I think in general, the wives, the women in the house, have more work to do. Because that's natural, the tradition; usually the wives look after the children. At least my culture is like that. Typically in a Southern country, the wife has a major role inside the house that is related to the domestic tasks, looking after the kids (a female Senior Lecturer from university one from Southern America)

Parenthood is associated with maturity and normativity (Evenson & Simon 2005 in Baker 2012) but it is also considered to increase economic hardship and depression, and can be negatively associated to well-being (Williams & Cheadle 2015; Pace & Shafer 2015a). However, the attitude to children and parenthood among academics varies considerably. According to female academics who are mothers, children are not beneficial to their careers but they have chosen to have them because of other benefits that they devrive. One academic believes that she is growing into a better person because she is a mother and she hopes that her children will make a better society in the future.

> I think I'm growing into better person because I'm a mother ….. and I hope that they'll be part of making a better society in the future so I can teach them to be whole, happy, healthy individuals, then they have a good chance in changing bits of the world to make it a better place . I really enjoyed my career, at the time I thought I would be happy without children. But having children, I won't go back. I think it's been a very enriching experience. I have a deeper relationship with other people because of my children. I am learning to be a better person because of my children. They bring richness of life, it's beautiful to watch them grow, I learn so much from them. It's a great thing to do (a female Senior Lecturer from university one from the United of Kingdom).

Being a step-parent can have different challenges. According to Cherlin (2004, in Pace & Shafer 2015b), step-parenting tends to have a lack of norms and unclear expectations. Furthermore, Stanley et.al (2002) demonstrates that the most common issue in stepfamilies is a tendency to argue argue about children, while the central source of tension in biological families is money. However, my research finds that a step mother of two children mentions almost a similar argument to a biological mother:

> It's probably the relationship; and the value in the relationship, so I suppose it would be different if I didn't have children. Having the children there provides a different component to my life, which is a positive one (a female Senior Lecturer from university one from New Zealand).

When a female academic who has two children compared her position to her friend's career advancement where the friend is a full professor at almost the same age as her, she is still satisfied with her choice.

> So, I have a friend who got a PhD at the same time as me, and she is a full professor now. She is long way ahead of me. But I have two beautiful children, and I choose to do it part time, and they were my choices (a female Senior Lecturer from university one from the United of Kingdom).

Additionally, she describes both the hardship and enjoyment of having children.

> There are points where you physically can't work because you have a child, … but the rest of the time, if you want someone else to look after to your child, you can progress at the same speed as everybody else. But I don't want to do that, I chose to work part time so I can spend time with my children. And for me, my friend is a full professor and she is 45, but she can't have a family now, because she's 45. I can catch up and I can be a full professor, maybe in 10 or 15 years, but I still have my children (a female Senior Lecturer from university one from the United of Kingdom).

It is interesting that a female academic who chooses to have a part time job and to take care of her own children, without childcare, has achieved a senior lecturer position, above the bar, at 41, but her husband, and her friend, who have prioritised their careers over family have progressed faster. She has a strong academic background, and in relation to other women in the department has progressed well even while she has two young children. She does not have a female role model or mentor in her faculty because there were few to choose from and even fewer that she would feel comfortable with. Personally she believes that a lot of roles within the university are not attractive to women, and she does not feel that the time is right for her to be a professor as she does not want to sacrifice her family life to become a full professor. However, the pattern of an academic's family life, according to her, is not unique because she believes it is similar in other professional occupations where their are high performance expectations and tight deadlines.

Another academic chooses to hire people for domestic work, and is supported by her husband in her family, but she still does 80 % of the domestic jobs. She decided not to apply for promotion but chose to go through the continuation[44] process instead (to

[44]For the first four years of appointment, academics are considered as new staff. Their position afterward needs to be reviewed. They will keep at the similar position if they apply for continuation and the university approved their application. If they apply for higher position and it is approved by the university, they will obtain a promotion.

confirm her position after a 3 year probation period) because she has a baby and does not have enough material for promotion.

> I just started in 2010 and I wasn't promoted because I didn't apply. I taught for 15 years before coming to Auckland. Now I am a Senior Lecturer. Meanwhile, I had a baby, so I applied for continuation instead of promotion (a female Senior Lecturer from university one from Southern America).

> My Head of Department said I didn't fulfil the criteria to apply for promotion. So, he advised me to go for continuation…so, there are two options, either go for continuation and become permanent staff, which is what I did, or otherwise you have to have enough material for promotion to go up. But I didn't have enough elements to align with the expected standards, because the standards are different in every university, right? And facing those new standards, and because my first PhD students graduated this year, because I started in 2010, I didn't meet certain parameters, I didn't fulfil the requirements, so I decided not to go for promotion and I decided to apply for continuation (ibid)

> I decided to hire people to help me around the house, because we can employ people to help us on the house tasks. If I didn't do that I think I would be on a lower position than my colleges, because, I'm an exception in this situation, … I've decided not to do all the work inside and outside the house. So inside, basically, I do 80%, the rest is my husband and the people that we hire (ibid).

She believes that the promotion system has become more challenging and it makes it more difficult for female academics to progress their careers and tend to the needs of the family. The gendered division of labour in her family affects her career significantly because she still believes that the traditional male receives more support. Accordingly, it is understandable that Baker (2012) considers family enhances social capital for male academics, but can act as a constraint for women. In discussing progression for earlier academics one participant notes,

> I think women can achieve as well as any men, but they don't have so much time to be engaged, for example, in administrative functions that require a lot of extra work commitment, like weekends and the nights. Men are more available for the nights to work in case it is needed…a lot of administrative… you have to do it after hours…and women don't have that kind of availability. If they are running a family then they don't have after-hours time available to give. That prevents a lot of women from progressing in their career because the administrative functions and services count a lot in terms of promotion. (a female Senior Lecturer from university one from Southern America).

Two women acknowledge that their departments support them very well and consider the university a mother/family friendly university, in terms of teaching schedules, and facility support, such as day care. They noted that the university was:

> ….. very family oriented, they are very supportive towards working mums and people who have young children and families. For example the classes, they don't put me teaching in the evening. Or when they do, I say I'm not available at that time, and they'll move my class. I have priority

> over my colleagues, because I'm a mum with young kids (a female Senior Lecturer from university one from Southern America)
>
> In this University, it's been very good (in terms of institutional support). In my previous University, it wasn't so good. I have asked for what I have needed and been given what I needed, and yeah, very supportive (a female Senior Lecturer from university one from the United of Kingdom).

However, one participant, has found that the requirements for academic promotionare difficult,partly as a result of the university restructuring and greater emphasis on PhD supervision and submitting proposals for research grants whereas she has focused more on teaching activities and their preparation (a female Senior Lecturer from Southern America). However, it has been argued previously that women's experience in teaching does not contribute positively to academic careers (Clayton 2015: 74; Sax et. al 2002).

> And the other thing I find difficult is the research grants because we have a lot of pressure, especially in my faculty, to submit research grants. I'm more dedicated to teaching, and the preparation of classes in my early years, so most of my attention I gave to helping my students (a female Senior Lecturer from university one from Southern America).
>
> So basically my weakness is on research, it's because it is difficult to have a research output after only 3 years, but my colleague can do it because he was very successful in getting a research grant. (ibid).

Institutional support from the a long established university in Auckland has been considered adequate and female academics have been satisfied, but the support has not yet been enough to reduce the gender gap because academic career promotion has become more challenging for both male and female academics. However, a more recently established university still offers evening classes and this is considered disruptive.

> I think this university can be quite challenging for people, particularly for people/ women on their own, or men on their own if they have family, because we have quite a lot of night time teaching in this faculty, and evening teaching is quite disruptive for a family (a female Professor from university two from New Zealand)

Generally, it is very difficult for female academics who are mothers to achieve equal positions, and some acknowledge that their belief in traditional values is a choice because they do get satisfaction from their familial roles. Female academics who are mothers understand well that the slow progress of their careers is a consequence of their

choices. Becoming a full professor by giving up their family life is not attractive but they believe they can achieve this in the future.

> Yes, I think so. I could achieve the highest position. Now, there is slowing moment because I have a young baby, she is 3 years old (a female Senior Lecturer from university one from Southern America)

While they don't relate it to their beliefs, two of mothers from a group who are aged in their 40s and a mother and a single women from a group aged in their 50s acknowledge that they have a family background with a strong tradition of raising a family and sometimes still participate in religious services. Another seven participants do not have a strong religious tradition. The following participants speak to the role religion plays in their lives:

> I always go to church, I always go to mass.I think I'd identify myself with being Catholic. But I have certain values that treat others as they would like to be treated themselves; treat each other with respect. I have got a quite pragmatic stand towards religion. I also put in a lot of volunteer working at my church, but that's because I have time to do that and the children are older (a female Professor from university two from New Zealand)

> Yes, I'm Christian.I believe that being married in important from a religious sense, though it is probably not as important for my husband, (a female Senior Lecturer from university one from the United Kingdom)

> I still believe in religion and go to church occasionally. Getting married and making that commitment in church was important to (a female Senior Lecturer from university one from Southern America)

> I still adhere to one religion but I wouldn't say that religion plays a role and influences me, but I can understand that (a Female Senior Lecturer from university one from Europe)

My participants have various attitudes to traditional family values and how it influences their choices in regards to their family and university commitments.

> I guess at some stage it's always a choice; there is no reason why females or males cannot have a career. But then it's decided within the family. So that's why we blame the universities for not accepting women, I mean they have to apply. And if they don't get the support from their husband or their parents, I think it's a lot within the family (a female Senior Lecturer from university one from Europe).

The situation of the female participant above can be explained by the concept of "stalled revolution" proposed by Hochschildin the late 1980s. While women have experienced a great change and have a significant chance to participate in the labour force and work that was traditionally seen as masculine, men, on the other hand, are still very reluctant to accept roles that they perceive of as feminine (Friedman 2015: 140).

Pop culture explanations focus on micro-level phenomenon where the main problem of "unstalling" the gender revolution is from individual women's choices (ibid. 146).

One of my participants who had experienced relatively rapid career advancement had a stay at home husband. This woman is the breadwinner for her family consisting of her husband and two children. She took six to seven years to be promoted to Associate Professor and and has an expectation to become a professor. She recognises the role of a supportive female head of school.

> In my university, it is acknowledges that it needs to make sure that women are getting promoted the same way as men. But if you are a head of school, for instance, or the professors, or chairs of different boards it is still mostly men (A female Associate Professor from university two from Australasia).
>
> I was for a very long time on Level 1 in the Associate Professor range and we got a new female head of school, she is very strong on particularly promoting women and I think on her first day, she signed my promotion form (ibid).
>
> I think because my husband is at home, it's been much easier for me. I haven't had to rely on child care or haven't had to get time off work if the kids are sick, so I haven't really tested it, I guess how much support there is… (ibid).

On the other hand, three research participants in their 50s with children do not perceive their motherhood as barriers. They have achieved senior positions.

> I started from a Tutor went up to Lecturer, got promotion to Senior Lecturer, promotion to Associate Professor, and then appointment at another university to a Professor, that was 2003, so from 1992, I suppose it was 11 years. It was only because we are a dual academic couple. If one of us were not, then we might not have had the same flexibility. I said that's the advantage that we had, as a dual career couple, academic career couple, as sabbaticals came so we could go away together. Other people, if their husband is not an academic and the sabbatical comes along and they can't go overseas for a long period, if they have family. So we have some advantages, that what I was trying to say(a female Professor from university two from New Zealand).
>
> My husband entered academia before me. We got to be Professors at the same time. We had a nanny when the children were both young, but when they went to school we didn't use a nanny anymore. And I think that the particular dynamics of a relationship, my husband is quite a lot older than me, so it will be good for me not to take too much time off work with the children, to advance my career...because we might come to a point when he is retiring and I will still be working. And that is quite specific for us as a couple. I wouldn't say that he sacrificed his career for me, but I would say that's why we can pay for more support, we don't have family support, but we could provide some support, and as we have academic careers we could support each other (ibid).

However, with a similar situation of strong family support a women of colour from a social science faculty has advanced less and has faced more challenges in her attempts to be promoted. It took 12 years to be promoted to an associate professor. She does not need to do domestic jobs because her husband cooks, cleans the house, and is a hundred

percent supportive of her. He gives assistance when she needs it, and she cooks only at the weekend. During the weekdays, her husband picks up the children and prepares the dinner because she works from 07.00 in the morning to 08.00 at night at the university. His husband is a teacher and has more flexible hours than her.

> I did some part time contracts with someone in this school and then this job came up, I was interviewed and I got the job, it was around 2002. My last promotion was to an Associate Professor was in 2014.(a female Associate Professor from university two from Southern Europe).
>
> To go from a lecturer to a senior lecturer, my application was initially declined but I appealed and I had been strongly supported by my colleagues. To go from a Senior Lecturer to an Associate Professor, I had quite a number of applications before being successful. I began my career from the position of a non-permanent lecturer, as a tutor, and I had various experience in teaching in the various universities in Auckland (ibid).

She spends more time in community service, which is not counted for academic promotion. Furthermore, she has never had a sabbatical or taken leave for research, but she manages to publish a lot, and has had a good grade in the last PBRF round.

> The university does not count community service for an academic career. For people like myself who are very much involved in community service, it does not have a positive impact for our careers, but we do it. Well, I do it because I have seen that my mother did it, and then my children also do it, unfortunately (a female Associate Professor from university two from Southern Europe).
>
> Community service should be counted for academic careers because the community is being used by the academics and researchers to advance their careers. In this case I will be objecting because too many researchers interview community members who get nothing from their research. The researcher and lecturers get promoted, or get their articles published. It should be required for everyone here to work with the community in a way that benefits the community. I think university should serve the community (ibid).

A female Maori Associate Professor has had a unique path as she began her career in an academic position that no longer exists at her university, with an Assistant Lectureship. These roles allowed selected graduate students to take on a teaching position under an apprentice type model as well as supporting them in their graduate studies. She did all her degrees in the same university, and was appointed into a full time lectureship overseas in a developing country when she had completed her Master's degree and had enrolled in her PhD. A few years later she was appointed into a three year fixed term lecturing position at her home university and this position became permanent on completion of her PhD. She is a feminist but recognises many of her practices align with

traditional divisions of labour in a family. She notes that her experience of being appointed would be far less common now.

> …. it will be unusual now … to appoint somebody who has done all three degrees in the same university. I was a single parent, I didn't have the ability to move the children to other places,.But I started my study overseas, I was living in Tonga. Massey University offered courses extramurally. So I did my first seven papers at Massey and I transferred those papers to the university in Auckland. When I was appointed one of the requirements of my appointment was that I had to complete my Ph.D in a certain (a female Associate Professor from university one from New Zealand)

> I took a senior leadership role very early, and in my very first application for promotion, I wasn't successful, but it did say that I was already working at the level of the Senior Lecturer, even though they didn't appoint me. That was when I was applying from Lecturer to Senior Lecturer. They perceived me as not meeting the criteria, yet acknowledged that my service was significant and important but they didn't count it. In the next promotion, I got a double increment. I probably applied for my associated professor late, because I was too busy to apply (ibid).

Female academics from the earlier generation can adjust to domestic jobs well, and they rarely consider it as barrier to their career. It seems that the former generation can balance their academic career and family life better than the later generation, and it somehow indicates that an academic career has become more difficult nowadays.

> I do nearly all the cooking, and I consider myself a feminist, I grew up in a strong feminist background, and yet my home life….very much reflects the traditional division of labour. I find cooking very satisfying, very relaxing, I love the idea of cooking for my family. Sometimes when I go home late, my children just wait… they won't start cooking… so they still expect me to cook. Sometimes it's annoying, but I find those things overall satisfying (a female Associate Professor from university onefrom New Zealand).

8.3. Gender stereotype, Race and the Intersectionality of Gender and Race

During my in-depth interviews, I found some participants mentioned the problem of gender stereotyping and discrimination, others paid attention to racism, and finally, some paid attention to the intersectionality of race and gender in academic career advancement. In terms of gender based assessments for academic activities, the gender neutral science approach remains consistent about scientific performance or scientific excellence in that productivity for science is merely based on an individual's achievement (O'Brien and Hapgood 2012). On the other hand, scholars with a gendered academic performance approach have challenged the claim of objectivity for science, and they demonstrate evidence of gendered patterns of citation. Gender bias in applicants and evaluation rate success for research funding is found by Lee and Ellemers (2015), in the Netherlands, to be based on the language and instructions in evaluation sheets. This

finding is consistent with the relevant statistics on leadership gaps, salary gaps, and funding gaps in academia. In addition to that, according to Malianiak et.al (2013), females have a 20 % lower impact than their male counterparts; Mairesse (2005) found that females gained fewer citations than their male counterparts, by 40%.

Similarly, it has been argued that gender stereotyping remains very common in the workforce, both in recruitment and promotion, including in the academic career system (Barth et.al 2016). It is interesting that while having a family is considered to slow down female academic careers, the studies found that women in academia who had not married and did not have children were still more likely to achieve a lower level of tenure than men (Mason et al 2004). One of the reasons is that being single or childfree for female academics does not mean to be free from domestic obligations.

> Even for child free female academics, they still have more responsibilities, there was a survey in the university some years back, and a lot of women have elder responsibilities, so they have aging parents/relatives, so they need support their older family members. So, elder responsibility is also significant for men and women, but particularly for women. (a female Associate Professorfrom university one from New Zealand)

The following quotes are participant's perceptions of female academics related to female academic stereotypes in the promotion application process. Two participants who have experiences of being reviewers of promotion applications state that female academic candidates are more likely to postpone their promotion when their first application is declined. Female academics have a quite different Curiculum Vitae (CV) profile than their male academic counterparts.

> I think if we looked back, women and men make the first promotion applications around the same time, but if women were turned down they didn't come back and try again for a long time but if men were turned down, they often came back and tried again, often quickly (a femaleProfesorfrom university two from New Zealand)

> I wouldn't say they are equally qualified in terms of formal qualification, but the profile might be different and the nature of research they do might be different. Again this is not scientific but I think they will do more collaborative work from social sciences and humanities, whereas collaborations may not be necessarily the norm. So, women's academic CVs are more likely to be little bit different than for a man…may have more service components in their CV (ibid)

> In terms of promotion, women go later than men would apply. I think because men are entitled to career advancement, that's a natural part in their career, whereas for women it's like something that they feel uncomfortable with, that they have to push themselves. It is not about confidence, it is something about gender, the way that someone needs to tell you that you should go for the promotion, whereas the men just go for it (ibid).

Besides gender, race/ethnicity is a strong issue and both male and female participants mention this. The idea of intersectionality was introduced by black feminists and it is used to explain the intersection of gender and race in social policy, Science, Technology, Engineering and Math (STEM) research careers, and academic careers (McIntosh 2005; Hayes et.al 2014; Davis 2016). It has been argued that gender and race intersect and are bound in many ways, and those are interlocked and inseparable (Davis 2016). Strengthening previous literature, some participants, especially academics of colour, have challenged the concept of merit based or objective indicators of academic excellence because they believe the criteria for promotion is considered to disadvantage non-white academics.

> People, I think, feel more comfortable to have a person who is of European origin, for example. I don't have that (a male Professor from university one from Asia).

> I think from the time you are born if you are white, you have all sorts of little benefits that you don't ever recognize. Speaking English it is so easy for me to write an article in perfect English and get it accepted for publications, whereas if English is not your first language, it's much harder to get that perfect grammar, and so, it makes it so much harder to get published, and if you can't get published, you can't get promotion, and this is how it works (a female Associate Professor from university two from Australasia).

Some argue that women from non-Western backgrounds must adjust to a conventional male white culture which is unsupportive of women's positions. Historically, women have received lower salaries and were rarely promoted, which indicated that discrimination against women in academic life was very prevalent (Pickles 2001: 278). In Anglo-Canada, New Zealand and Australia women in academia were expected to be single, and it was unusual to appoint married women. However, some women married other academics when they had been employed and then resigned from their position, and they returned to university when they were widowed (ibid. 279). Arguably, the previous traditions of Anglo-Canada, New Zealand, and Australia still resonate in that married women may still be marginalised.

The impact of race coupled with gender, means that female academics of colour encounter even more obstacles. Intersectional analysis would indicate that female academics suffer even greater levels of marginalisation than their male counterparts with a similar ethnic identity.

> I suppose there is a hierarchy … there are times for some body younger … there are times for somebody older. In terms of gender it cannot be separated from your ethnic background. The

> hierarchy remains everywhere else, white male and white female; black male and black female, it hasn't changed in any way. I don't think that will change for a long time, the university here is headed by a white male or a white female…. (a femaleAssociateProfessor from university one fromSouthern Europe)

From this participant's perspective female academics, especially women of colour, are more likely to be challenged on their marking or final examination results by their white students. Furthermore she believes that, the university will intervene with non-white female academics to 'resolve' the problem, where they are much less likely to intervene when white academics rarely encounter similar problems.

> For women of color who teach, white students feel that they have rights to get better than they achieve. If they achieve less than they wanted to, then by their thinking, they will find it easy to say that it is the professor at fault. They will not have the same approach to the white professor because they know that the university or school will easily buy their argument if the lecturers are persons of color, and the university will not easily believe them if the professors are white (a female academic from university two from Southern Europe).

A female academic from a non-white background describes how she does not have problems related to her domestic role but she is reluctant to take sabbatical leave[45]. She can focus on her job but does not take a sabbatical because she does not want to be far away from her family. In addition to that, her problem relates to her characteristics in that she is not considered as a traditional academic because she is not afraid to criticise her boss. She believes that her university favours academics who are cooperative and non-assertive.

> Yes, I like what I do, I work hard, and I am involved in a lot at the university and the community and link both together. I do find it is difficult for women of colour especially for those who are assertive, than I think for a Pakeha[46]. I do not feel excluded but I find that I do not look or fit for the type of Professor, I am not white, I am not a conservative, I am not afraid, I know quite a lot people throughout university. I suppose being an outspoken women of colour seems to be a threat. I think it still happens everywhere, not unique in one university. It is easier for women of colour to stay quiet or who are obsequious but I have no intention to being like that. (a female academic from university two from Southern Europe)

[45]Regarding sabbatical leave, a survey by Smith et.al (2016) finds that sabbatical leave (Research Study Leave) is perceived as the second most important factor for academic career progression where the first important factor is success in obtaining grants. The previous quote confirms previous findings that female academics who are mothers are more likely not to take sabbatical leave (Baker, 2010). My research finds that, regardless of the ethnic background of female academics who are mothers, they are ambivalent about taking sabbatical leave. Only a female professor married to a male academic states that she can manage sabbatical leave well.

[46]Pākehā is a Māori language term for New Zealanders who are of European descent.

Race discrimination is not only a barrier for female academics but also for male academics. Both male and female non-white academics have experiences of race based discrimination but female academics encounter multiple oppressions because, as women, they are subjected to sexism and being from a non-white background, they are vulnerable to racism (Waring 2003 in Davis 2016)

> I feel I have been discriminated against as a person of color in this faculty. It is not typically people saying things, about my ethnic background, it is very rarely that this is happening at the individual level, it's more institutional. So, when I first moved here, I was tracked in my teaching career. I taught more classes than my colleagues, and I taught bigger classes, way bigger classes than my colleague's on average, and technically I taught more. I was then denied research leave and the best resources, so like it wasn't just like I had more teaching work, which I did, but I also got less reward for research than my colleagues got. And people can say …"ah that's not because you are Japanese or a person of color or something like that". That's just coincidental, and follows in line with what happens to the Asian scholars everywhere, for Asian professionals. It is a model minority stereotype, you get comments, you reach certain levels of professionalism, certain status, and then they would give you more work, undervalued work, and smile about it. You know...probably it wasn't intentional but I feel like it was. …(a male Lecturer from university one from non-white background)

The experience of a female academic from the United Kingdom is quite different from those of non-white academics or academics who are mothers. This to some extent indicates that being childless and from a Western background means she can progress her career faster and concurrently she is producing more research publications. She started her career in academia by doing part time teaching in her country, and then doing a professional job. When she moved to New Zealand, shewent directly to the highest position (a professor) in her recent university because the university had a vacancy for this position.

> I was told that the post was vacant.. I wasn't thinking of an academic post in that stage...and I was quite happy working for myself… so I just put an application just to test the water with my CV, because I thought, it isn't an academic CV, I don't have an academic career profile… some people will disclaim it immediately… but in this case … for some reason...they didn't… probably it was the practical experiences because we have a professional programme here. So, I am teaching professionals to become planners. It's good to help people with the practical experiences as well (a femaleProfessor from university one from the United Kingdom).

8.4. Indigenous and Local Academics

Indigenous academics are underrepresented in the academic staff of tertiary education institutions in New Zealand (Ministry of Education 2004 in Durie 2009), and tend to be concentrated in Māori Studies. However, a recent change shows that they are

more broadly represented in disciplines such as health, education, social sciences, fine arts, law, and business (ibid. 6). Meegan (2014: 9) presents data that shows that the highest representation of Maori academics is 9.5 % in Canterbury university (52 out of 547), and the lowest representation is in Lincoln at 3.4 % (8 out of 234). There are 5.4 % at the University of Auckland, 5.5 % Massey University, 4.5 % at Victoria University and 4.2 % at Otago University respectively. The fact that Indigenous people are marginalised in academia is not only a New Zealand experience because in Canada only 0.65 % of academics are identified as Aboriginal (ibid). In fact, all universities in New Zealand have developed a commitment to support the participation of Maori in all aspects of the university, such as student recruitment, and staff capacity.

In this regard, my study finds that they tend to have lower promotion trajectories than other academics with international backgrounds.

> I was in a review committee, not in my faculty, there were some women on that…on the same level for ten years, but they have quite high leadership positions in the department. When I asked them if they had applied for promotion, they said that they had been given mixed messages, so they have never applied because they had been receiving mixed messages. But when they asked the senior colleagues whether they should go for promotion, they are told they should wait, they should publish more. And I found it is stunning, that given their roles in the department, that they had not been actively supported for promotion (a female Associate Professor fromuniversitas one from New Zealand).
>
> Yes, even when they had a lot of publications. That's why I couldn't understand that, when I looked at their CVs, and I looked at their leadership, I couldn't understand that. That's why I asked them in the interview process, whether they had applied for promotion. They hadn't applied for promotion. There was also one man there, who I couldn't believe they had not promoted either. All of these people have subsequently being promoted. What's this about? It is not about the criteria, they don't apply for promotion as they expected to be told "you should apply for promotion". In the case of the women, they had received mixed messages, otherwise been told to wait. And when they did go for promotions they got promotioned (ibid).

This confirmsprevious research that having an Indigenous identity such as Maori can lead to marginalisationdespite the fact that the identity can be a source of power.Countering racism and discrimination is the most important motivation of Maori academics to participate in university by empowering their students to preserve, protect and enhance Māori culture (Hall 2014). This norm, according to Leitch (1999 in Neala et.al 2010) is different from the white male norms which are dominant in New Zealand universities. Referring to Tooley, (2000) the concepts of assimilation, integration, multiculturalism and biculturalism only achieve limited success because the proposed strategy to implement the concepts is that "the 'victims' need to change" (Hall 2014: 5).

Arguably, previous research conducted by White & Grice (2008: 6 in Hall 2014: 7) find that research by Māori academics in PBRF obtains lower quality scores, which is strengthened by the following quotes.

> I heard stories that things are much worse for the Maori-Pacific scholars. Both women and men, especially female Maori scholars…about their research not being deemed important, they are not defined as true scholars, are being bullied more by their appearance. And then they have more commitments, everything from family commitments to community commitments…(a male Lecturer from university one from non-white background)
>
> I think your confidence goes down when you encounter this form of discrimination. Whether it's personal or institutional. I guess may be as a male, I got really angry. But if you are a women and get angry about that, they are gonna label you as a crazy feminist, like that.…(ibid).

Two of male academics and a female academic who are New Zealanders paid attention to the disadvantages of being local scholars (in New Zealand, many local scholars are of European descent or Pakeha). They argue that the universities in New Zealand give priority to academics with international backgrounds. This strengthens Bonish & Brednich's work (2014) that in their department they only found one New Zealander as 50 % of academics in their university (Victoria Wellington) are international scholars. Otago University has 70 % foreign academics with 60 % at Auckland University. Therefore, they conclude that New Zealand has the highest proportion of international faculty members in the world, although reliable data concerning international academics in some universities is not available (ibid).

> In fact, when I first came to the department, the head of department was very unhelpful to me. The head of department was an international scholar, who didn't seem to think much of New Zealand scholars at all, and didn't like me. So if you were a man from a New Zealand University, she didn't think much of you at all (a male Associate Professor from university one from New Zealamd)
>
> It's better in New Zealand to have a degree from a foreign university…. really….to be honest. Because then you've got supervisors and networks of people from other countries. That means it is easy for you to get your publication in foreign countries, you know…American, Britain, Europe, other ones that New Zealand focuses on… and those publications, regardless, are much more significant than ones from New Zealand. So they help you.I still think… the big disadvantage at this university is…to.. in all universities…. Is to have your degree from a New Zealand university...and I think women are much more likely to have degrees from New Zealand universities (ibid).

In terms of academic rank, 43 % of academics with degrees from overseas are at the first and second higher positions (Professor and Associate Professor), on the other hand only 32 % of academics with NZ degrees achieve similar positions. There are 22 %

overseas Professors compared to 15 % of local scholars (Curtis 2016: 99). Arguably, male New Zealander's or male coloured academics, as well as female coloured academics are disadvantaged in the system.

> Well… from all over... I used to have a gathering of professors at my university… and when I was first appointed, and it would be about thirty professors, and I would say a quarter would be New Zealanders…. but most of the rest are from Russia and from Middle East, they are from developing countries (a male Associate Professor from university one from New Zealamd).
>
> Sometimes what happens is that an international candidate is preferred over a local candidate, just because they are international, and in some cases the university that they come from is not highly ranked, but it is just the fact that they are international. So people say it is good for New Zealanders to get out, so it might be useful for them to spend 1 year or 2 years overseas, or have done part of their studies overseas, but there are no regulations, and never has been, prohibiting people from being appointed from the same university (ibid).

8.5. Perspective on Merit Based Standard

It is generally accepted that the idea of merit standards is the most important principle to be implemented in all aspects of academic life. The evaluation system at any level for students or staff should be subject to impartial values, based on disinterested objective criteria. Likewise, in the New Zealand system, the procedure for promotion on the tenure track is developed based on merit standards. The following discussion is about a participant's reflection as to what extent the merit based standard has been implemented in academic career promotion in New Zealand.

> My university has promotion criteria for each grade. From Lecturer to Senior Lecturer, to Senior Lecturer - above the bar, and then into Associate Professor, and then in to Professor. So the system is quite well documented, I think it works. My feeling has been that… I think that the system so far, seems to me, to promote the people who deserved promotion. It isn't perfect, some people are lucky, and some people fight it, but broadly, I think it works okay (a male Associate Professor from university one from New Zealand).
>
> Every year you could get promotion, automatically from 2, 3,4, 5, 6.until you are level 6 and going to 7 that is where the bar is, that one you need to apply for. The faculty has a committee, for senior lecturer, they have a committee to see whether you are qualified to jump over the Bar. And for the Associated Professor, there's also Professorial Committee, to decide whether you are qualified on the criteria; based on publications, your teaching, your service and supervisions. The system actually works quite well, and then you can see from the requirement whether you should apply or not. If you are declined, you can only apply after 2 years (a male Associate Professor from university two from Asia)
>
> I think the biggest step is between… here we have Lecturer and then Senior Lecturer, and then Senior Lecturer above the bar, so it is one big step within Senior Lecturer and then Associated Professor, and then Associated Professor 1 and 2, 3, 4 and then Professor. Your head of school has to support you, and then the committee, and I think maybe five professors who determine whether you have met the all the requirements (ibid).

A participant mentions that the procedure changes occasionally, and it depends on the policy at the universities. An academic from the recently established university considers that some 'scandal' appointments and promotions occurred especially in times past, but now standards have been developed.

> It's only been a university for fifteen years… and in the very early years they did some very funny things… And so I think mine was probably very meritocratic but before then, they made some very strange appointments (a male Professor from university two from New Zealand).
> .

> Well, people who had absolutely no academic record were made professors. I thought it was quite a scandal, but…I might have been able to come back a few years earlier because I made an application. It was for a job available and it was a joint education and social science department, and they appointed someone as a Professor who had written four newsletter editorials, but I applied for the same but that was definitely not meritocratic or universalistic. So there were some funny things happened early on (ibid).

In the future, it is believed that the promotion procedure will be much more competitive. A male academic in his 40s from social science thinks that the job market in academia has become very competitive and promotion has become much more difficult.

> I thought 'the job market is so hard these days' … they offered me a position as a lecturer level 4 and I didn't want to challenge that because I was grateful to be offered a full time position. And I think with the way academia is now, there are so many PhDs, and so few jobs, that it makes it more difficult for those with the Ph s… so if you are offered the job, just take it. I'm not gonna negotiate my salary, I'm not gonna negotiate the level of lecturer, I just take what they offered (a male Lecturer from university one from non-white background).

> I've never thought about my target so I'm a lecturer now I don't know maybe 15 or 20 years? By the time I'm around 60 years old maybe full professor, maybe .It's too hard, also I don't publish that much. I mean I do ok, but I'm more involved in my community work so I don't publish, I do ok I publish journals/ journal articles about average maybe little above average, but books I don't really publish academic books at all (ibid).

The following scripts describe the perception of participants from non-social sciences. They believe in the merit based system implemented by their universities. As mentioned previously, an extensive debate has emerged questioning whether the gender gap in academia relates to individual elements, such as individual motivations and competence or the influence of institutional discrimination. The most recent debate can be classified into two different arguments that: firstly, only merit based standards are relevant in academia, and secondly, subjective measurement is practiced frequently (Nielsen 2015: 1-2). According to Young (1958 in Sen, A 2000: 7), "….merit is equated with intelligence-plus-effort, its possessors are identified at an early age and selected for appropriate intensive education, and there is an obsession with quantification, test-scoring, and qualifications." In other words, the merit system provides everyone with a

similar opportunity because of what people achieve regardless of their social background such as gender and race, so, accordingly, only the best people deserve particular rewards and positions.

> A New Zealand University is very fair because they account for all the past experiences when they look at the position. They analyse your CV and they put you in the right position according to your background. So they are very fair on that (a male academic Associate Professor from university two from Asia).
>
> It's about what you are able to achieve… because in the faculty, there's lots of people from different cultural backgrounds; different countries, ethnicities, genders, all people. But it relates with what people achieve, not with any specific background (a female Senior Lecturer from university one from Europe).
>
> I think our last job opening we had a female applying from Singapore, and then couple months ago we had received an application from a female from Turkey. So it's not just beneficial for the university, you have all these people coming from all over the world, they bring you new knowledge, enrich the culture, but it also gives the opportunity for females to apply for a job, but then again, this is mechanical, so maybe not many females are interested (a male academic Associate Professor from university two from Asia).

Besides the individual achievement they believe in the importance of networks and understanding how the system works. Some believe that meeting the appropriate mentor at the beginning of their careers in academia can be important.

> I don't think it's related to the education process, sure it may depend a little bit on the disciplines or how well you are integrated into the system, so, for example if you are a part of larger networks, you may be able to win larger funding from the ministries, but to go for the prestigious Marsden Grants I guess the chances are similar for all of us (a female Senior Lecturer from university one from Europe).
>
> I think it's pretty well based on the individual. I would say they are more successful, but again it depends on your character as well, how well they are connected, whether they have good advice or mentorship, which I think it's more critical. Especially when you are new to the system, because, for me, it was getting to know the New Zealand academic system and then, also, what it takes to advance. If somebody more familiar that's definitely a benefit or, especially if you don't have mentors to tell you what to do, I guess that's more critical (ibid).

However, participants from social science believe that adjusting to the system to meet the criteria is a must, and most of the participants believe that the promotion system, based on male-Western criteria, gives more priority to non-social science backgrounds. The perception that academic careers are very much based on Western and male values remains strong. A participant acknowledges that in some traditions, to show ambition and explicitly ask for recognition for an achievement is culturally unacceptable.

On the other hand, self-promotion and self-confidence to convince superiors of one's eligibility for promotion are an important aspect in the Western academic career system.

> The processes of promotion, for instance, are set around the criteria that often favors men, partly because men are encouraged to be assertive and outspoken about their achievements, and to not worry so much about maintaining relationships out there…Particularly for women, particularly women from Pacific countries, or from Indonesia, where being outspoken and being assertive and saying 'I've done this great stuff, you need to promote me' is quite hard. Because you got all those cultural… not only being a women, not only being Indonesian, religion… makes it much more difficult for some people to meet the criteria that have been set by Western men. If you don't have a problem saying 'I'm wonderful and I'm great and you should promote me', and if you are uncomfortable doing that it is much harder to get recognition (a female Associate Professor from Australasia).

Academic excellence, meritocracy and professional principles are considered gendered Western concepts. Academic excellence can be tracked by the meritocracy concept which requires that individual talent and effort determines reward distribution, and social background should not influence an individual's achievement (Brink and Benschop 2011). Similarly the concept of professionalism is considered socially constructed. Following Evetts' (2003) research on occupation professionalism, profession means that professionals must embed the values of trust and confidentiality and not misuse the profession to harm the client (ibid.400). The argument goes that professional socialisation is maintained by professional training and vocational experiences, and membership of professional associations, therefore professionals shared similar identities, experiences, ways of perceiving problems and solutions. However, the concept has been criticised as it is used to undervalue those who do not follow Western standards. Similar to meritocracy, professionalism can be considered as normative values for a type of ideology for gaining status and income (ibid.401) for male domination.

> In many ways it is not a neutral matrix, because it favours certain discipline practices, more than others. In philosophy you are more likely to write, to focus on manuscripts, on a monograph you are likely to write for 3-4 years. How do you compare that work? 8-9-10 journal articles? 'Cause it takes 3 years to write. And also the contribution around leadership and university, I think. On the matrix, it is likely to advantage one particular group over another. If someone doesn't have any articles and delivers 3 children during their period of time, in many ways, it is difficult for them to gain advantage (a female Ssociate Profeesor from university one from New Zealand).

> It's complex, promotions. And I think it always has been; a lot of things playing. I think that gender… I think traditionally if you look to the system, they might have disadvantages, For example, the service component in terms of community work, taking leadership roles within the university, women often take those roles up, with a very high commitment that's likely to pay a small role in promotion, rather than straight publications. I think that promotion based on merit is an important element, but how it is defined…(ibid)

> The new system is going to be, we are not quite sure how it is going to work anymore, because the dean, vice chancellor seemed to indicate, that he will want to promote people from faculties that they think are strategically important; science, technology, engineering, mathematics, the STEM subjects. It seems to me that what they are saying so it, might just be that they say we've only got enough money to promote 30 people, so we are going promote people in the engineering school. It's the system that might be much more about what the vice chancellor wants, but that's what everyone worried about, but we haven't seen it at work yet, so we don't know that's the case, that's the concern people have (a male Associate Professor from university one from New Zealand).

8.6. Subjectivity of the Committee

In general participants from both social science and non-social science are also aware of the subjectivity of the committee because meritocracy is not one dimensional but it has various interpretations (Pappas and Tremblay, 2010). The ways of interpreting meritocracy and academic excellence for recruitment and career advancement by the university and faculty have been varied.

> I think they tried, it's very difficult comparing people who have different experiences.
> I think it depends on the subjectivity of the committees and the people that handle the applications for continuation or promotion (a female Senior Lecturer from university one from Europe).

> In interviewing people who applied for jobs, as I do sometimes,… I think I'm more neutral as far as where is that person from, compared to others, so I feel there's little bit of bias. I feel sometimes alone in my decision. I take people based purely on their capability, …but not all people think of that. People, I think, feel more comfortable to have a person who is of European origin, for example. I don't feel that (a male Professor from university one from Asia).

According to Brink et.al (2010), academic recruitment is an elite and closed decision making process, and women would have more advantage from a transparent appointment process. On the other hand, Lutter and Schroder (2014), apply regression analysis to show that non-merit factors do not contribute to tenure professorship in Germany. Intersectionality of race and gender and the fact that an academic career is historically a Western occupation may help to explain how a female was appointed to be a Professor in 2008, directly from her experience in a non-academic professional job and two male professors began their academic careers in New Zealand by taking lower positions. The female Professor is from a European country, while the two male Professors obtained professorships from South East Asia and South Africa.

> I was already a Professor in another three countries outside New Zealand. I accepted the position of Senior Lecturer here, but I worked really hard so I jumped up the promotion chain fast to Professor. The university didn't give me a Professorship, even though I was a Professor (a Male Professor from university one from Asia)

A male Professor who obtained a lower position worked very hard to return to his position as a Professor. He is supported by his wife to focus on his job. He comes to the office in the early morning and returns to his home late at night. Eventually, he obtained his position as a Professor in a quite short time.

> I love my research, I publish a lot in high quality journals, and they have a strong team with researchers from Europe, and the US. I attract funding from the EU, and from the US. I have a network, and I have two visitors from Spain a Male Professor from university one from Asia)
> .
> I've gone to all those promotions and I was a Professor, but I accepted senior lecturer position, I manage to get fast promotion, because I'm a very active researcher (ibid).
>
> I tell you I move fast. The dean at that time thought, how can I do that? This is too fast. I don't care, I'm a professor. So I wanted to apply for a Professorship. I think I've gone through different paths compared to the people here… in 2004… I've gone from Senior Lecturer, to Senior Lecturer (above the bar), then to Associate Professor, and then to a Professor, within that period (ibid).

The country and university where they obtained professorships could be considered more dominant than the gender effect because a professorship in previous universities may not be equivalent to the professorship in New Zealand. This is regardless of the fact, that one of the professors is from New Zealand but built his career overseas. The rank of the university matters for determining the academic rank for those two male Professors.

> I was professor before that. I was professor at a universityin South Africa from 1994 to 2001. When I came back to New Zealand there the only job that was available was an associate professor so I had to go back to be an associate professor for few years, and I got promotion back again, so I've already been a professor for 20 years (a Male Professor from university two from New Zealand).

However, a female Professor from the new university explains that ethnic background does not matter for academic career promotion. Only a merit based standard is used to promote academics in her university.

> I have given promotion to someone from a Pacific university and who's now collaborating with people from top university/ institution around the world (A female Professor from university two from New Zealand).

8.7. Conclusion

From the findings, it can be concluded that merit standards must be the foundation for academic advancement in New Zealand. But they need to be developed to encompass the variety and depth of academic contribution and experience. All the participants believe that their university tries to implement merit standards. Everyone must have a similar opportunity to advance their career based on academic standards. However, merit standards as they currently exist are white male values, so, accordingly, female academics, and those from a non-white background are disadvantaged in the system. Only academics who adjust to the system well will progress faster. Academics who are mothers, academics of colour and New Zealand scholars are more likely to mention that they have been disadvantaged by the system. They tend to have a strong commitment to family or strong commitment to community that counted less in terms of their career progression. Some female academics with children mention that they do not have any ambition to achieve the highest positions because they do not want to sacrifice time with their family. Similarly, some academics from a non-white background believe that being involved in community empowerment gives them more happiness than only focusing on scientific academic research without contribution to the community.

CHAPTER IX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

9.1. Introduction to the Chapter

This chapter summarises the main findings of my research and relates it to the most recent literature on gender and academic career advancement in New Zealand and Indonesia. It has been argued in a previous chapter that Bourdieu's notions on field, habitus and career capital are helpful for understanding the area. This chapter discusses university in New Zealand and in Indonesia as a field and how it has shaped gendered academic careers differently. As a comparative project, this study allows the exploration of academic career advancement from a broader perspective, and contributes to comparative explanations of academic career advancement in two countries. It covers career capital in academia and describes how women from the two countries, one which employs a modern structure and the other which employs traditional family structures, survive in their careers. Based predominantly on the experiences of female academics in New Zealand and Indonesia, arguably, gender equality can be developed based on the situation and needs of women in their universities.

9.2. Field & Habitus

A university, as a field, means that the university is "an autonomous space" where an academic career is developed. It is expected that a university sustains itself as both a repository of knowledge and as a generator of knowledge. Modernisation and neo-liberalism should not change the basic principles of academic life for knowledge production and maintaining academic freedom. It is important to note that a dissatisfaction with the development of university as "an autonomous field" has appeared in various countries. Commercialisation, managerialism, academic capitalism, and knowledge as a commodity are the most common criticisms of the impact of neo-liberalism in New Zealand. Politicising and bureaucratisation are common criticisms of academic life and careers in Indonesia. In addition to that, the gender gap in academic careers is the one of the most critical issues in both social contexts.

The change in the traditional nature of academic life has attracted many scholars to identify the recent problems in universities. In Bourdieu's terms, neo-liberalism has become a new habitus; and has been transforming academic life and career advancement with a challenging agenda. Academics in a neo-liberal habitus work under standards that are impersonal and decided by market forces. The universities establish their reputation based on neo-liberal habitus and regulatory regimes that privilege the significance of things such as international ranking systems with a focus on material outputs. Competition and antagonism have become the "new common goods" to replace collaboration and co-creation. Where collaboration is fostered it is usually in reference to the fact that it is increasingly required to demonstrate collaboration and cross-institutional engagement for funding proposals. Within the habitus framework, neo liberalism reproduces academic values to adjust to neo-liberal economic and policy principles (Akrivou 2015). It has been argued that habitus and field develop contemporaneously and are expressed in many aspects of academic life (Reay 2004). Within academic careers, neo-liberal habitus is expressed in the academic standards of teaching, research and service. Neo-liberal power in academia may be expressed as a mainstream policy maker, peer-reviewed journal, journal editor, or university president/vice chancellor. (Akrivou 2015)

The influence of neo-liberalism in higher education with its strong emphasis on the commodification of education is strongly related to capitalism principles. Western liberal countries have been under the influence of neo-liberalism for a more sustained period but in non-liberal countries, such as Indonesia, it still has had influence, though at the moment this remains relatively limited. Indonesia is in a period of transition from old to new paradigms. Higher education institutions are used as state instruments for supporting state ideology, nation-building, and political obedience (Nugroho 2005; in Rosser 2015). Recently, a new paradigm, influenced by internationalisation and neo-liberal paradigms, has been introduced. A neo-liberal habitus has attempted to be replicated in the Indonesian higher education system and other developing countries by international organisations such as the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). At least three neo-liberal values have been suggested to develop Indonesian higher education: autonomy, competition, and quality control (Rosser 2015).

In terms of autonomy, public higher education institutions in Indonesia are fully dependent on the government both financially and managerially under the old paradigm policy. The government appoints a university's rector and other key positions in management, and the process does not require open and competitive procedures. Universities need to ask approval from the government through the Ministry of Education for opening new courses and programmes. Instead of block grants, a university's budget is granted by pre-allocated line-by-line budgets from the government. Private higher education establishments are supervised by the government through the Private University Coordinating Office *(Kordinator Perguruan Tinggi Swasta/KOPERTAIS* (Rosser 2015: 10).

The new paradigm of university autonomy has been developed by introducing incorporated universities (the State University Legal Entity or *Perguruan Tinggi Negeri Badan Hukum (PTNBH)).* However, the status of an incorporated university is only granted for universities which meet certain criteria of autonomy. Under the new paradigm, the appointment of a rector is more democratic, with an election by university stakeholders, but the government (which is represented by the Ministry of Research & Technology and Higher Education Education for public universities or the Ministry of Religious Affairs for religious universities) holds the right to decide up to 35% of the deciding vote. Financially, public universities are expected to be more independent but they have to avoid the commercialisation of higher education. (Rosser 2015: 17-18).

The framework of the competitive aspects of higher education in Indonesia still relates to allowing international tertiary education providers to compete with Indonesian tertiary education institutions. In this regard, Indonesia has only just allowed international higher education provision for post-secondary technical and vocational education but they have to work in co-operation with local partners. Finally, the introduction of an accreditation process is an implementation of neo-liberal principles relating to quality control for both public and private higher education institutions. Perhaps the most significant progress made under the new paradigm is in terms of the acceptance of academic freedom which is now seen as a fully respected element in academic life in Indonesia (Rosser 2015: 19).

Neo-liberalism reproduces and expands, and therefore, it has become a global trend with the emphasis on internationalisation. In the New Zealand context, it is argued that internationalisation leads to the gender gap in academic careers and marginalisation

of local scholars (Baker 2012; Curtis 2016). My research finds that the majority of participants at the middle and low level ranks believe that academic career promotion has become more challenging. This is acknowledged by both male and female academics, and for academics who are also mothers there is a collective understanding that the barriers are even more significant. They delay their promotion because they give priority to spending time with their families and for child rearing.

With the impact of the neo-liberal habitus in New Zealand and the rise of auditing and accountability regimes, Shore (2010) argues that academics live under strict monitoring regimes and that they are expected to behave to suit neo-liberal principles. Concurrently, the university must align and contribute to various government ambitions relating to nation identity, Treaty agreements and research excellence. Therefore, they are to some extent 'bewildered and demoralised' (p.26). Research audits such as PBRF have produced anxiety and resistance, especially for female academics where a research audit is considered a form of symbolic violence with masculine characteristics (Grant and Elizabeth 2015). Accordingly, this confirms previous literature that male domination in academia is hidden and invisible (Reay, 2004) and therefore, symbolic violence, male domination, and the gender gap in the academy has never been fully acknowledged.

The invisibility of gendered career trajectories can be seen from the fact that previous literature for gender and academic careers remains divided into two groups where one consistently argues that academic career advancement is a meritocratic process; while the other argues that it is gendered in process and outcome. The gender neutral science approach remains consistent about scientific performance or scientific excellence in that science productivity is merely based on an individual's merit (O'Brien and Hapgood 2012; Lutter and Scroder 2016). On the other hand, scholars with a gendered academic performance approach have challenged the claim of objectivity for science, and they demonstrate evidence on gendered patterns of citation. Gender bias in applicant and evaluation rate success for research funding is found by Lee and Ellemers (2015), in the Netherlands, based on the language and instructions in evaluation sheets. This finding is consistent with the relevant statistics on leadership gaps, salary gaps, and funding gaps in academia. In addition to that, according to Malianiak, Powers and Walter's (2013), females have a 20% lower impact than their male counterparts; Mairesse (2005) found that females gained fewer citations than their male counterparts, by 40%. A very recent study (2016) also noted that men self-cite themselves far more

than women. The paper notes that despite the increase of women in the academy men's self-citation rate has risen to 70% over women in the past two decades (King et al, 2016 http://arxiv.org/abs/1607.00376v1).

Similarly, race discrimination is also largely invisible. Some participants still believed that it did not or no longer occurred in the universities that they worked in whereas participants of colour at the same universities acknowledged it and indeed had experienced it. Accordingly, Kanter's theory of proportions (1977) about the impact of marginality allows a greater understanding of this. It has been argued that minority women identify several feelings such as the feeling of being socially invisible, isolated, excluded, stereotyped and with limited access to resources. Her theory is supported by Turner (2006), who finds that women of colour in academia experience being isolated and under-respected and unsupported by their white female academic counterparts. Moreover, affirmative action for women in academia when championed by white females rarely accounts for nor meets the needs for women of colour who face difficult challenges in balancing their career with community and family issues, work overload and obtain less respect from their students. Arguably, gender and race are rendered invisible in academic careers as those elements are considered non-meritocratic factors (Lutter and Scroder 2016).

As previously noted the influence of neo liberal habitus for the gender gap in academic in Indonesia remains limited. The gender gap in Indonesia relates to the fact that most women who are involved in academic careers are relatively new to the occupation so their length of careers is generally shorter than their male counterparts. Understanding the academic gender gap in Indonesia is better framed by considering the fact that career progression follows civil servant regulation and is not perceived as very prestigious in terms of remuneration in Indonesia. Being an academic, according to some Indonesian academics, is less about income and more about a kind of "calling" and their devotion to knowledge development. It is very common to hear Indonesian academics remark that if they wanted money they would not choose this occupation and their decision to dedicate themselves to this occupation is about personal and professional satisfaction. Some see their contribution as enhancing wisdom and science and do not pay undue attention to the "strange promotion system". For them, being an academic or at a university is not merely an occupation but should be seen as as a laboratory for science and civilisation. They are idealistic and do not want to follow the standards

determined by the government, or neo-liberal principles. This notion of the vocation or calling references Weber's thoughts on science and vocation (2004). According him, the academic profession should be a pursuit of knowledge, virtuous duty, and the main purpose of the academic role is not material benefit but the contribution to a better society. Furthermore, Weber argues that academics should not become "machine operators", and should avoid pragmatism (Myers 2004). This value is very famous, but unfortunately my research does not really support detailed data on this topic. It is important to take into account that it is very common for Indonesian academics, especially male academics to have other activities outside universities such as in consultancy, professional research, civil society organisations, politics or business.

9.3. Career Capital

A neo-liberal habitus requires professional *career capital,* and Lutter and Scroder (2016) classify the academic career capital into meritocratic and non-meritocratic factors. The former has been defined as academic productivity; and the later covers several factors such as ascription, symbolic and social capital, which can be measured by network size, individual reputation, and gender matters. However, my quantitative analysis does not include the meritocratic factors in Lutter and Scroder's concept so the model tested in this study only explains a limited percentage of the factors for academic career advancement. Meritocratic principles based on my participant in-depth interviews are contested by those participants. Issues of gender and race are the most cited factors mentioned in New Zealand whereas more participants in Indonesia were aware that their academic system draws on meritocratic principles in a very limited way. The Indonesian participants all noted the lack of clarity, over-bureacratisation and lack of professionalism in their promotion system. In addition to that, previous research findings demonstrate that Indonesian tertiary education is challenged by having a low quality of academic staff coupled with low incentives (for example Hill and Wie 2012; Welch 2007, 2011). Similarly, the most recent research by Elfindri et al (2015) to measure the quality of academics by the quantity of publications shows a similar trend. As presented in Table 9.1, only 15% of professors from public universities published in international journals in 2009 and this increased moderately, by 19% and 26% respectively, in 2010 and 2011. Only 4-5% of the academic staff with lower ranks published internationally in

2009 and this increased slightly to 7-8% in 2011. The international publication rate for Indonesian private universities is even worse. The percentage of publications for the rank of professor fluctuates from 4%, 3%, and 9% respectively from 2009 to 2011.

Table 9.1. Index for international journal publication

International Journal	Year	Rank of Lecturer			
		Lecturer Assistant	Lecturer	Senior Lecturer	Professor
Public Universities	2009	5 %	4 %	4 %	15 %
	2010	6 %	6 %	5 %	19 %
	2011	8 %	7 %	7 %	26 %
Private Universities	2009	1 %	2 %	2 %	4 %
	2010	3 %	2 %	2 %	3 %
	2011	4 %	3 %	3 %	9 %

Source: Elfindri et.al 2015 : 30

Recently, publication in international journals has become the most important criteria for being promoted to the rank of professor, based on the newest regulation. For Indonesian academics who were promoted to professor based on the old regulation, they can still apply without international publication and recognition. Therefore, writing and publishing books is more common than international journal publication among Indonesian academics. Around 35% of private university professors state that they have written a book. On the other hand, only around 22% of professors in public universities report they have engaged in similar activity (Elfindri et.al 2015. 34). Similarly, for publication in non-accredited national journals, the percentage is convincing enough as around 35% or more of academics in every rank, at both private and public universities wrote articles in this kind of journal in 2011 (ibid. 30). In other words, while in the past research productivity criteria could be substituted by other academic activities, the situation has now changed. This aspect of neo-liberalism is becoming stronger in academic promotion in Indonesia, therefore academics meeting the criteria for international recognition will have a greater advantage.

The previous data was obtained when a certification process, which is a new incentive policy which allows the government to provide additional rewards, was introduced in 2008. The purpose of this certification process is to motivate academic staff to improve their capacity. Based on a selected online questionnaire completed by 47,959

of the 54,000 academic staff in Indonesia who have passed the certification process, Elfindri et al (201: 29) found that in general academic teaching activity is distributed normally due to the new incentive system which requires all academic staff to teach. However, some of them have an overload of teaching and a few have less than the standard teaching load. It means that more intervention strategies are likely to be needed to improve academic productivity in Indonesia.

Quantitative data analysis in my research shows that seniority, which can be classified as non-meritocratic factors, has become a significant factor for career advancement in both countries. Especially in Indonesia, seniority, age, and educational qualification are significant for career advancement. Arguably, female academics with better educational qualifications and a longer period of tenure will probably have a better chance of advancing their careers. It seems that the system in Indonesia actually provides better opportunities for women than in NZ. This is strengthened by the findings from the in-depth interviews which showed that support from family and an existing affordable domestic labour market supported women to adjust to their academic role well. However, the issue of remuneration and different promotion systems between Indonesia and New Zealand mean the situation is not really comparable.

Graduating from an international university in the New Zealand system can improve social capital but in the Indonesian context this variable shows a different impact. Many academics who have graduated from outside Indonesia face problems with internal administrative procedures. They need to ask government officials from the Ministry of Education to authorise their certificates, and sometimes it takes time and energy to deal with the procedure. They often have problems with their letter of permission, passport, and other documents. In other words, social capital for academic advancement in Indonesia is more likely to accumulate with a good local network and relationships with government officials who play important roles in the promotion process. Accordingly, the inefficiency of quality control by a corrupt government seems to be the reason that graduation from overseas universities has little influence on academic career rank. This leads to the paradox of the introduction of internationalisation and the quality control agenda because administrative quality control applies to international certificates as the holder of the certificate needs to register their certificate to obtain approval from the government.

The fact of administrative and bureaucratic processes in Indonesian's academic system indicates the limited approval of new principles of university autonomy and competitiveness. By contrast, managerialism in the forms of administrative and procedural aspects in the name of quality control has strengthened. In fact, in terms of research and publication in international journals, it is argued that Indonesian academic staff who graduated from overseas publish four to five fold that of their colleagues who graduated from national universities. The most productive academic staff are those who graduated from Japan because doctoral students in Japanese universities must publish their articles in international journals before the completion of their study (Elfindri et.al 2015: 33).

9.4. Neo-Institutional Analysis

In general, frameworks for career research by previous researchers are heavily focused on the relationships of agent and structure. A neo-institutional framework is considered useful in understanding academic careers as the framework explains human behaviour, not only from a social structure perspective but also from being sensitive to (collective) human agency. The framework acknowledges that people individually will recognise the rules and resources but they are not always well informed about the institution. In fact, the institutions have a function when people understand and respond to them positively. Furthermore, the nature of institutions is overlapping, conflicting, and ambiguous; therefore, individuals have an opportunity, though often restricted, to oppose or to transform institutional regulations from one setting to another. In other words, the new institutional framework offers the flexibility of social structure because the individual can adapt to a new structure as well as (attempt to) transform it. However, this framework is still only really useful in understanding how within institutional contexts academic careers have developed and changed (Kaulisch and Enders 2005).

Within an international system, academics, theoretically, are free agents and they can move easily between universities to gain promotion in a free market (Baruch 2004). Academics are free agents because they have the capital necessary to enhance the profile and reputation of universities. Universities will value their research productivity, therefore they can choose any university that offers a vacancy and academic positions and offers them an appointment within a contestable process. Universities are interested in hiring research 'stars'. However, this system seems to undervalue women academics

and positions female academics as a marginalised group (Baker 2012). Among my 15 participants in New Zealand, seven participants are international female academics who have been recruited to become academic staff in universities in Auckland. They were interested in living in New Zealand because they wanted to develop their career in NZ, and besides they were interested in enjoying the advantages of living in a country that is renowned for its natural beauty. Eventually two of them married in New Zealand and one is single. For another three New Zealand female academics, family connections is the main reason for pursuing an academic career in New Zealand. There are two New Zealand male academics and another three international male academics from various countries.

The system is disadvantageous to academics who have limited interest in research activities and who wish to make their contribution largely through activities that support community empowerment and community development. The study finds some academics prioritise and remain active in teaching and community development because they believe that these activities contribute more to creating a better world. Some participants choose not to engage in sabbaticals, which are considered as creating a conducive atmosphere for research and publication, because the sabbatical leave does not align well with their family responsibilities.

Scholars using neo-institutional analysis recognise that academic careers are developed in each country differently, based on the national context (Kaulisch and Enders 2005) but in general, liberal countries develop similar systems for academic careers (Baker 2012). In New Zealand, it is true that academics can participate in the academic market and move freely from one university to another if they want to gain promotion, however, some participants acknowledge that their freedom to move is severely limited by tough competition and a contracted market for academics looking for tenured positions. Some participants decided to move to New Zealand and take more junior positions because the university that accepted them was considered more prestigious than the one they came from. Another moved to New Zealand after a building career in another country because he is a New Zealander and wanted to return to his home country.

With the influence of neo-liberal values, some aspects of academic careers in developing countries, such as publication and validation of academic quality, is closely associated with academic life in liberal countries. An enthusiasm to follow this pattern

internationally is noted but the national context of each country is different. Academic careers in Malaysia, which is the nearest neighbour to Indonesia geographically and socially, follow the international system, especially relating to the idea of the academic mobility between institutions. Academic promotion criteria in Malaysia are based on Ministry of Higher Education (MoHE) guidelines. The criteria involves teaching and learning, research and innovation, publication and writing, postgraduate supervision, academic recognition and leadership, community service and nation building, consultancy and industrial links, and administrative roles/contributions to university. However, the measurement standard is considered different between universities with one salary system. Therefore, it has been argued that academics with reasonable standards from one university have not been promoted to professor, while other academics with lower standards could be promoted earlier. This situation leads to academics who are not successful in gaining promotion in prestigious universities moving to other universities to gain promotion (Azman, et al 2016).

Neo-institutional analysis is less relevant in exploring Indonesian career advancement. Academics are not free agents and they cannot move to another university to gain promotion. Relocation to another university is allowed under very specific situations, and it should be based on the necessity of the targeted university rather than the needs of an individual. In addition to that, the university where an academic is registered has to give permission otherwise the intention to move cannot be processed. In other words, the mobility of academic staff is limited and in most cases must be initiated for institutional or bureaucratic gain. Under the civil servant system, sociological analyses emphasise that the importance of structure and power is more appropriate for explaining academic careers in Indonesia because academic promotion is still under old paradigms which rely heavily on the bureaucratic and administrative processes of government.

According to Evetts (1992) career patterns can be changed if sufficient individuals chose a different route, and groups of individuals can exert an influence on the course of social events. It is very common that Indonesian academics have other activities outside universities such as in consultancy, professional research, civil society organisations, politics or business. Some academics ignore their promotion because of their dissatisfaction with the promotion process which is not standardised, and to oppose the government policy. Some expect to keep academic activities as a kind of dedication

and devotion to wisdom and science without paying attention to the "strange promotion system".

However, the idea of not seeking promotion in a university may disadvantage the reputation of the university. The national accreditation of a university according to Rosser (2015), is part of the neo-liberal concept to demonstrate quality control which has been adopted by Indonesia's higher education system. It requires all programme studies to report their progress once every five years otherwise the programme study's accreditation will expire and any certificate issued by the programme of study will be invalid. All programme studies must report their vision, mission, academic staff profile and management, student profile and achievements (Grade Point Average and other achievements), research activities and any grants collected by their staff. Departments having more senior lecturers and professors will obtain better credits; therefore there is now a structural incentive for all departments to support their staff for promotion into the highest ranks.

9.5. Narrowing Trend for the Gender Gap, Balancing Family Life and The Gender Gap Index in Academic Careers

It is important to take into account that the narrowing of the gender gap in senior positions in New Zealand is also an important finding. Senior positions in the New Zealand system include Associate Professor and Professor. Based on data from the University Calendars, 2012 and 2015, the percentage of female academics in Associate Professorships increased by 6.5 % and similarly, the percentage of female professors has increased at around 1.5 % during these three years. Based on the framework that gendered change is possible in a country where gender equality values are widely accepted in political institutions and social life in general, New Zealand has quite close criteria. The percentage of women in the New Zealand parliament, based on the NZ census from 2005 to 2012 fluctuated at around 32 to 33%. Tertiary education attainment reached 39% of 25-64 year olds, and 46% of 25-34 year olds in 2011[47]; and labour force participation for women, at 79%, was slightly above the OECD average at 79.5% in 2007 (Baker 2012: 32).

[47] https://www.oecd.org/edu/New%20Zealand_EAG2013%20Country%20Note.pdf

It is necessary to take into account that the changes have emerged but, in general, this study makes similar findings to previous researche (Beddoes and Pawly 2014; Walsh & Turnbull 2016; Baker 2012 & 2009; Mason & Goulden 2004) that the gender gap is not closing, and some female academics still face the dilemma that women are still considered as 'other' in the university. Family has been identified as one of the most important aspects of the gender gap in academic life. Family and intimacy in the modern era, according to Giddens (1990), is facing a great transformation. The experiences of female academics within their families shows the impact of modernity on family life. In New Zealand there are more models of family life for female academics such as conventional marriage, blended family, partnership, same sex marriage, or being single or childfree.

Academics who are mothers with a strong commitment to family are found in New Zealand. This type of female academic is not very mainstream and to some extent they are marginalised. In this regard I found at least three participants with a very strong family commitment and they tended to put their career as their second priority. Individually, they are very determined to keep to their motherhood principles, although they are not supported comprehensively by the system. They have been marginalised in the New Zealand system, and this marginalisation is concealed because, in a liberal system, family life is considered an individual choice and responsibility. The government has introduced family friendly policies, which are very helpful, but these are not necessarily sufficient to enable female academics who are mothers to enjoy equality in their occupation. Accordingly, they have to adjust their choice to have family with the liberal values of professionalism, efficiency, and productivity which sometimes do not suit family life principles, such as being loving and caring.

Arguably, studies in liberal countries emphasise that family life, children, and domestic work are a serious problem for female academics. To be single or childfree is considered to give more opportunities to advance a female academic's career. However, Baker (2012) argues that despite that being childfree and being single is more accepted, more female academics in New Zealand still choose family over their career. It can be speculated that neo-liberal principles which are adapted in liberal countries ignore the needs of female academics for family formation or for balancing their family life. The fact that female academics in New Zealand can be the primary breadwinner is important

to take into account, so, accordingly, the gender gap is a very serious problem and the efforts to eradicate the problem are very urgent.

This in line with some quite recent research by Grant and Elizabeth (2015) who found that gender still accounts for the unequal rewards in New Zealand universities. Furthermore they argue, especially in regards to PBRF, different responses have been generated from a source of pride and excitement on one side to feelings of resentment on the other side; despite the fact that a survey in 2003 among 145 academics finds that female academics are more likely to feel uncomfortable than their male counterparts when doing research and publication.

On the other hand, Indonesia is highly traditional with a very strong patriarchal culture in society. Women are underrepresented in parliament (17.3% in the 2014 election, slightly below previous election in 2009 at 18 %, and it is socially accepted that married women resign from paid work. However, Utomo (2012) notes a significant increase in Indonesia has been reached in several aspects of life such as women's tertiary educational attainment (from 25% in 1985 to 42% in 2000), women's labour force participation (from 27% to 41% in 1960 and 2000 respectively). With the religious values embedded in marriage and family life in Indonesia and based on the existing law, being married is the only way for family formation. In general, people believe that under a legal marriage, husbands are responsible for financial support for their family and wives must obey their husbands.

As a result, my study shows that the majority of female academics in Indonesia still maintain the traditional aspects of life, based on traditional family rule: either heterosexual marriage or being single. Accordingly, the introduction of modern life in Indonesia only influences family life in a limited way. In this regard, female academics still have the traditional view that men deserve a higher position. However, the study also indicates reflexivity and confirms Giddens's argument (1991: 37) that tradition can be changed gradually. He notes:

> "Tradition is not wholly static, because it has to be reinvented by each new generation as it takes over its cultural inheritance from those preceding it. Tradition does not so much resist change as pertain to context in which there are few separated temporal and spatial markers in terms of which change can have any meaningful form.

The situation describes that of the majority of female academics in Indonesia who perceive their relationships to their husbands and male academic counterparts in a

functionalist theoretical framework. Female academics hold on to the principles that the family has a particular function which is different from other institutions, especially economic institutions. It is commonly understood that an economic institution is more likely to be based on rational exchange and calculation, on the other hand, family life has been developed based on emotional and effectual behaviour, a type of social action which is driven by non-material interests. Male leadership in the family and the norm of the male's obligation to support his family financially have been sacred values and are developed based on religious beliefs and those are somehow unquestionable. As a result, that women are only secondary earners, and that they are economically dependent on their husbands are still very strong values among academics. Some of Indonesian women are the primary breadwinner but they are minority in the system. It is rare that an Indonesian women would see their careers as their primary goal in life because establishing a family is a very important aspect of their religious beliefs.

Female academics in Indonesia live with male domination in every aspect of their lives and in a very overt fashion.The barriers to female academic careers in Indonesia are more visible. They live in a social tradition in which they are expected to marry early at around 20 and reproduce directly afterward. It is very common that female academics have not completed their Bachelor's Degree when they decide to marry, and then they have their first baby, second, or more, while they are studying or continuing their degrees. Arguably, only those who are very determined and have a very strong motivation can pass this stage. Many husbands are reluctant about having wives who share their focus between family and careers. Some support their wives to study, even to study in different city or different country, as they sacrifice their privilege and make a decision to have contemporary a long distance family. Some female academics choose to live alone, far away from their family, and some choose to bring their children. This happens only if their husbands prefer to continue their previous career while their wives are studying. Psychologically, all choices have risks such as being lonely or feeling guilty. Some bring all their members of family to experience new life in different city or country and if their husband has the opportunity to find new job, this would probably be an ideal. However, in general, those who choose to obtain a post graduate degree are rarely able focus their time only for studying. They always share their time between study/career and managing their family. This makes obtaining a post graduate degree a luxury achievement. However, most female academics accept these constraints, which

can be considered as barriers to academic career advancement including the traditional division of labour and motherhood, and make clear that they believe they have accepted these constraints voluntarily. Female academics in Indonesia rarely complain of this, and they accept it as an unavoidable challenge. They struggle to negotiate their beliefs about their rights to participate in career development. They are controlled by religious and cultural beliefs, both individually and socially.

My research finds that academic career advancement in Indonesia is more likely to follow female career advancement in the public service. It has been argued that the Indonesian Public Service facilitates a working environment to balance career advancement and family life (Azmi et.al 2012). Furthermore, they argue that a Muslim female public servant should be treated as equal to a male as their religion (Islam) recognises that their rights to lead the organisation are the same as men's rights. Both females and males have good prospects for promotion for career advancement in the public service every 3-5 years. Female public servants are enthusiastic about adapting the regulations to advance their careers by furthering their studies, participating in courses, developing networks, and building cooperation, but Azmi et.al (2012) emphasises that family is more important for female civil servants than their career. Accordingly, I believe that the occupation does not strongly support gender equality with a strong emphasis on women's independence. Similarly, it does not support their productivity from an economic perspective because civil servants are employed by government institutions, and in Indonesia civil servants are heavily restrained due to inefficient, bureaucratic and procedural principles.

Despite the culture that favours men more than women in career advancement in Indonesia, there is a growing literature which demonstrates women's agency where many women can challenge the gendered role expectations as well as women's stereotypes which can undermine their competence (Syed 2010). Generally speaking, the societal structure is based on a culture and religious belief which deems that women are responsible for domestic roles and being socially and economically dependent on males (Omar and Davidson 2001). They have to behave in a modest way and submit their lives to their fathers and husbands (Syed 2010). However, human beings as an agents and actors, following Giddens (1984), are to some extent powerful when dealing with structure and culture. An agent with particular capital will not adapt to the structure entirely, but will make alterations to the situation. Similarly, religion as a tradition in a

society can be interpreted as strengthening a different way of life such as to strengthen women's participation in public life and career.

Recently, more and more women are challenging and negotiating with their husbands and their families to convince them that they can handle both a career and family. It shows that when women in Indonesia hold onto tradition, it does not necessarily mean that they fully accept patriarchal culture. They resist it but with more flexible and non-radical strategies. Concurrently, women take advantage from the support of their husband and family, morally and financially. A double standard strategy is very common among women in Indonesia. They keep the positive aspects of men's support, and expand their space into public roles. The position of some female academics up to the middle level can be similar to their male counterparts because the promotion procedure and its compensation are not the prime motivators of academics in general in Indonesia. Both male and female academics remain at the same positions for long periods of time because they have neglected their career advancement. While female academics must spend time on domestic work, male academics were busy obtaining a secondary income.

This research strengthens previous research that demonstrates that many women benefit from family support and their socio economic status when advancing their careers but they need to work twice as hard as men to reach better positions in their careers (Murniati 2012; Tlaiss 2011). Murniati (2012) investigated the motivating factors for senior women in academic careers. She argues that senior female lecturers could reach the highest positions as academics because of their individual commitment, strong determination to succeed, and personal initiative. They have adapted to the rules in a male-dominated culture. On the other hand, the barriers for women include the heavy workload and institutional policies. Culture and religious beliefs can be seen to be either enabling or constraining factors.

According to Murniati (2012) senior lecturers believed that their responsibilities as mothers and housewives are God-given and that they have to balance their domestic and public roles. Apart from their individual character, they also attribute their career advancement to the support of the men around them such as fathers, brothers and husbands. They are able to pursue higher education because they were supported by their fathers and brothers, and they could obtain and pursue their academic career because their husbands support them. Furthermore, socio economic status facilitated senior

female lecturers to have cultural capital (the means, resources, and assistance) to support them in their career development. These women came from family backgrounds with high economic status. However, my own experience shows that, while I am not from a high socio-economic status being married with a husband and with good support for my career has been advantageous. Some of informants have similar experiences of being supported by their husbands so they can achieve middle positions in their academic careers. We have to negotiate and manage time and emotion well, therefore, family and career to some extent can be reconciled. It means that a husband's support is more important than the family background status.

This situation is possible with the help of domestic workers. Murniati (2012) noted that their participants could afford to pay others to take over their domestic work obligations. This is not really an ideal situation but the problem of balancing family life without "exploiting" or "the help" of other women is still far from reality. Equal division of labour in a family would probably be an ideal choice but many factors constrain the real equal division of labour. Many female academics enjoy their role of being the queen of their family, serving their family and to have their husband as the primary breadwinner. However, sometimes a domestic worker is absent because of sickness or they have permanently resigned. In this situation, cooperation between the wife and husband is unavoidable, but rather than equal division of labour, the double burden for the wife is more prevalent.

According to Murniati's (2012) findings, it can be concluded that female academics in Indonesia consider their responsibilities as mothers and housewives in a more positive way and they feel happy to have both a family life and academic careers. In other words, within a patriarchal system some aspects of the system can enable women to successfully compete with their male counterparts, and gender does not discourage women from aspiring to higher career positions. Women can reach high career positions if they have similar *capital* such as high educational attainment and work experience.

That female academics can adjust to the academic profession well in Indonesia is comparable to the situation of women's academic advancement in Turkey in 2005. Turkey, as one of the majority Muslim countries, has 27% female professors. (Healy et.al 2005). Academic careers in the history and social context of Turkey have become "safe", "secure", "esteemed" types of professional careers for women. Men are more likely to choose non-academic careers because, financially, academia is not as promising as other

professions. However, generally, academic women are less interested in taking roles in administration as a career because of the perceived and actual role conflict this produces as they give priority to the traditional family role(Ozkanli 2007). Similarly, it has been argued that the pattern of female participation in Malaysia is similar to Turkey. While female participation in high level management in universities in Malaysia is continuously low, women's career advancement at professorial levels has increased significantly (Omar 1993; Luke 2001, Morley et al 2017).

In other words, while an academic career with a pathway to a professorship is possible, the common issue for female academic staff in non-Western countries is the obstacles in place in taking on senior decision-making leadership careers such as becoming a vice-chancellor or dean. Studies on this issue demonstrated that, instead of meritocracy principles being linked to professional promotion, career advancement is often based on subjectivism, favouritisms, and political appointments (Luke 2001). Therefore, it can be understood that women's academic career advancement and leadership in some Western countries is often a result of a "lucky" selection process or a "just happened" situation (Nguyen 2012; Luke 2001). In such situations women have to have strong family support, along with self-effort and motivation to enable them to reach quite high leadership positions (Nguyen 20012; Murniati 20012).

In general, female academics are more concerned about subjective career success which emphasises the personal aspect of success such as the accommodation of work and family. While my research may not provide any quantitative data on career satisfaction, Kholis (2012) finds that male and female academics in Islamic higher education are equally satisfied with their careers, with slightly higher mean for females than males (scored 3.52 and 3.45 respectively).

It can be argued further that female career advancement and success in Indonesia is almost similar to that of other Muslim majority countries. Female Muslim academics in Indonesia can somehow eliminate the gender factor and compete with their male counterparts in their civil service careers. A civil service career with a modest income is very appropriate for women living in a very strong patriarchal culture country as it facilitates a working environment which balances career advancement and family life (Azmi et.al 2012). In civil servant system, basically male and female salary are quite equal since basic salaries and other remunerationare determined bythe rank of career. All academics from both social and natural science obtain similar basic salary. Arguably,

gender segregation income based on social or STEM faculty in civil servant system should be minimised. However, academics with more practical science background would have more opportunity to obtain other income. Unfortunately did not have enough data to elaborate this topic

In other words, it can be argued further that female career advancement and success in Indonesia is almost similar to that of other Muslim majority countries. Female Muslim academics in Indonesia can somehow eliminate the gender factor and compete with their male counterparts in their civil service careers. Female academics are more concerned about subjective career success which emphasises the personal aspect of success such as the accommodation of work and family. While my research may not provide any quantitative data on career satisfaction, Kholis (2012) finds that male and female academics in Islamic higher education are equally satisfied with their careers, with slightly higher mean for females than males (scored 3.52 and 3.45 respectively). Accordingly, a civil service career with a modest income is very appropriate for women living in a very strong patriarchal culture country as it facilitates a working environment which balances career advancement and family life (Azmi et.al 2012).

Accordingly, in terms of the gender gap index between liberal and non-liberal countries, it is important to point out that this index is constructed based on liberal values to support women to participate in the labour market without emphasising their balancing role between family and career. Given that more and more women in liberal countries have low fertility or choose to be single or child free this means that it is likely that their contribution to eliminating the gap is significant. On the other hand, balancing family and careers in Indonesia is a must for women who choose to participate in the labour market even given the fact that many women choose not to participate in labour market and choose to become housewives only. Comparing the ranks of the gender gap index between liberal countries and non-liberal countries is very challenging because the cultural and structural aspects in those countries are different. Culturally, it relates to attitudes about balancing family and career; details of which are presented in Chapters 6 and 7. Structurally, it relates to institutional policies such as family friendly policies introduced by governments to support women to participate in the labour market. Arguably, it can be speculated that since balancing family and career in Indonesia and other non-liberal countries is unavoidable, the Gender Gap Index rank for those developing countries could never be higher than the ranks for liberal countries. In other

words, the Western concepts and values which inform the Gender Gap Index ranks and scores will always advantage Western liberal countries and disadvantage non-Western and non-liberal countries.

Returning to my introduction chapter I argue that a different approach to understanding the experience of women of colour or non-Western voices is needed. Spivak's (1988) work here is critical to this discussion. Similarly, postcolonial arguments have offered a significant critique about Western scholarship discourse and modernisation theory. Scientific discourse from Western scholarship according to Edward Said (1994) has been generally motivated by European superiority, Eurocentricism, various kinds of racism and old and new forms of imperialism. Studies on academic careers that rely on data only from developed countries tend to perceive social institutions and traditional practices negatively. The idea of emphasizing women's participation in the labour market without giving priority to family formation means the experience and aspirations of Indonesian women is suppressed and is another form of symbolic violence. The idea of the Gender Gap Index is a Western idea and very influential as a reference indicator determining development in countries such as Indonesia. My research underscores and asserts that it is important to measure women's conditions beside indicators developed in the Gender Gap Index (economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival and political empowerment). It is necessary to make a comparison from different indicators such as the index of happiness, life satisfaction or other universal indicators which are accepted in any cultures or any nations. We must be able to write our own indicators that align with our desires and hopes for the future. This does not mean that there should be an absence of critique. Critique is essential to create the conditions for transformative change but that change should not be determined by values that may poorly align with individual and collective aspirations.

9.7. Research Limitation

Applying secondary data for research is quite challenging. I did not apply strict steps of deductive research procedures to build research from a theoretical framework followed by constructing variables and indicators for measurement for collecting data. In addition to that, this study does not follow a theoretical framework consistently. My research planning is about social capital, habitus and family but available data is mostly about family life and gender. In other words, although this study is enriched by quantitative data analysis, the main approach is inductive research. The quantitative data analysis is provided to enhance and problematise the qualitative data to help us imagine to what extent significant factors in qualitative data can be measured and predicted. And eventually, concepts such as field, habitus, and career capital are useful for analysing the data from macro analysis to show how academic careers in developed countries relate to academic careers in a developing country, with the introduction of elements of neo-liberal habitus.

In general, the quantitative study on the gender gap in this study only covers limited variables in that the model only explains a moderate percentage of factors contributing to academic careers. I personally believe that quantitative research on academic careers in New Zealand should include variables for contributions in research and publication, teaching and service because those are the academic standards for promotion. However, the available data in New Zealand (length of career and gender) can provide information about how unintended factors which are not mentioned in academic standards influence academic career advancement. In addition to that, this contributes to existing literature discussing similar issues.

In other words, quantitative data from New Zealand does not include the independent variables representing meritocratic principles. By contrast, independent variables in Indonesia covering educational qualification represent meritocratic principles beside gender and length of tenure. Accordingly, my study cannot provide comparisons of statistical analysis. Statistical analysis using comparable data covering gender and length of career between New Zealand and Indonesia shows the similar result that gender and length of career are significant factors for academic career advancement in both countries. It can be speculated that introducing the independent variables representing meritocratic principles in New Zealand will change the effect of gender to become

insignificant because the gender effect for academic careers in statistical analysis is often hidden. In this regard, Nielsen (2015) demonstrated that indications for the gender impact for her research in Danish universities is unclear. She strengthens previous findings from Aksnes et al (2011) where the impact of gender has been ambiguous. However, the most recent literature about science productivity remains consistent on the negative effect of having family on science research productivity (Mairesse and Pezzoni 2013). Therefore, it is unsurprising that the quantitative data analysis from Indonesia, especially from a religious university, demonstrates various results and ordinal regression analysis fails to explain the gender influence despite the fact that descriptive statistics and binary regression demonstrate that the gender gap is prevalent.

Regarding the qualitative strategy, my study is limited by the fact that the participants are clustered among academics around 40-50, therefore, the findings predominantly still strengthen previous research. This generation, especially in Indonesia, still have limited access to new technology in that they tend to be homogenous in terms of ideas. They have experienced a strong religious socialisation from their parents and teachers. They did not have numerous alternative sources of knowledge and, accordingly, religious and traditional values from their parents and teachers are really influential in their lives. The new generation at around 30 years old would probably have different perspectives about religion and traditional beliefs because their sources of information and knowledge have been more varied. Unfortunately, my research did not include this age group because my focus was on those whose who had longer experience of academic careers.

9.8. Recommendations for Future Research

While the gender gap exists in both countries, the trend shows that the gender gap is becoming less significant. The fact of the narrowing gender gap in New Zealand has been discussed in previous research (Baker 2012). Likewise, it has been argued that gender in university management matters for narrowing the gender gap in academic careers (O'Connor 2014; O'Connor et.al 2015). Due to the limitation on the respondent's age group, I recommend expanding this research on a new age group of around 30 years old, both in New Zealand and Indonesia. In New Zealand, those generation has had extensive exposure e to the development of technology and have enjoyed it for a longer

period. Similarly, in Indonesia, they have engaged more with technology than the previous generation. They would probably have different responses about family formation and gender relations and consequently would probably have different experiences of the gender gap in academic careers.

Regarding university as a field in Bourdie's term, for the Indonesian context, it can be argued that there are two extreme challenges for Indonesian higher education: *first,* the old paradigm with its politicking and procedural systems under a corrupt government; *second,* the aggressive expansion of neo-liberalism and commercialisation. The universities' dependency on the government will lead to greater political / governmental influence within the university. More broadly, implementing neo-liberalism and commercialisation will threaten the majority of Indonesian citizens who are living in poverty. The most recent decision to adopt limited neo-liberal principles should be a solution, but the challenges of proceduralism and managerialism are still embedded within the system.

The new paradigm of the autonomous university, competitiveness, and quality control as the reproduction of neo-liberalism in Indonesia, is still very new. It can be said that the impact is still merely in the administrative procedures, in the name of quality control and accreditation. By contrast, the greater involvement academic staff have in administration and teaching leads them to being less productive in research and publication (Elfindri et al 2015: 31). In the future the impact of the policy needs to be investigated, especially its impact on female academics. Gender in university management in Indonesia is also an important topic to be monitored; as to what extent gender balance in management influences gender balance in academic careers.

Regarding the neo-liberal impact on higher education, I support the idea of strengthening research into generating theory out of the box; for creating more humanist, sustainable, equal societies; supporting more scientific dialogue and respecting academic freedom in developing more integrity in academic life (Akrivou K 2015). Especially for Indonesia, the new idea of improving the quality of academia must be adjusted to the national and local contexts. Opening access for internationalisation is important, but marginalisation of the local and national identity will lead to serious problems. The implementation of neo-liberal principles, in the same way as neo-liberal principles in liberal countries, would not effectively improve the quality of Indonesian academics.

This is especially salient if the system is to open access for commercialisation within the university. Similarly, keeping the old paradigms for developing higher education will leave Indonesia in a peripheral position. Internationalisation is a must, but must be done in a way that is mindful. Ensuring that local people survive and prosper in a global and international system is a challenge. Therefore, developing a higher education system with a strong national identity, but acknowledging globality should be a future agenda. The system should prevent an internationalisation of higher education which is influenced only by westernisation and commodification.

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APPENDIX 1.
Multicollinearity Test for Religious University

Coefficients[a]								
		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients			Collinearity Statistics	
Model		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.	Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	-.232	.222		-1.045	.296		
	SEX	.079	.059	.037	1.331	.184	.837	1.195
	Length_Tenure	.034	.006	.321	5.467	.000	.184	5.444
	Age	.016	.007	.150	2.480	.013	.174	5.731
	Ed_Qualificatiom	.861	.057	.411	15.155	.000	.863	1.159
a. Dependent Variable: Rank_Functional								

Collinearity Diagnostics[a]								
				Variance Proportions				
Model	Dimension	Eigenvalue	Condition Index	(Constant)	SEX	Length_Tenure	Age	Ed_Qualificati om
1	1	4.494	1.000	.00	.01	.00	.00	.00
	2	.275	4.043	.00	.92	.00	.00	.01
	3	.198	4.763	.01	.04	.21	.00	.02
	4	.028	12.656	.12	.01	.01	.03	.96
	5	.005	29.885	.86	.02	.78	.97	.00
a. Dependent Variable: Rank_Functional								

Multicollinearity Test for Secular University

Coefficients[a]								
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	.744	.219		3.395	.001		
	Age_in2012	-.002	.006	-.018	-.359	.720	.134	7.454
	LT_2012	.067	.006	.581	11.391	.000	.133	7.533
	Sex2	.145	.043	.064	3.388	.001	.974	1.027
	edu_qual	.455	.031	.277	14.488	.000	.945	1.058
a. Dependent Variable: Career								

Collinearity Diagnostics[a]								
				Variance Proportions				
Model	Dimension	Eigenvalue	Condition Index	(Constant)	Age_in2012	LT_2012	Sex2	edu_qual
1	1	4.410	1.000	.00	.00	.00	.02	.00
	2	.424	3.226	.00	.00	.00	.96	.00
	3	.116	6.175	.01	.00	.11	.02	.22
	4	.048	9.565	.07	.01	.04	.00	.73
	5	.003	40.497	.92	.99	.85	.00	.03

Multicollinearity Test for The University of Auckland

Coefficients[a]								
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	1.781	.048		36.745	.000		
	Length_career	.042	.002	.406	16.778	.000	.987	1.013
	Gender	.322	.049	.158	6.543	.000	.987	1.013
a. Dependent Variable: Rank								

a. Dependent Variable: Career

Correlations			
		Length_career	Gender
Length_career	Pearson Correlation	1	.113**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	1383	1382
Gender	Pearson Correlation	.113**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	1382	1382
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).			

Correlations			
		Professorship	SEX
Professorship	Pearson Correlation	1	.200**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	749	749
SEX	Pearson Correlation	.200**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	749	749
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).			

Binary Regression/Religious University

Classification Table[a,b]					
			Predicted		
			Binary		
	Observed		1.00	2.00	Percentage Correct
Step 0	Binary	1.00	547	0	100.0
		2.00	202	0	.0
	Overall Percentage				73.0
a. Constant is included in the model.					
b. The cut value is .500					

Variables in the Equation							
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 0	Constant	-.996	.082	146.397	1	.000	.369

Variables not in the Equation					
			Score	df	Sig.
Step 0	Variables	SEX	61.244	1	.000
		Age	194.518	1	.000
		Length_Tenure	194.785	1	.000
		Ed_Qualificatiom	182.009	1	.000
	Overall Statistics		291.542	4	.000

Model Summary			
Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	556.326[a]	.345	.501
a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 6 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.			

Classification Table[a]					
			Predicted		
			Binary		
	Observed		1.00	2.00	Percentage Correct
Step 1	Binary	1.00	499	48	91.2
		2.00	81	121	59.9
	Overall Percentage				82.8
a. The cut value is .500					

Variables in the Equation							
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a]	SEX	.531	.262	4.107	1	.043	1.701
	Age	.045	.023	3.659	1	.056	1.046
	Length_Tenure	.075	.022	11.251	1	.001	1.078
	Ed_Qualificatiom	1.914	.215	79.375	1	.000	6.779
	Constant	-9.136	.912	100.337	1	.000	.000
a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: SEX, Age, Length_Tenure, Ed_Qualificatiom.							

Ordinal Regression/ Religious University

Model Fitting Information				
Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	1461.969			
Final	985.455	476.514	5	.000
Link function: Logit.				

Goodness-of-Fit			
	Chi-Square	Df	Sig.
Pearson	1012.657	1017	.533
Deviance	856.711	1017	1.000
Link function: Logit.			

Pseudo R-Square	
Cox and Snell	.471
Nagelkerke	.531
McFadden	.293
Link function: Logit.	

Parameter Estimates

							95% Confidence Interval	
		Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Threshold	[Ordinal = 1.00]	.264	.678	.152	1	.697	-1.065	1.594
	[Ordinal = 2.00]	3.196	.693	21.303	1	.000	1.839	4.554
Location	Age	.043	.019	5.163	1	.023	.006	.080
	Length_Tenure	.098	.019	27.960	1	.000	.062	.135
	[SEX=0]	-.159	.170	.879	1	.348	-.492	.174
	[SEX=1]	0[a]	.	.	0	.	.	.
	[Ed_Qualificatiom=1]	-4.600	.494	86.570	1	.000	-5.569	-3.631
	[Ed_Qualificatiom=2]	-2.063	.223	85.265	1	.000	-2.501	-1.625
	[Ed_Qualificatiom=3]	0[a]	.	.	0	.	.	.

Link function: Logit.

a. This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant.

Binary Regression/ Secular University

Classification Table[a,b]					
			Predicted		
			Binary		
	Observed		1.00	2.00	Percentage Correct
Step 0	Binary	1.00	894	0	100.0
		2.00	653	0	.0
	Overall Percentage				57.8
a. Constant is included in the model.					
b. The cut value is .500					

Variables in the Equation							
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 0	Constant	-.314	.051	37.237	1	.000	.730

Variables not in the Equation					
			Score	df	Sig.
Step 0	Variables	Sex2	34.020	1	.000
		Age_in2012	294.086	1	.000
		LT_2012	329.819	1	.000
		edu_qual	104.466	1	.000
	Overall Statistics		392.707	4	.000

Model Summary			
Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	1631.367[a]	.265	.356
a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.			

Classification Table[a]					
			Predicted		
			Binary		
	Observed		1.00	2.00	Percentage Correct
Step 1	Binary	1.00	684	210	76.5
		2.00	237	416	63.7
	Overall Percentage				71.1
a. The cut value is .500					

Variables in the Equation							
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a]	Sex2	.529	.122	18.813	1	.000	1.698
	Age_in2012	.006	.019	.104	1	.747	1.006
	LT_2012	.126	.019	42.414	1	.000	1.134
	edu_qual	.695	.090	59.287	1	.000	2.005
	Constant	-5.481	.681	64.849	1	.000	.004
a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: Sex2, Age_in2012, LT_2012, edu_qual.							

Ordinal Regression/ Secular University

Case Processing Summary			
		N	Marginal Percentage
Ordinal	1.00	374	24.2%
	2.00	520	33.6%
	3.00	653	42.2%
Sex2	0	762	49.3%
	1	785	50.7%
edu_qual	1.00	218	14.1%
	2.00	697	45.1%
	3.00	632	40.9%
Valid		1547	100.0%
Missing		23	
Total		1570	

Model Fitting Information				
Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	2779.946			
Final	1990.270	789.676	5	.000
Link function: Logit.				

Goodness-of-Fit			
	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Pearson	1660.399	1759	.954
Deviance	1593.664	1759	.998
Link function: Logit.			

Pseudo R-Square	
Cox and Snell	.400
Nagelkerke	.453
McFadden	.238
Link function: Logit.	

Parameter Estimates								
							95% Confidence Interval	
		Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Threshold	[Ordinal = 1.00]	.741	.540	1.882	1	.170	-.318	1.800
	[Ordinal = 2.00]	2.958	.547	29.243	1	.000	1.886	4.030
Location	Age_in2012	.003	.017	.036	1	.849	-.029	.036
	LT_2012	.139	.016	75.933	1	.000	.108	.171
	[Sex2=0]	-.320	.108	8.820	1	.003	-.531	-.109
	[Sex2=1]	0[a]	.	.	0	.	.	.
	[edu_qual=1.00]	-1.514	.168	80.776	1	.000	-1.844	-1.184
	[edu_qual=2.00]	-1.087	.118	84.191	1	.000	-1.319	-.854
	[edu_qual=3.00]	0[a]	.	.	0	.	.	.
Link function: Logit.								
a. This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant.								

Binary Regression (The University of Auckland)

Classification Table[a,b]					
			Predicted		
			Binary		
	Observed		1.00	2.00	Percentage Correct
Step 0	Binary	1.00	764	0	100.0
		2.00	618	0	.0
	Overall Percentage				55.3
a. Constant is included in the model.					
b. The cut value is .500					

Variables in the Equation							
		B	S.E.	Wald	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 0	Constant	-.212	.054	15.366	1	.000	.809

Variables not in the Equation					
			Score	df	Sig.
Step 0	Variables	Gender	42.481	1	.000
		Length_career	204.576	1	.000
	Overall Statistics		228.935	2	.000

Ordinal Regression (The University of Auckland)

Model Summary			
Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	1653.013[a]	.164	.219
a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 4 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.			

Classification Table[a]					
			Predicted		
			Binary		
	Observed		1.00	2.00	Percentage Correct
Step 1	Binary	1.00	607	157	79.5
		2.00	279	339	54.9
	Overall Percentage				68.5
a. The cut value is .500					

Variables in the Equation							
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a]	Gender	.659	.123	28.721	1	.000	1.933
	Length_career	.091	.007	164.844	1	.000	1.096
	Constant	-1.830	.135	184.168	1	.000	.160
a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: Gender, Length_career.							

Case Processing Summary			
		N	Marginal Percentage
Ordinal	1.00	194	14.0%
	2.00	570	41.2%
	3.00	618	44.7%
Gender	0	529	38.3%
	1	853	61.7%
Valid		1382	100.0%
Missing		1	
Total		1383	

Model Fitting Information				
Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	849.462			
Final	515.523	333.938	2	.000
Link function: Logit.				

Goodness-of-Fit			
	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Pearson	231.930	164	.000
Deviance	221.033	164	.002
Link function: Logit.			

Pseudo R-Square	
Cox and Snell	.215
Nagelkerke	.248
McFadden	.121
Link function: Logit.	

Parameter Estimates								
							95% Confidence Interval	
		Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Threshold	[Ordinal = 1.00]	-.965	.115	71.040	1	.000	-1.190	-.741
	[Ordinal = 2.00]	1.421	.115	152.579	1	.000	1.195	1.646
Location	Length_career	.108	.007	229.599	1	.000	.094	.122
	[Gender=0]	-.645	.111	33.804	1	.000	-.863	-.428
	[Gender=1]	0[a]	.	.	0	.	.	.
Link function: Logit.								
a. This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant.								

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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

Project Tittle	:	The influence of the 'gender gap' in career advancement at four universities in Jakarta (Indonesia) and Auckland (New Zealand)
Researcher	:	Dzuriyatun Toyibah
Supervisor	:	Associate Professor Tracey McIntosh

Researcher Introduction: Dzuriyatun Toyibah is a Ph.D student at Sociology, Department of Art at the University of Auckland. The University requires that ethics approval be obtained for research involving human participants. The information sheet explains the purpose and scope of the research and your involvement.

Project description and invitation to participate. This project explores the context, impact and interpretations of the 'gender gap' in the career advancement of academics at universities based in Jakata, Indonesia and Auckland, New Zealand. Drawing on the case studies of New Zealand and Indonesia, this project intends to look at and to ask, whether academic careers in the "East" and "West" follow a similar trajectory. The project is a part of Ph.D being pursued by the researcher, and is funded by the New Zealand ASEAN Scholarship (NZAS). This project is located in Indonesia (Jakarta) and New Zealand (Auckland), with the duration of the field study around 6 months in each location.

Project Procedure. This project isa six month study in each country on extensive fieldwork. Agreeing to be involved in this project means that you are able to participate to some interviews that could take between 1-2 hours. It is important to understand that your participant is entirely voluntary. The interviews will be recorded and will be transcribed; interview in Indonesia will be translated into English. In addition to researcher, some professionals will hired to transcribe and translate the interviews.

Data storage, retention, future use and destruction. The data such as the recorded interviews, print outs, and other physical materials will be stored and only the researcher and supervisor will have access to them, for about seven years. The data will be analyzed and the result of the project

may be published but will not be related to any specific participants. After six years, the recorded data will be erased and the print outs, and other physical materials will be destroyed as well.

Rights to withdraw from participation. Participation in this project is completely voluntary. You have the right to withdraw any time and to withdraw data from your interviews up to one month of the first interview.

Confidentiality. We will keep all information you provide confidential. Only researcher, supervisor, and translator will work confidentially and will sign confidentiality agreement.

Consequences and potential risks. The consequence isrelated to spending your time to reply my e-mail or text me, and to share information about your academic careers, family and your opinion about government, policy of university, and culture & religion. Although the risk is unlikely to happen, please be advised that there may be some potential effects as a consequence of being participant of this project. Should you experience any anxiety or distress; the researcher can provide information about relevant support agency.

Availability of the result and who to contact for further information. The results will be available as a part of the researcher's final thesis at the general library of the University of Auckland. An electronic copy of the summary of findings will be available on request.

For further information you can contact the researcher or the supervisor as detailed below.

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This research has been confirmed by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 6 June 2015 for three years. Reference number 014045.

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Ethics Committee, humanethics@auckland.ac.nz Phone 09 373-7599 extn. 87830, Research Integrity Unit, Level 10, Building 620, 49 Symonds Street, Auckland, NZ

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CONSENT FORM

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

Project Tittle	:	The influence of the 'gender gap' in career advancement at four universities in Jakarta (Indonesia) and Auckland (New Zealand)
Researcher	:	Dzuriyatun Toyibah
Supervisor	:	Associate Professor Tracey McIntosh

I have read the Participant Information Sheet (PIS), understood the nature of the research and why I have been selected. I am aware that my participation in this project is voluntary.

- I agree to take part in this research.
- I agree for the interview to be audio-taped.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw participation at any time, and to withdraw any data supplied by me up 1 September 2016.
- I understand that data will be kept for a minimum 6 years.
- I understand that translated document will not be provided to participants.

Name:

Signature:

Date:

This research has been confirmed by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 6 June 2015 for three years. Reference number 014045.

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