

Dorota Jedlikowska
Jagiellonian University

Opinions of women scientists regarding gender-related differences in the scientist's profession

Research inspiration: context

This paper is an attempt to portray the academic community from the perspective of gender, indicating differences between women and men. The conclusions included in the paper are derived from problems that emerged during in-depth interviews. The objective is to present research material gathered through interviews with women scientists managing tertiary schools in Cracow during 2008–2012. The research focused on problems regarding family and work, defining scientific and administrative careers, and perception of socio-cultural barriers from the perspective of the subjective experiences of women.

The preliminary analyses, based on data found on the websites of particular state and private (non-public) tertiary schools in Cracow, supported formation of a hypothesis regarding the phenomenon described as gender gap. “Gender gap is a gender-related difference ... regarding the systematically observable discrepancies in statistics, concerning achievements of people of different sexes.” [Siemieńska 2009:141]. In order to illustrate the gender gap hypothesis, Table 1 presents data on women and men holding managerial functions at state and private tertiary schools in Cracow.

Overall, there were 85 women holding the titles of Master, PhD, PhD hab. and Professor who were also holding one of the four functions: Vice-Dean, Dean, Vice-Rector and Rector, both at state and private tertiary schools. This constituted 25.7% of the total number of persons meeting the above criteria. In the case of state schools, there were 57 (20.9%) of such women, while in case of private schools – 28 (47.5%).

The scientist's profession holds one of the top positions on the social prestige scale, as indicated by the results of public opinion polls [CBOS 2009:6; CBOS 2012:3]. According to H. Domański [Domański 1991:11–12, quoted after: Wesołowski, Domański 2000] social prestige “involves ... a syndrome of values and attitudes related to assessments and feelings regarding positioning of individuals and social categories in the system of inequalities. ... Social prestige means externalization of these norms and values in people's casual thinking of social reality and in their behaviors.”

According to the classical Polish sociologist F. Znaniecki, the scientist's profession may refer to a person who continuously deals with development of science within a framework of an institutionalized academic universe [Znaniecki 1984:211–218]. The Law on Higher Education (2005 and its amendments from 2014) clearly stresses either the purely scientific or didactic character of scientific activity. It may be added, after E. Wnuk-Lipińska, that a scientist is a “self-steered person, performing highly valued work on behalf of society, based on creation and transmission of knowledge, the work protected by respective associations and organizations.” [Wnuk-Lipińska 1995:5].

Methodology

The survey was carried out in a constructivist paradigm spirit, which means that the researchers focused on eliciting the meanings attributed by the respondents to their experiences and in consequence, definitions of the emerging types of knowledge about the actual situation [Konecki 2000, Hammersley,

Table 1. Women and men in the management of state and private tertiary schools in Cracow during 2008–2012

Specification	Women = 85 (25.68%)				Men = 246 (74.32%)				Total
	Prof.	PhD hab.	PhD	Master's degree	Prof.	PhD hab.	PhD	Master's degree	
Rector	2				13	2	2		19
Vice-Rector	2	2	3	1	24	4	2		38
Dean	9	5	4	1	35	25	7	1	87
Vice-Dean	9	23	21	3	35	61	35		187
Total schools	22	30	28	5	107	92	46	1	331
State schools	Women = 57 (20.96%)				Men = 31 (52.54%)				Total
	Prof.	PhD hab.	PhD	Master's degree	Prof.	PhD hab.	PhD	Master's degree	
Rector	1				8	1			10
Vice-Rector	1	1		1	23	3			29
Dean	9	1			33	23	1		67
Vice-Dean	9	20		14	35	57	31		166
Total	20	22		15	99	84	32		272
Private schools	Women = 28 (47.46%)				Men = 31 (52.54%)				Total
	Prof.	PhD hab.	PhHD	Master's degree	Prof.	PhD hab.	PhD	Master's degree	
Rector	1				5	1	2		9
Vice-Rector	1	1	2	1	1	1	2		9
Dean		4	4	1	2	2	6	1	20
Vice-Dean		3	7	3		4	4		21
Total	2	8	13	5	8	8	14	1	59

Source: own elaboration based on data published on the websites of tertiary schools in Cracow: www.agh.edu.pl (AGH University of Science and Technology); www.uj.edu.pl (Jagiellonian University); www.pk.edu.pl (Cracow University of Technology); www.ur.krakow.pl (Cracow Agricultural University); www.ap.krakow.pl (Cracow Pedagogic University); www.uek.krakow.pl (Cracow University of Economics); www.asp.krakow.pl (Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow); www.pwst.krakow.pl (Ludwik Solski Academy for the Dramatic Arts); www.amuz.krakow.pl (Academy of Music in Cracow); www.awf.krakow.pl (The University School of Physical Education in Cracow); www.ka.edu.pl (Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski Cracow University); www.kwspz.pl (Cracow School of Health Promotion); www.mwsz.edu.pl (Małopolska Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa im. Józefa Dietla); www.edukacijabezgranic.pl (Apeiron Academy of Public and Individual Security in Cracow); www.uczelnie.info.pl/index.php?mod=uczelnie&pokaz=118&zakladka=o_uczelnia (School of Computer Science and Economics Krakow); www.studiakrakow.com/nu.asp?p=1542,1469,1 (Tischner European University); www.wsh.krakow.pl (Wyższa Szkoła Handlowa); www.wsu.pl (The College of Insurance in Krakow); www.wszib.edu.pl (The School of Banking and Management in Cracow); accessed 19-20 February, 2010.

There were selected for the analysis those private tertiary schools which were on the list of non-public schools of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education: <http://www.nauka.gov.pl/szkolnictwo-wyzsze/system-szkolnictwa-wyzszego/uczelnie/uczelnie-niepubliczne/wykaz-uczelnia-niepublicznych/#KRAKOW> (accessed 20 February 2010).

Atkinson 2000, Charmaz 2009]. A helpful perspective turned out to be P. Kvale's "meaning-oriented analysis" [Kvale 2010:168–191], within the framework of which the first step was "coding of meaning" through qualitative analysis on contents, followed by "condensation of meanings", synthesizing analytical categories. It may be assumed that the "meaning interpretation" process was carried out continuously, from the beginning of the survey, but also that stress is put on interpretation, when the meaning has been already established and a wider reference context is sought.

The studies attempted to find answers to the following questions:

1. How do women perceive their positions?
2. What models of scientific and administrative careers may be specified?
3. What meaning is attributed to scientific and administrative work and what to family?
4. What barriers (if any) may appear on the path to a scientific and administrative career?

Purposeful sample selection, which is included among non-random methods of sampling, was ap-

plied in the studies. In this method “the candidates for the survey are indicated on the basis of previous knowledge concerning individuals. The sample is composed in such a way as to include the individuals characterized with features significant from the point of view of the survey” [Górniak *et al.* 2008:95]. According to the previously recognized research context, the object of interest was women whose scientific and administrative positions were associated with the highest category on the social prestige scale. There were women holding the positions of Rector, Vice-Rector, Dean and Vice-Dean at the public universities and with a title of at least PhD Hab.

The survey was carried out in the form of partially structured interviews connected with elements of biography. The interviews were conducted from the 16th of March to the 29th of April 2010. A group of 42 women was selected at state universities in Cracow, carrying titles no lower than PhD Hab., who simultaneously held one of the administrative functions in the school (Vice-Dean, Dean, Vice-Rector, Rector). Overall, 20 interviews were completed. The main research requirement was the

Table 2. Academic titles and functions performed by interviewed women

No.	Academic title	Administrative function
1	Prof. PhD Hab.	Vice-Rector
2	Prof. PhD Hab.	Vice-Rector
3	Prof. PhD Hab. Engineer	Dean
4	Prof. PhD Hab.	Dean
5	Prof. PhD Hab.	Dean
6	Prof. PhD Hab.	Dean
7	Prof. PhD Hab.	Dean
8	PhD Hab.	Vice-Dean
9	PhD Hab.	Vice-Dean
10	Prof. PhD Hab.	Vice-Dean
11	PhD Hab.	Vice-Dean
12	PhD Hab. Engineer	Vice-Dean
13	PhD Hab. Engineer	Vice-Dean
14	PhD Hab.	Vice-Dean
15	PhD Hab.	Vice-Dean
16	Prof. PhD Hab.	Vice-Dean
17	Prof. PhD Hab.	Vice-Dean
18	PhD Hab.	Vice-Dean
19	PhD Hab.	Vice-Dean
20	PhD Hab.	Vice-Dean

Source: own elaboration.

“the process of theoretical saturation”, which means that we decide to stop the survey when empirical material has been already saturated as regards the thematic context, filled with conceptions of reality, which are repeated at certain points [Charmaz 2009]. Moreover, the interviews were carried out in such a way as to obtain knowledge of the actual experiences of women holding the highest scientific and administrative positions at public universities. Table 2 presents general information about the group of female respondents.

Table 3. Number of women performing administrative function at public universities in Cracow in 2008–2012 and number of completed interviews

Function	Total at public universities in Cracow	Number of completed interviews
Rector	1	-
Vice-Rector	2	2
Dean	10	5
Vice-Dean	29	13

Source: own elaboration.

Conclusions¹

How do women perceive their positions and scientific-administrative careers?

Scientific and administrative careers were described in a multidimensional way. In the interviews, women used diversified vocabularies to describe the character of their work. The notion of career was replaced by such terms as: *way, tracks, space, area, interest, activity, work, mission, art, business, profession, stage of life, some kind of path, way of life, process, development, job, sacrifice, coincidence, the complex chain of events, functions.*

On the one hand, negative associations were voiced, underlining devotion and the vocational character of scientific and administrative work. Women stressed the aspect of being overburdened with responsibilities and used the following expressions to describe their activities: *hard work; strenuous work; paperwork; enormous involvement; measurable effects of work; the center of elites; regulations; accounts; social activity; unpaid activity; public interest; self-sacrifice; additional duties, siding and the main track; lack of satisfaction;*

pigeonholing; shattering life; coincidences; adjusting to regulations; being in rut; dealing cards; administrative and formal encouragement; building up one's brand, personalities; actions according to plan; taking up responsibilities; holding successive functions; standing up to successive challenges, putting responsibilities before anything else; it is not promotion, a robe is not all, it is not a career; the effect of work is additional work; lack of mobility; spate of didactic activities; resignation from quality of life; additional jobs parallel with [writing] a doctorate [dissertation]; problems with children, family health and mental problems, financial problems; lack of direction in a scientific unit; it is not a goal in itself.

A scientific and administrative career is presented in the context of institutional struggles and constant administrative efforts that are rather associated with social activity, where measurable effects of work are decidedly a bonus. Because the process of scientific and administrative career development takes place within the framework of scientific centers, there is *formal encouragement*, pressure on *standing up to successive demands*. Thus, the concept of *career* has been replaced with such descriptions as *hard work and paperwork*, because it requires self-discipline, *acting according to plan* and sacrifices, e.g. related to lack of mobility. Therefore, the concept of *career* is not understood in the context of advancement, but rather as additional functions and responsibilities: *the effect of work is [even] more work*.

On the other hand, the concept of a scientific and administrative career is related to: *the freedom zone; doing whatever you want; spiritual concentration, personal stabilization in the scientific institution; responsibility for a place where work is performed; natural development; a quiet path; sustainable development; inscribing in a profession*. Expressions appear that strongly underline the range of freedom, flexibility, and stabilization achieved in the process of *natural development*.

Thus, what career models may be specified on the basis of perception of these scientific and administrative careers?

Models of career's realization

Table 4 presents three models of the approach to scientific and administrative careers that emerged from the gathered empirical material.

Firstly, in the humanist model, when the concept of career is closely connected with art, strong

stress is put on personal development, acceptance by the community (mainly an artistic one), while the category of competition is replaced by creation and creativity. Secondly, a neoliberal model may be specified, characteristic for people representing earth-technical-economic sciences. Instrumental values are dominant in this model, interpreted in the context of gathering points or grants, where a strong competition is observed between employees. Thirdly, a moderate model is defined which indicates seeking a balance between competition (rivalry) in science and administration and one's own satisfaction.

Table 4. Models of approaches to scientific career

Humanist	career is associated with art, the concept of competition is vague, the stress is put on personal perception
Neoliberal	characteristic for earth, technical, and economic sciences, the stress is put on gathering points, competition, measurable effects of work
Moderate	seeking the "golden rule", distancing oneself from "blind" point gathering

Source: own elaboration.

Family versus work: is creating an alternative justified?

The completed interviews allow specification of the three analytical approaches to relations between family and scientific as well as administrative work:

- 1) radically pejorative approach – family definitely hinders work,
- 2) positively valorizing approach – family is an incentive for scientific and administrative work,
- 3) determined by other factors (breaking the alternative), such as husband-scientist, family tradition, family support, partnership relation, psychological, health-related and personality-related factors, a matter of concentration, determination, material background.

It is not possible to conclude in any authoritative way that the family either poses a hindrance or a bonus on the path to achieving scientific and administrative promotion. Undoubtedly, the key factor constitutes relations inside marriage and family arrangements, which imply a set of determinants deciding the shape and pace of a career.

The interviews support the conclusion that the situation of women is more difficult than that of

men, because they cannot fully realize themselves in a particular domain. On the one hand, they want to live their life to the fullest; on the other hand, they may somehow have a feeling of neglecting their responsibilities, especially related to childrearing. Moreover, scientific work is not limited to the strictly defined working time, but it generally influences lifestyle, everyday life, and one's way of thinking.

In the beginning, it may be actually perceived that starting a family is difficult, because an individual should be preparing scientific work, be active in scientific and didactic area, as it goes together. And in writing this thesis, a scientific career requires focus and demands concentration. Such reconciliation of family and professional responsibilities is difficult, scientific work does not mean going to the office, performing some work, closing for the day and switching our thinking into what is happening at home, bringing up children, quiet talks. (Representative of economic sciences)

It is such a process that overlaps the way of life, and somehow the whole; it requires great spiritual concentration. I have a family and these things sometimes bother me. But it is exactly like this here. Maybe the time itself is not the greatest obstacle, but some kind of perception of shattering this life. (Representative of artistic sciences)

Scientific careers of women are often postponed due to maternity and child-care leaves. However, if a woman is motivated to scientific work, she will write her doctorate or *habilitacja* thesis eventually. It is noting that simultaneous involvement in scientific work and bringing up children often results in lack of sleep. It also means resigning from a better quality of life, due to financial difficulties.

It is some kind of resignation, but not as regards starting a family or not, actually, or to have children or not. It is just resignation from the quality of life – from this better quality of life, as it is actually the quality of life in the sense of permanent lack of money, which was quite devastating, particularly if you have a child. ... Actually, it was really difficult, but it ended after habilitation, when both my husband and I had already attained the status of independent scientific workers. (Representative of socio-humanistic sciences)

It may hinder. Obviously, it depends on an ability to organize your own time, but realization of your own career is a big cost for a family. I think that each woman feels that. If she wants to be a good mother and housewife, she will definitely carry out her [career] plans by working nights. That means

at the expense of her sleep, her other interests, definitely. (Representative of artistic sciences)

However, it also happens that a family may actually have a positive influence on professional challenges. At the same time, the impact of family on the career pace may not depend on sex, because it is rather related to a sense of responsibility and willingness of both parents to look after the children.

Decidedly, there are greater chances for a scientific career when there is a family. It obliges. It is very important for me. (Representative of socio-humanistic sciences)

Starting a family that would turn out stable and happy, similar to any other task, supports an individual's career. (Representative of socio-humanistic sciences)

Undoubtedly, a scientific career requires peacefulness, it requires focusing, it very often requires unconventional working hours. Therefore, being single to some extent makes this [career] easier, and it really does not have any relation with gender at this moment. What also matters is the fact that it is a very stressful career, bringing lots of ups and downs. And then, honestly, having a family, I think, it is very important. Single people often have it less easy or they fall into some kinds of traps, mental or other. But it has no connection with gender as such. (Representative of socio-humanistic sciences)

[It concerns] to the same extent women and men, if they treat seriously what is nowadays called a family. And it both hinders and doesn't hinder. It is entirely an individual matter. (Representative of socio-humanistic sciences)

A very important matter is easy and cheap access to kindergartens and crèches. Another significant issue is the help of other family members, because on the one hand, women prefer a partnership to ensure effective realization in the professional sphere, while on the other hand, its functioning is hindered by the requirement of working overtime. However, the scientist's profession, despite a requirement for the permanent search for and deepening of knowledge, may provide an opportunity, through flexible forms of work, may provide an opportunity for reconciliation of work and bringing up children. Some cultural barriers pose a stereotypical perception of a man as the breadwinner, who therefore should earn more than his partner, in order to be defined as worthy in both subjective and objective categories. In the scientific sphere this usually refers to men holding higher academic titles as compared to women.

The base is a partnership in marriage. And of course help ... I was lucky that my mother helped me when the child was little, so I did not have to take him to a crèche or even to kindergarten; my mother just came over and looked after my son. But I also think it is very important [that] I had understanding bosses, and I try to be such a boss myself. I tell my young female colleagues who have children: "Come when you can. If you cannot come in the morning, come in the afternoon. If you cannot come on a particular day, come on Saturday or Sunday". Our work allows this, as the basis of everything is a partnership in marriage. (Representative of technological sciences)

The worst case is when a husband holds the lower position in the academic hierarchy. That is first. And the second is that the only counterbalance is that he earns money. Therefore, only this guarantees relatively stable family relationships. Otherwise it is disastrous. Children require a lot of care and time and it is one of the factors when a woman simply decides to devote more time to her home. (Representative of earth sciences)

In the past there were crèches, kindergartens; it was much easier. [It was] possible to "utilize" a granny ... Allowing a woman to realize her scientific aspirations, however, is an anachronism of the worst kind. For this reason starting a family is obviously, by nature, not an obstacle. It is embedded in our profession. I would even say that this profession allows better organization, because we have this possibility, as we do not work from seven to four. We can arrange these activities in accordance with some mode of functioning actually as mothers. But at the same time, it is a profession assuming permanent development, permanent work and it unfortunately sometimes causes conflicts, particularly when there is no crèche or kindergarten available. Now we have such a situation. Therefore, I believe that it is absolutely no hindrance, whereas reality contradicts this. And it may be observed now in the case of various women that it [the family] extremely slows down advancement and it is not without reason that there are so many single women in this profession. It is obvious. (Representative of socio-humanistic sciences)

The surveys showed that the family is a treasured value providing that there is a firm partnership in the relationship. Moreover, most of the women have or had husbands who were also involved in scientific work. In the opinion of these women, the academic positions of their husbands

were undoubtedly a factor facilitating their university careers. Moreover, there are women who resign from or postpone their own scientific activities in order to concentrate on childrearing and therefore supporting their husbands in their professional careers.

Partnership – absolutely. My husband's education is similar to mine. Thus we understand each other very well in this respect. We were able to complement each other. That is why it was a partnership relationship. (Representative of artistic sciences)

It has to be a partnership. I mean, there must be mutual understanding because without it, the relationship falls apart. Thus, we shared [duties], as my husband is also involved in scientific work. Therefore, it was as if [he] is or was aware of these relationships and we worked out such arrangements that we were able to help each other. (Representative of artistic sciences)

Our example meant that we were doing the same things, therefore there was no misunderstanding. However, I personally defined the situation in such a way that I had always believed that my husband's intellectual potential was decidedly higher than mine, and I had always believed that the person who should have attained a successive degree required in that academic career, as well as apply for foreign scholarships, should have been my husband. Therefore, I consciously took over all this household maintenance and childcare sphere. ... I was aware of that but I never complained to anybody about this. (Representative sciences socio-humanistic)

Barriers: the careers' context

This part deals with gender-related barriers indicated by women. It is worth noting that often the image of women in the private, home sphere forms the basis for the role and perception of women in the public, professional sphere.

Discrimination and gender-related barriers show up in the lengthening career paths in the biographies of women (exemplary quotations: *family disturbs; less time; a woman decides to maintain household; postponement of scientific career*). An intermediate factor may be the "Mother Pole" stereotype – a woman combining paid work and home responsibilities. This results in an overload of duties and pressure to stand up to social norms of the ideal mother and economically active woman. In

the professional sphere, a woman can be perceived as unstable because she carries a double workload. Women notice a kind of workers' selection when starting their families (*a selection at the family stage; struggling with timetables; women are more dependent on their families than men are on theirs*). In the interviews, some women mentioned that a woman's psyche might constitute a barrier because of female emotionality, their devotion, and their maternity instinct, but also because of their mental and personality features, such as a lack of vigor or fear of holding highly prestigious positions (*women create barriers themselves*).

We women are so emotional that often most of our energy is eaten by emotions. Unnecessarily. Unnecessarily. Thus, I learn from [men] what we women lack. But once again, I repeat: I do not think that they are better because of this. They are simply different. But as a woman, I want to distance myself from affairs, I want to be actually more even-tempered, level-headed, logical, calm, and if it was possible, I would really like to love myself such as men can [love themselves]. ... We have such unnecessary complexes. We talk too much without prior consideration. Really. But if we feel that we are good in some field, we should articulate it in a very logical and concrete way. (Representative of economic sciences)

For example, in my old age, at the end of my career, I am learning some behaviors from my boss, who is five years my junior. But they are such defensive behaviors, I would say. I mean, I am too available. He[my boss] teaches me some behaviors that would ensure, maybe not exactly my privacy, but would spare me such exhaustion. Total exhaustion. (Representative of economic sciences)

For God's sake, look at this wall of my predecessors. If any [girl] sees those [men] she will be frightened, honestly. They have been only men since 1918, since the Poland's independence. Well, each one is big, wears glasses, [is a] respectful professor. So this young female doctoral student looking at them [will think] "Geez, I would never dare". I suppose that it is rather a mental barrier, which cannot be broken through by any quotas or other arrangements. It must happen slowly, naturally. Luckily [it is] increasingly faster, but at its own pace. (Representative of socio-humanistic sciences)

The first thing is the woman's psyche: the way she was nurtured, which influences her further life. It is the first. The second is family, where she main-

ly realizes herself. But these two elements are absolutely interconnected: nurturing and her role in the family. They are two basic elements. (Representative of earth sciences)

When I took over such terribly complicated matters here, it turned out that they were very simple. (Representative of socio-humanistic sciences)

I think that it depends on environment. I took advantage of my personality. I negotiated rather than created problems. I talked calmly rather than authoritatively. I did not attempt confrontation but rather discussion. I believe that I succeeded in this. (Representative of socio-humanistic sciences)

Women should be more assertive, but they not always are. They are shy, so they do not fight directly. A soft way of behavior may be an advantage if you are consequent. They rarely fight openly. They choose a soft, long-distance strategy instead of an immediate one. But what matters are the consequences. (Representative of socio-humanistic sciences)

Women also stress the existence of cultural masculinization, the tradition of the male point of view and – related to this inertial character of scientific institutions – dominance of features perceived culturally as typically masculine, connected with competition and aggressiveness in the professional sphere. One of the women used the expression *model of masculinization* to describe the atmosphere in her professional environment. Therefore, women complained about *positions blocked by men because of ambition-related reasons; male occupation at universities; and male lobby*.

Slightly different treatment of women in context: such a nice little jacket you have; you look pretty. Such male-female relations, actually, where the merit-related thread is sometimes lost. But there are different men, different women, and different situations. I have not met anything like that in life ... Well, maybe at the beginning when I applied for a job, I heard just once "no", because I was a young wife and I would have a child soon. This "no" – I heard this at work. Those were my first attempts to find a job at a university. ... But after that, nobody ever said anything like this to me. But I know about such remarks. There is often used a form of address such as "Professor Mary", while only rarely is a man called "Professor Johnny" or "Chris". "And now Professor Mary is to have a speech ...", or in semi-official situations [a pet name is used]. They are such minor things, but they still exist. (Representative of socio-humanist sciences)

It somehow feels as if it was a more psychological matter, a delicate or low-key one, but we have the male lobby whose members perceive each other, appreciate each other, support each other in various situations. (Representative of artistic sciences)

Whereas in various situations I felt disrespect, meaning that a man performing the same task would be treated more seriously from the start than a woman just arriving. (Representative of socio-humanistic sciences)

I think that overexposing [one's] femininity is not such a good idea. However, the excessive imitation of men is not good either. And it is rather difficult. It should be somewhere balanced. And it is really a great achievement to keep feminine features to the extent that they are visible, but do not transpose them into flaunting, which is not good, as this evokes some factors which should not attract the attention of others. It is a problem, particularly in that there are again some new situations in our culture where women are appearing in more exposed positions. They should not be thought about as girls but as professionals. (Representative of artistic sciences)

Barriers are mental; it means some mental habits, which are embedded in the cultural dimension, are actually educational strategy ... which we undergo at home first, in peer groups, and then at school. Not to mention religious groups. They [various groups] still implement cultural patterns of the past era in their educational strategies. They are convenient, true. But besides this, there is also some kind of stiffening of cognitive structures. (Representative of socio-humanistic sciences)

The survey indicates that men usually hold representative functions, whereas women are attributed to positions which are characterized by laborious, tedious, voluntary work (women hold mainly positions dealing with student affairs), *women as a second sort*. Women also pointed out that they are treated as some kind of decoration in the professional sphere (*women mitigate customs*). They are often addressed by their first names, without using their academic titles; they are not greeted with a handshake at meetings, which gives a sense of being objectified.

These higher positions are blocked by men, probably because of ambitious reasons. Namely, let us consider a division among the university authorities. It is very rare when a Rector is a woman or a Dean is a woman. Yes, as a Vice-Rector [they

are appointed] willingly, particularly in the most overburdened fields, i.e. for student affairs. The same situation is observed in Deanery. Women are rarely allowed to hold more prestigious positions. (Representative of economic sciences)

In the case when some more concrete work is needed – a less gratifying, less exposed, tedious position, yes, she may be found useful there. Whereas, these more visible, exposed positions, are obviously reserved for somebody else. (Representative of artistic sciences)

When I became the Vice-Dean, the contemporary Vice-Rector told me: “You know, take the Junior Years, as these people need to be mothered a little”. (Representative of technical sciences)

Then, as regards exactly such additional functions we [women] are very eagerly engaged in so-called voluntary work, which does not generate any pay, and takes an enormous amount of time. ... It can be easily checked even in the list of commissions. The ones that involve management of money, provide opportunity for professional or scientific advance or for making [useful] scientific acquaintances, are held by men. The ones that involve the functions such as distributions of scholarships for students, foreign scholarships, all that is connected with such laborious activities, accreditations and other similar activities – all these are handled by women. Yes, disciplinary commissions, sometimes unpleasant, sometimes even very stressful are eagerly staffed with women. (Representative of economic sciences)

I realized something like this already during my studies, as I studied the feminized field (...), that the fact of being a boy already provides some privileges. It means ... that at the same level of achievement, the fact that he was a boy pushed him forward. (Representative of socio-humanistic sciences)

Summary

The conclusions may be embedded in some wider processes connected to gendering of the sphere. According to the arguments of H. Bradley [Bradley 2008, quoted after: Acker 2006] gendering tendencies are manifested at the macro level, which is usually described through statistical data, or through the reference to general, theoretical constructions; the mezzo level, which focuses on the sphere of social institutions, and which is ex-

plained through case study analyses; and finally at the micro level, which concerns personal, individual interactions undertaken with others and described on the basis of interviews or observations. Gendering processes, which are assimilated via primary and secondary socialization, are embedded in both the interactional as well as the institutional sphere.

The conclusions presented here comprise only a small part of a complex social reality. Only the perspectives of selected women and their opinions based on individual experiences, observations, and reflections have been illustrated. These analyses certainly do not exhaust this extensive and often controversial issue.

Literature

- Acker J. [2006], *Inequality regimes: gender, class and race in organizations*, Gender and Society, No. 20(4), pp. 441–464.
- Bradley H. [2008], *Płeć, Sic!*, Warszawa.
- CBOS [2009], *Prestiż zawodów*, Warszawa.
- CBOS [2013], *Prestiż zawodów*, Warszawa.
- Charmaz K. [2009], *Teoria ugruntowana. Praktyczny przewodnik po analizie jakościowej*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa.
- Górnjak J. et al. [2008], *Ocena projektów i programów: wybrane techniki badawcze i ich zastosowanie*, in: Ewaluacja jako standard zarządzania w sektorze publicznym, Pietras-Goc B. (ed.), Wyższa Szkoła Europejska im. ks. Tischnera J., Kraków.
- Hammersley M., Atkinson P. [2000], *Metody badań terenowych*, Zysk and S-ka, Poznań.
- Konecki K. [2000], *Studia z metodologii badań jakościowych. Teoria ugruntowana*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa.
- Kvale P. [2010], *Prowadzenie wywiadów*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa.
- Siemieńska R. [2009], *Kobiety w (męskim) zawodzie naukowca*, in: Kobiety dla Polski. Polska dla kobiet. 20 lat transformacji 1989–2009, Fundacja Feminoteka, Warszawa.
- Wesołowski W., Domański H. [2000], *Prestiż – formy historyczne*, in: Encyklopedia Socjologii, Oficyna Naukowa, Warszawa.
- Wnuk-Lipińska E. [1995], *Zawód – pracownik akademicki*, Nauka i Szkolnictwo Wyższe, No. 6, pp. 5–22.
- Znaniecki F. [1984], *Społeczne role uczonych*, PWN, Warszawa.

¹ All statements in italics are quotations from the respondents' declarations.