PRECARITY AND IDENTITY IN THE IVORY TOWER: EXPLORING THE EFFECTS OF PERFORMATIVE PRESSURES IN UK AND FRENCH BUSINESS SCHOOLS

By

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A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Birmingham Business School

College of Social Sciences

University of Birmingham

January 2018

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ABSTRACT

Recent marketization trends in Higher Education trigger concerns about growing precarity of the academic profession. Global pressures from reputational mechanisms such as international rankings and accreditations underpin the risk of institutional isomorphism and a possible convergence of academic career paths. This thesis draws from a comparative empirical study of academic careers in UK and French Business Schools and focuses on two areas of inquiry. The first study demonstrates how context-bound career scripts, their validation mechanisms, and the margins they allow for individual agency variously shape permeable and impermeable career boundaries and mechanisms for precarity, and condition the agentic behaviour of academics. I argue that the particular ways in which performance incentives and punishments are balanced in each country under supranational competitive pressures produce different results in terms of segregation and casualization of academics. The second study explores identity responses of female faculty to performative pressures in the two countries and the strategies they adopt to reconcile compliance with managerialist requirements and their own need for recognition and meaningful work in what is traditionally seen as a gendered professional environment. My contributions deepen the understanding of contextual responses to international challenges and highlight the implications for academics and institutions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

To my father, who would have been very proud

CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AACSB   The Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business

CNRS   Centre National de Recherche Scientifique (The French National Center for Scientific Research)

EDAP   Equality and Diversity Advisory Panel (UK)

EFMD   European Foundation for Management Development

EQUIS   European Quality Improvement System

ESRC   Economic and Social Research Council (UK)

FNEGE   Fondation Nationale pour l'Enseignement de la Gestion des Entreprises (The French Foundation for Management Education)

FT   Financial Times

HEFCE   Higher Education Funding Council for England

HESA   Higher Education Statistics Agency (UK)

HRM   Human Resource Management

ICT   Information and Communication Technology

LFS   Labour Force Survey (UK)

MBA   Master of Business Administration

NPM   New Public Management

OECD   Organization for Economic Development and Co-operation

ONS   Office for National Statistics (UK)

PM   Performance Management

REF   Research Excellence Framework (UK)

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CHAPTER 1

THESIS INTRODUCTION

1.1 Relevance of the research topic and motivation for this research

"To be audited and inspected is now regarded as an axiomatic part of personhood: an inevitable and natural aspect of being a worker, student or company employee today. Our lives are increasingly governed by – and through – numbers, indicators, algorithms and audits and the ever-present concerns with the management of risk which, in turn, seem to require the ever more sophisticated systems of knowledge and power that indicators and rankings provide." (Shore and Wright, 2015b, p. 23)

Globalization, growing importance of market forces, and neoliberal political and economic policies of deregulation and laissez-faire have progressively permeated Western societies since the 1980s (Roper, Ganesh and Inkson, 2011). The tenets of neoliberalism appear to endure despite criticism. They promote a set of political and moral beliefs focused on individualism, competition, and reduced government intervention, and affect social institutions and practices (Du Gay, 2004) and the labour market (Gray, 1998). Neoliberal policies have led to corporatization and managerialism in academia (Blackmore, Brennan, and Zipin 2010) and 'governing by numbers' (Shore and Wright, 2015b) in many countries amidst funding cuts and intensified work (Acker, Webber and Smyth, 2012). Education is increasingly seen as a market commodity across Europe and OECD countries (Grummell, Devine and Lynch, 2009) and academics are controlled and held accountable through explicit and measurable performance standards (Kallio, Kallio, Tienari and Hyvönen, 2016; Knights and Clarke, 2014; Parsons and Priola, 2013). A growing chorus of academic voices deplores the extent to which audit culture has become institutionalized and financialized worldwide (e.g. Shore and Wright, 2015b; Tourish and Willmott, 2015).

The overall objective of this thesis is to explore the impact of performance management systems and practices on careers and identities of Business School academics in the UK and France taking into consideration the interplay between exogenous pressures, contextual institutional factors, and individual agency. I am interested in how performance is constructed in each context, how its tenets are articulated to academics though specific career scripts, and what are the effects on academic careers and identities. Comparing the particular ways in which performative pressures translate in each country allows for a better understanding of the contextual influences on global divergent or convergent trends, and for highlighting of particular factors which are at play in shaping career patterns and identity work of academics. I thus engage with the expanding literature on performance management in academia whilst exploring the particular institutional environments in which it is implemented. My contributions highlight cross-cultural differences in the construction of performance contexts under the influence of environmental factors.

One of my main motivations to conduct this research was my personal interest in pursuing an academic career after a professional career in Human Resources in international companies. Also, an impetus to study this subject was the intellectual curiosity to study the use of discourse to shape public opinion to accept and even embrace governmental and organizational policies and practices which could be detrimental to the very stakeholders who adhere to them. In particular, I was interested in investigating discrepancies between how certain vision is promoted and the downsides it entails, which is illustrated in the following quote: "While audit culture is often associated with advanced liberalism, what it typically promotes is 'illiberal' governance (Shore, 2008) and authoritarian forms of control" (Shore and Wright, 2015b, p. 25). Further, as an individual who has lived in several countries and cultures, I was keen to investigate global versus contextual influences on career patterns.

The thesis does not aim to address questions such as the pros and cons of academic assessment or the effects on scholarship, ideas and society as a stakeholder. Instead, I look into the ways performative pressures create mechanisms generating precarity and particular identity responses of academics. In doing this, I take into account the interplay between various contextual factors such as cultural norms, societal fabric, economic and labour market factors, employment patterns, and legal regulations (Briscoe, Hall and Mayrhofer, 2012; Gunz, Mayrhofer and Tolbert, 2011). The thesis holds that whilst there is undeniably a global trend towards adopting international, easy to measure performance standards and research outputs in academia, institutions in different countries appear to follow this path at different paces and under the influence of contextual factors. I thus follow recent recommendations to explore performance management in particular contexts of implementation:

"Comparative studies – carried out in universities in different countries – of the adoption and translation of PM and its consequences for academic work are needed in order to understand how variations in the organization of higher education impact upon the experience of change in academia." (Kallio et al, 2016, p. 705)

1.2 Outline of the thesis and visibility of the research

The thesis consists of eight chapters. Following the discussion of the relevance of the research topic and the motivation for this research, Chapter 2 presents the literature review. It covers the relevant literature on careers, their relation to context, structure and agency, institutions and career scripts, boundaries and transitions, and career success. Then it moves on to focus on academia and the academic career and the impacts of globalization, international competition and managerialization. Particular attention is given to gender issues in the academy before discussing Business Schools. Chapter 3 provides background information and compares the UK and France in areas relevant to the study: employment and precarity,

employment and gender, and academia and Business Schools. It emphasizes the significance of context and why and how it matters by integrating the literatures on institutions and scripts, and summarises and clarifies the purpose of this research. Chapter 4 details the methodology used in the research. It presents the adopted philosophical approach with regard to its ontological and epistemological positioning, as well as the research method. Due consideration is paid to questions of sampling, validity and reliability, and to ethical issues and reflexivity.

Chapter 5 presents Study 1 entitled "Carrots, sticks and scripts: Career transitions and precarity in UK and French Business Schools". This study outlines the convergence hypothesis which suggests growing isomorphism of academic institutions and insecurity and precarity in academia, and explores the importance of context-bound career scripts, their validation mechanisms, and the margins these provide for personal agency for shaping career pattern and paths. Chapter 6 consists of Study 2: "One size fits all? Gender and 'convenient identities' of academics in UK and French Business Schools". It investigates how the performance management system and practices, power relationships, and the academic culture affect the positioning of female faculty in the managerialist academia, and the identity construction work they undertake as a result. The study compares and contrasts identity responses and strategies in UK and French Business Schools and discusses the reasons for similarities and differences.

Chapter 7 discusses the findings from the two studies. It positions UK and French Business Schools in the life-cycle of performance management and explores current and potential implications. The conclusion highlights the empirical and theoretical contributions to knowledge which derive from the cross-cultural composition of the dataset and the identified 'performance context'. The latter is manifest through national institutions and professional

norms and articulated in scripts which shape behaviours of individuals when they navigate their working lives. The chapter also acknowledges the limitations of the study and suggests avenues for future research. Chapter 8 contains the Appendices: the Questionnaire and the Ethics form (Interview information and consent form). At the end of the thesis is the extensive Bibliography of the sources.

Papers derived from the analysis of the data have gained visibility at prestigious international conferences. An article based on Study 1 was submitted to The International Journal of Human Resource Management in June 2017 and an article based on Study 2 is in preparation for submission to Human Relations. Table 1 below provides details of these endeavours.

Table 1: Visibility of this research

Paper	Visibility
Gribling, M. and Duberley, J. (2017) Carrots, sticks and scripts: Career transitions and (in)security in UK and French Business Schools	Submitted to The International Journal of Human Resource Management in June 2017
Gribling, M. and Duberley, J. (2016) "One size fits all"? Gender and 'convenient' identities of academics in French and UK Business Schools	Presented at EGOS 2016, 7-9 July, Naples, Italy
Gribling, M. and Duberley, J. (2014) Carrots, sticks and scripts: inter-organizational mobility in UK and French Business Schools	Presented at EGOS 2014, 3-5 July, Rotterdam, The Netherlands

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The world of work and employment is changing. The last decades have witnessed rapid growth of technologies, globalization, market pressures, and economic and social developments, all of which have contributed to altering the nature and the organization of work, the kinds of available jobs and employment arrangements, human resource management strategies, and career concepts, models, and even terminology (Baruch and Bozionelos, 2011; Baruch, Szűcs and Gunz, 2015; Baruch and Vardi, 2015; Gunz and Peiperl, 2007; Lyons, Schweitzer and Ng, 2015; Uy, Chan, Sam, Ho and Chernyshenko, 2015). Several taken for granted premises regarding work experiences and careers have been increasingly challenged. But what is career? The next sections explore the conceptualization of career in the literature over time and across disciplines, and highlight its prominent constructs and aspects. After the review of the career literature, I provide a summary and formulate the research objectives of this study.

2.1 Defining career

"…the field of career studies has something of the Rorschach test about it… it is broad almost to the point at which it is not a field at all but a perspective on social enquiry… you can see in the inkblots of careers pretty much what you want to see" (Gunz and Peiperl, 2007: xiii).

How can career be defined? The above quote illustrates the challenges academics from various fields face when attempting to give the concept a more precise meaning. In their review of career research, Khapova and Artur (2011) highlight the wide variety of perspectives from which careers have been studied. The psychological perspective focuses on the individuals' own experiences of their work, and analyses their needs, values, personalities,

psychological types, vocational interests, or autonomy and self-direction as potential predictors of work-related outcomes. The sociological perspective pertains to the nature of society, the meaning of social action, the interplay between social structure and individual agency and its effects on shaping careers and institutions, and social networks. The social psychological perspective, on the other hand, is concerned with the relations between individuals and groups within social structures and processes such as socialization, ethnicity, class, gender etc. And finally, the economic perspective looks into strategic human resource management for achieving organizational goals, human capital and entrepreneurial careers. Khapova and Artur (2011) conclude that as these various studies on careers do not engage in knowledge sharing and are selective in their collaborations and in the aspects they explore, this results in only a partial understanding of the complexities inherent to researching careers. Similarly, Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer (2011) emphasize that career is multilevel and multidimensional (Collin and Patton, 2009), and its study should balance individual, organizational and contextual analysis and their interaction (Mayrhofer et al., 2007) in order to integrate the different views from across disciplines and promote constructive dialogue. Gunz and Mayrhofer (2011) illustrate the inherent difficulties of conceptualizing careers in the literature as there is little agreement on the meaning of career other than its "voyage-like properties" (p. 253) through a number of experiences over time which are work-related or broader, depending on the field of the researchers.

A number of definitions of career have been put forward, such as "the evolving sequence of a person's work experiences over time" (Arthur, Hall, and Lawrence, 1989: 8), a "sequence of positions occupied by a person during the course of a lifetime" (Super, 1980: 282), "the sequence of employment-related positions, roles, activities and experiences encountered by a person" (Arnold, 1997: 16), or as "an individual's work-related and other relevant

experiences, both inside and outside of organizations, that form a unique pattern over the individual's life span, both inside and outside of organizations that form a unique pattern over the individual's life span" (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009: 1543). Several authors (e.g. Artur, 2014; Barley, 1989; Demel, Shen, Las Heras, Hall and Unite, 2012; Hughes, 1937) pointed to the duality of perspectives on careers which view them as either objective or subjective. The objective career refers to categories recognised by members of the society or a given occupation as career progression steps within the occupation, whereas subjective career denotes the person's concept of progression within a profession (Van Maanen and Schein, 1977). However, Arthur (2014), citing Van Maanen (1977), highlights the importance of looking at these views as interdependent:

"Fundamentally, to seriously study careers requires a profound respect for the dialectical quality of human experience. Man is both the creator and the determined. An excessive commitment to either a position emphasizing an ordered world of constraint, manipulation, conformity, or a position accentuating man's capacity for growth, vision, and originality, would be a mistake." (Van Maanen, 1977: 8)

Careers thus have both "a subjective and an objective dimension" (Dany, 2014: 721). They are shaped by organizations but also influence organizations which they help to create, reproduce and transform (Higgins, 2006; Inkson et al, 2012) through an "ongoing relationship between people and work" (Inkson et al, 2012: 324). Further, Dany (2003) emphasizes that the study of careers encompasses both the external features of work such as occupational and organizational career arrangements and promotions, and how these are perceived by individuals, thus helping to examine wider social processes through the interplay between people, organizations and social structures.

2.2 The emergence of 'new' careers

Management literature has long been opposing 'new' to 'traditional' careers. The 'traditional' or organizational career (the two terms often used as synonyms), depicts a stable, linear and predictable career path managed by the organization (Weber, 1947; Wilensky, 1961; Schein, 1978; Hall, 1976), guaranteeing lifetime employment, security and advancement up the hierarchical ladder, and offering objectively defined material rewards and status to validate success (Chudzikowski, 2012; Kanter, 1989). It was characterized by a "paternalistic, centralized and top down" approach (Nicholson, 1996: 41), and managed and controlled extensively by the firm (Clarke, 2013). The majority of careers traditionally developed in one or two organizations following a pre-determined path (Eby, Butts, and Lockwood, 2003; Verbruggen, 2012). These career arrangements presumed loyalty to the employing organization in exchange of job security and upward mobility (Savickas, Nota, Rossier et al, 2009). The exchange relationship created a 'psychological contract' (Argyris, 1960; Rousseau, 1989; Schein, 1980) of trust and mutual obligations between the employee and the employer (Shore and Tetrick, 1994). Career mobility was intra-organizational up through a pyramid-like career structure (Rosenbaum, 1979). This view of careers was dominant in career research for most of the twentieth century (Baruch and Bozionelos, 2011).

These traditional upward careers concerned predominantly white males in the western world and were generally not available for women and ethnic minorities who experienced glass ceilings (Morrison, 1992). Research has been conducted mostly in the West but there is evidence that these patterns held in other cultures as well (Baruch and Vardi, 2015; Briscoe, Hall and Mayrhofer, 2012). Baruch and Vardi (2015) points to studies carried out in the 1970s and 1980s which show that the organizational career model was encouraged as it presented advantages both to individuals and organizations, for example goal-setting according to the

individual's needs. Those who did not conform to the norm were perceived negatively (e.g. De Pasquale and Lange, 1971; Driver, 1982; Ference, Stoner and Warren, 1977).

As suggested by some reviews of earlier studies (e.g. Clarke, 2013), such stable organizational careers might not have been the norm, despite their previously dominant position in management research. Notwithstanding the debate on the past pervasiveness of such a model, the dynamics of changes in the work environment operating on a global scale have brought the focus of careers studies on issues which are affecting the working lives of individuals at a seemingly far greater pace. The organizational model does not appear to reflect the various patterns of nowadays careers (e.g. Baruch et al, 2015; Clarke, 2013; Savickas et al, 2009). The observed changes in work experiences and careers concern organizations, individuals and society.

The changing nature of careers has been subject to significant scholarly attention since the 1990s (Rodrigues, Guest, Oliveira and Alfes, 2015). Researchers argued that the traditional career model was no longer relevant (Burke and Ng, 2006; Sullivan and Baruch, 2009) in a world where transactional short-term employment relationships and decreasing mutual loyalty replace career dependence on the organization (Atkinson, 2004; Rodrigues et al, 2015). They surmised that it appeared irrelevant to continue conceptualizing careers as contained and managed by the organization; instead, the attention shifted to broader processes of organizing (Clegg, Hardy and Nord, 1996) and contextual interdependencies. Economic turbulences, globalization and competition have triggered outsourcing, restructuring and downsizing (Baruch and Bozionelos, 2011; Clarke, 2013; Lyons et al, 2015), and threatened the traditional organizational career (Inkson et al, 2012). As noted by Lyons et al. (2015), there is a change in the psychological contract as organizations no longer systematically provide employees with internal opportunities for advancement and guarantees for long-term

employment, and many prefer to bring talent from outside rather than develop existing employees. The reciprocal commitments between employers and employees have become more conditional (Greenhalgh and Rosenblatt, 2010).

Furthermore, as businesses go global, careers too become more global (Andresen, Al Ariss, Walther and Wolff, 2012). The broader environment in which careers take place has also been enduring transformations under the influence of neo-liberalism and the related political, economic and business agendas (Inkson et al, 2012), as well as the recent financial crisis (Baruch, Szűcs and Gunz, 2015). Part-time and temporary jobs, multiple jobs, career moves in all directions, up, down and lateral, and between organizations and occupations, were on the rise and reflected new labour market conditions (Moses, 1997). Advances in the information and communication technologies (Baruch, Szűcs and Gunz, 2015; Roper, Ganesh and Inkson, 2010; Savickas et al, 2009) have also been altering the context in which careers evolve, bringing to the fore the importance of knowledge work (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009; Lyons et al, 2015) and the need for employees to acquire continuously new sets of skills (Savickas et al, 2009).

In addition to these changes, societal developments have also played a role in shaping careers. Growing workforce diversity and labour force participation of women (Feldman and Ng, 2007; Gunz, Mayrhofer and Tolbert, 2011), dual earning couples and more importance attributed to work-life balance (Lyons et al, 2015; Mainiero and Sullivan, 2005; Rodrigues and Guest, 2010; Smola and Sutton, 2002) have arguably contributed to undermining the organizational career. Furthermore, scholars suggested that the career preferences, choices and work values of younger generations are not compatible with the traditional hierarchical career paths and commitment (Brousseau, Driver, Eneroth and Larsson 1996; Clarke, 2013) to a paternalistic organization and employment relationship (Iles, 1997; Baruch and Hind, 1999).

Individuals were thus believed to seek freedom to pursue their career aspirations independently of organizational structures (Clarke, 2013). On the one hand, organizations were no longer seen as temples of job stability and career progression (Savickas et al, 2009), and on the other hand, individuals have become increasingly knowledgeable agents of their careers with power to engage in career moves independently and create opportunities for themselves (Inkson et al, 2012). In contrast with earlier views of the relationship between the individual and the organization whereby the former belonged to the latter (Whyte, 1956) career was increasingly viewed as belonging to the person and not to the employing organization (Atkinson, 2004; Duarte, 2004; Savickas, 2011), and that "individuals are driven more by their own desires than by organizational career management practices" (Sullivan and Baruch 2009: 1543). Sullivan and Baruch (2009) suggest that individuals would act upon their particular circumstances, preferences and lifestyle, and choose to interrupt their career or move to a different organization thus crafting a non-linear career outside an objectively successful path.

These significant developments required new theories and models to take into account the impact on careers of broader political, economic, social and technological factors outside the organization (Baruch, Szűcs and Gunz, 2015), as well as the personal preferences and agency of the new generations of employees. There was an observable shift in the literature towards 'more flexible individual models' (Baruch and Peiperl, 2000: 347) characterized by mobility between jobs, organizations and occupations (Peiperl, Arthur, Goffee and Morris 2000), decreased loyalty, individual career management (Clarke, 2013), and new psychological contracts (Rousseau, 1995). The new, less conventional view of careers suggested that individuals would feel stronger ties with their profession and their personal career aspirations than with an organization (Baruch and Vardi, 2015; Hekman, Bigley, Steensma and Hereford,

2009). Furthermore, contemporary careers were described as turbulent, fragmented, and punctuated by transitions (Chudzikowski, 2012). As noted by Clarke (2013), whilst many studies tended to assume that such career paths would lead to successful outcomes (Gunz, Evans and Jalland, 2000) as they reflect more accurately the changing employment landscape, others (e.g. Currie et al., 2006; Rodrigues and Guest, 2010) call for a more critical discussion of the downsides. Table 2 below (De Caluwé, Van Dooren, Delafortry and Janvier, 2014) summarizes the main differences between the traditional and the new career.

Table 2: Traditional vs new careers

Traditional career	New career
Career in limited number of organizations	Many positions with multiple organizations
Paternalistic employer–employee relation	Self-managed career
Vertical career progression	Psychological success, enriching experience
Career of service	Employability
Loyalty to the organization	Transactional relation

Of all the new career concepts which were put forward since the 1980, the boundaryless (Arthur, 1994; Arthur and Rousseau, 1996) and protean (Hall, 1996) careers have received most scholarly attention, arguably because they embodied the époque-relevant neo-liberal values of flexibility, deregulation, individualism and personal responsibility for one's career (Roper et al, 2010). The assumption was that careers are becoming increasingly self-directed and shaped by individuals' personal career preferences and orientations (e.g., see Forrier, Sels and Stynen, 2009). The boundaryless career is defined as "a sequence of job opportunities that goes beyond the boundaries of any single employment setting" (DeFillippi and Arthur, 1996:

116). "[…] the term boundaryless distinguishes our concept from the previous one – the 'bounded' or organizational career" (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996: 3). Its proponents emphasize the increasingly proactive role played by individuals in designing their career paths (Inkson et al, 2012). Key aspects of these new careers are the flexibility and the marketability of individuals' skills which they can use to travel across organizations (Sullivan and Arthur, 2006). Verbruggen (2012) points out that a significant number of studies have examined boundaryless careers as inter-organizational mobility (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009), although the concept was intended to address a variety of boundary-crossing experiences such as psychological, physical, cultural, occupational, geographical, etc. (see also Clarke, 2013; Gubler, Arnold and Coombs, 2014). Indeed, the original concept suggested six distinct meanings, including inter-organizational mobility, external validation and marketability beyond the employing organization, external networking, moving away from hierarchical career advancement, taking into account personal and family reasons when considering career opportunities, and defying structural constraints by envisaging boundaryless career in the future (Arthur, 1994; Arthur and Rousseau, 1996). A common feature of these aspects is the individual autonomy of decision-making (Gubler et al, 2014).

Similarly to the boundaryless career concept, the protean career (Hall, 1996) has been promoted as an alternative way to study modern careers (Rodrigues et al, 2015). A protean career is one "in which the person, not the organization, is in charge" (Hall, 2004: 4). It is distinct from the boundaryless career, although the two are often studied together, or used interchangeably (Uy, Chan, Sam, Ho and Chernyshenko, 2015). A protean career orientation requires psychological predisposition and career resources (Briscoe et al., 2012), which comprise ability to cope with uncertainty (Baruch and Quick, 2007), proactivity (Porter, Woo, and Tak, 2015), and adaptability (Chan et al., 2015). Protean orientation does not necessarily

involve inter-organizational mobility as career ownership can allow individuals to develop their careers within the organization (Rodrigues et al, 2015), but has also been studied in association with moves across organizations as means to enhance learning (Clarke, 2013). Individuals with such orientation are able to flexibly adapt to changes in their work environment, update their skills continuously, and maintain their employability (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009). Briscoe et al (2012) suggest that both protean and boundaryless career attitudes could help individuals to cope and thrive at times of economic turbulences and employment uncertainties.

These career concepts have been subject to much debate and scrutinized from a range of perspectives. Clarke (2013) argued that studies of these new career models implicitly or explicitly underplayed both the desirability and the positive outcomes of organizational career for individuals such as job security (King, 2004). In their review of boundaryless careers literature, Roper et al (2010) identified four distinct knowledge interests which have shaped scholarly discourse: managerial, agentic, curatorial and critical. The first assumes that managerial priorities and interests are shared throughout the organization and problems such as for example, high turnover, can be addressed through human resource management and organizational systems. The second bestows upon individuals the responsibility of taking steps to survive, cope and thrive in the contemporary volatile work environment, thus effectively leaving the assumption that boundaryless careers are the only available option unquestioned. The third set of knowledge interests, the curatorial, is motivated by the desire to explain and categorize social phenomena. And finally, the critical interests which were found to be less prevalent, concern the questioning of the applicability of the boundaryless concept to individuals and groups who do not wish or cannot pursue such careers, and thus risk marginalization. Roper et al (2010) conclude that the boundaryless literature they

reviewed has de facto implicitly or explicitly normalized "boundarylessness" through discourse aligned with the broader neoliberal paradigm, as well as the lack of criticism of what came to be portrayed as an inevitable labour market reality and a common sense response to the new challenges employees faced.

The boundaryless concept itself is also being criticized, mainly for overemphasizing individual agency, for insufficient empirical exploration, and for paying little attention to contextual factors and the role of boundaries (Dany, Louvel and Valette, 2011; Dries et al., 2012; Duberley, Cohen and Mallon, 2006a; Grote and Hall, 2013; Gubler et al, 2014; Inkson et al., 2012; Pringle and Mallon, 2003; Rodrigues and Guest, 2012). Furthermore, until recently, most studies of boundaryless careers have focused on the so-called Anglo-Saxon countries, particularly the US and the UK (e.g. Bagdadli et al, 2003; Briscoe, Hall and DeMuth, 2006; Colakoglu, 2011; Guest, Oakley, Clinton and Budjanovcanin, 2006; Kim, 2013; Rodrigues, Guest and Budjanovcanin, 2015), where the concept first developed. In the last few years a growing body of research addresses boundaryless careers and related constructs in other regions of the world (Ituma and Simpson, 2009; Lu, Sun and Du, 2016; Okurame and Fabunmi, 2014), including Europe (Gerli, Bonesso and Pizzi, 2015; Gubler et al, 2014; Rodrigues et al, 2015; Forrier, Verbruggen and De Cuyper, 2015). Some authors speak of 'western career concepts and measures' (Dries, 2011) or 'western context' as opposed to non-western settings (Ituma and Simpson, 2009). However, defining contexts as 'western' or 'non-western' does not allow for consideration of national variations in career paths and the factors which shape them. The validity and transferability of the concept, its presumed positive outcomes, and its great attention to personal choice and agency are frequently questioned in research on careers across Europe (e.g. Arnold and Cohen, 2008; Dany, 2003, 2014; Mayrhofer et al, 2007; Rodrigues et al, 2015) who argue that structural and

institutional limitations have significant impact on career behaviour (Forrier et al, 2009). Indeed, careers in Europe evolve in a multitude of countries and cultures with different contextual factors and societal fabric (Mayrhofer and Schneidhofer, 2009), which would presume non-homogeneity and national specificities.

Despite the extensive criticism, the contribution of boundaryless career to moving away from a managerially oriented organizational outlook (Inkson et al, 2012) and challenging the limits of organizational career research (Arthur, 2014; Ituma and Simpson, 2009; Rodrigues and Guest, 2010) has been recognized. The debates it triggered have opened a number of new research directions and pushed to the fore ideas and concepts which would allow for a more thorough, critical and enriching exploration of the phenomena which shape contemporary careers. The following sections will look into how relevant career concepts and constructs are addressed in the literature in order to provide an overview of the complexities and challenges inherent to work and employment in the twenty-first century.

2.3 Career and context

[Contexts] "shape and are shaped by the individuals who interact with them" (Griffin, 2007: 859)

As noted earlier, neo-liberal ideologies have promoted individualism, competition and flexibility in employment to meet organizational needs dictated by deregulation of markets, including the labour market (Roper et al, 2010). In the career field, these trends translated into promotion of presumed empowerment of individuals who are encouraged make career decisions based on their own choices and preferences (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011). However, placing excessive responsibility on individuals disregards the impact of environmental factors, such as, for example, the very neo-liberal ideologies of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries which discursively endowed individuals with agentic power and

aligned their careers with broader economic and political phenomena (Roper et al, 2010). As Gunz et al. (2011) point out, analysing careers separately from their context represents a sophistry, as occupations are defined by their economic, social and technical environment, and are shaped by social structures such as institutions and organizations.

Careers evolve at the "intersection of societal history and individual biography" (Grandjean, 1981: 1057) and are journeys through time and space (Collin, 2006). The space includes various aspects of the surrounding environment and can thus be studied at multiple levels (Mayrhofer, Meyer and Steyrer, 2007). Mayrhofer et al. (2007) propose four contextual levels in their onion model which include: work, covering issues related to external labour markets, alternative forms of working and organizing, and social relationships; the origin of the person which is concerned with class and social origin, educational socialization and work history, and personal life situation; national society and culture pertain to characteristics such as ethnicity, gender, demography, and community; the global context and developments relate to political, economic, social and other changes on a global scale. The authors recommend that these phenomena should be studied in combination to explore more accurately and meaningfully their effects (Gunz et al., 2011). Further, Gunz et al. (2011) posit that although the immediate organizational context matters, the broader social context beyond the organization helps us to understand careers in the current globalized world. Briscoe et al. (2012) emphasize the social embeddedness of individuals and organizations in their external environment. The forces operating in these contexts affect both individuals and organizations and compel them to adjust behaviours and policies (Briscoe et al, 2012): organizations review their career structures whilst employees become more flexible when designing their life strategies (Clarke, 2013). Thus, career patterns and behaviours are better captured when a variety of context-specific factors and their interplay are taken into account (Gunz et al.,

2011). After years of research on generic career constructs and focus on the agentic individual, scholars increasingly call for bringing back context to analyse career phenomena (Barley and Kunda, 2004; Briscoe et al, 2012; Chudzikowski, 2009; Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011; Dany, 2014; Dries, 2011; Grote and Hall, 2013; Inkson et al, 2012; Ituma and Simpson, 2009; McElroy and Weng, 2016; Rodrigues et al, 2015; Schneidhofer, 2013; Tams and Arthur, 2010).

However, the relationship between context and careers is reciprocal in the sense that context and social structures shape career paths and behaviours and are shaped in turn by these (Giddens, 1984; Gunz et al., 2011), which results in the reinforcement and reproduction of dominant patterns. The social world is therefore not a "fixed or objective entity, external to individuals and impacting on them in a deterministic way, but as constructed by individuals through their social practices" (Cohen, Duberley and Mallon, 2004: 409). As Schneidhofer (2013: 4) puts it, "Making a career is neither the isolated result of structural determination, nor of (even bounded rational) individual action (or, worse, free will)". Relationships between individuals and the social systems are thus multifaceted (Arnold and Cohen, 2008). Studies of overlapping and context bound career-related concepts should help to explore interconnected developments in organizations, career patterns and broader life of individuals (McElroy and Weng, 2016).

The next section explores the structure versus agency debate in more detail.

2.3.1 The structure vs agency debate

"to be an agent is to be able to deploy […] a range of causal powers" (Giddens, 1984: 14)

The duality of the relationship between social structure and agency and the extent to which they influence each other have long been debated by scholars (Khapova and Arthur, 2011).

Duberley, Mallon and Cohen (2006b) argue that the propensity to distinguish the two constructs leads to a skewed understanding of the complexities of their interdependencies. They suggest that the two dimensions should be seen as two sides of the same coin rather than two separate entities, taking into account both the objective features of careers and the subjective experiences of the individual within enabling or constraining social structures (Duberley et al, 2006b). The interrelationship between structure and agency is illustrated by Hughes' vision of career as "Janus-faced: at once looking outward to a series of statuses and clearly defined offices, and inward, to the way in which a person sees his [sic] life as a whole and interprets the meanings of his various attributes, actions and the things that happen to him" (1937: 413). Giddens' theory of structuration suggests a holistic view of how modern societies function through creation and reproduction of systems in which both structure and agency play a role and neither of them holds primacy over the other. Dominant societal values and guidance for individual action are reproduced through the subjective experiences, meaning-making and career actions of individuals (Duberley et al, 2006b), and thus the importance of context for shaping careers is crucial (Gunz et al., 2011).

The mutual dependency between structure and agency has been to a large extent overlooked in boundaryless careers discourse in which individuals were ascribed autonomy, responsibility and accountability for their career decisions and actions (Roper et al, 2010). The boundaryless career emerged as a concept in the 1990s amidst a career crisis (Collin and Watts, 1996; Dany, 2014; Hall, 1996) as an attempt to liberate individuals from organizationally managed careers (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996) and encourage them to turn in their advantage the effects of economic turbulences (Pink, 2001) whilst allowing organizations to envisage the advantages of developing more transactional relationships with their employees (Dany, 2014). The assumption that individuals were free agents (Roper et al,

2010) has been emphasized in the literature by statements such as "under this paradigm, employees unilaterally take charge over their careers… [employees] prefer to work on a part-time, flexitime, or time-sharing basis" (Banai and Harry, 2004: 98), individuals are "mobile, self-determined … free agents who are able to seamlessly connect with work in multiple contexts" (Harrison, 2006: 20), who 'should be held accountable for their behaviour in a way that encourages and reinforces autonomy' (Briscoe and Hall, 2006: 12)". This repositioning (Roper, 2005) of individuals away from their previously assigned roles and behaviours within the organization advocates that the new economic and labour market realities are pervasive and universal, and that all employees should aim for a proactive self-management of their careers (Roper et al, 2010). With the presumed protean orientations on the rise (Grote and Hall, 2013), as well as decreasing investment of organizations into their employees' careers (Arnold and Cohen, 2008), individuals are urged to embrace careers without boundaries. This prescriptive view underestimates contextual constraints (Alvesson, Ashcraft and Thomas, 2008; Chandler, Kram and Yip, 2011; Ibarra, Kilduff and Tsai, 2005) and has been empirically explored mainly for managerial and technical élites, thus leaving its applicability to other types of employees open to questioning (Roper et al, 2010). Moreover, there is not sufficient evidence of a significant shift of career management from the organization to the individual (Clarke, 2013) in any occupation.

Of all the possible avenues for research on career self-management, scholars focused on a few (Clarke, 2013), such as its meaning (e.g. King, 2004) or its link to career success (e.g. Ng, Eby, Sorenson and Feldman 2005). Clarke (2013) points out that there is evidence of trend towards joint career management between employers in employees, in which career opportunities exist within organizations but employees decide on their career paths and on how to meet their employers' expectations accordingly. 'Career entrepreneurship' refers to

the "identification of unexploited opportunities and making of career investments in order to obtain a higher objective or subjective career reward" (Korotov, Khapova, and Arthur, 2011: 128), and implies that individuals engage in proactive behaviour in seeking to develop existing competencies and acquire new ones with the objective of enhancing their market value (Hoekstra, 2011; Uy, Chan, Sam, Ho and Chernyshenko, 2015).

However, this does not mean that the 'employability doctrine' (Capelli 1999: 154) has put an end to the traditional organizational career and that unlimited career opportunities await career agents should they wish to take them. Studies have demonstrated the range of potential constraints to enacting such free agent careers in different contexts, such as national, professional, or industry cultures (Currie et al., 2006; Dries, 2011; Grote and Hall, 2013; O'Mahony and Bechky, 2006), 'gatekeepers' to job opportunities (King, Burke and Pemberton, 2005), the individuals themselves for whom frequent transitions between social and organizational contexts could be challenging (Briscoe, Chudzikowski and Unite, 2012; Duberley et al, 2006b), family (Briscoe et al, 2012), social class, gender, ethnicity, education (Mayrhofer et al, 2007; Inkson et al, 2012), the organizational opportunity structure (Lawrence and Tolbert, 2007), government regulation (Mayrhofer et al, 2007), events with major impact such as the emergence of a global financial crisis (Valcour, 2010), and the labour market. Regarding the latter, mobility decisions between jobs and organizations will be determined by the availabilities in the internal and external labour markets (Forrier et al, 2009), or their permeability, defined as "the number of available jobs, organizations and occupations available to employees and the ease and difficulty of entry into them" (Feldman and Ng, 2007: 368). Employment opportunities are thus conditioned by a number of external influences which are out of the individuals' control and regardless of the individuals' skills, competences and knowledge (Forrier et al, 2009). These barriers among others, could limit

the opportunities of individuals to enact make career choices and enact transitions based on personal values and preferences (Valcour, 2010).

A major criticism of the concept of free agent relates to its transferability across cultures. According to Thomas and Inkson (2007), decision-making processes and actions applicable in the USA context may not hold true in different cultural, institutional, normative and economic settings. European researchers, for example (e.g. Arnold and Cohen, 2008; Khapova et al, 2009; Dany, 2014; Dany et al, 2011) question the opportunities for independent choices in labour markets with various employment regulations, government support for employees and their families, and organizational policies.

2.3.2 Institutions and career scripts

Institutional theory puts forward the idea that institutions are enduring features of social life and as such they exercise significant influence over individual and collective behaviours (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006). Institutions have been defined in various ways. For Hughes (1971: 6), they are a "social phenomenon in which the form of collective behaviour is relatively established and permanent". Barley and Tolbert (1997: 96) describes them as "shared rules and typifications that identify categories of social actors and their appropriate activities or relationships", and Scott (2001: 48) posit that they involve "cultured-cognitive, normative and regulative elements that…provide stability and meaning to social life…Institutions are transmitted by various types of carriers, including symbolic systems, relational systems, routines and artifacts" and they "operate at multiple levels of jurisdiction". Jepperson (1991: 143-145), on the other hand, views institutions as "an organized, established procedure" that reflect a set of "standardized interaction sequences", thus bringing

purposiveness of action and mechanisms of control and reproduction to the concept (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006).

Institutional theory research initially conducted by Zucker (1977) and Meyer and Rowan (1977) elaborated on Berger and Luckmann (1967)'s views on the social construction of reality. Institutions were represented as socially constructed models for action which were shaped and sustained through continuous interactions, and were gradually seen as more exogenous to organizational action when the focus shifted towards examining ways in which the environment exercises institutional pressures (Barley and Tolbert, 1997). As Briscoe et al. (2012) point out, comparative studies examining human resources policies and practices and individual career decisions across national borders reveal the importance of laws and regulations as well as the political and economic environment. A central premise of the institutional theory is that in similar environments organizations tend to opt for widely established structures, policies and practices which would afford them recognition and legitimacy (Fogarty, 1996; Ituma and Simpson, 2009). Furthermore, cultural influences such as beliefs, norms and values shape the common perceptions of the world in which organizations operate (Barley and Tolbert, 1997). Thus, scholars recognize that institutional theory would benefit by encompassing various elements of analysis, including regulative, normative, cultural, and cognitive, although there is recognition that institutional environments are diverse and conflicted, and therefore authoritative bodies may influence to various degrees schemas and models of behaviours in different settings (Scott, 2007). This view resonates with Barley and Tolbert (1997) who highlight the variations of normative power and impact of institutions on individual and organizational behaviour and argue that "practices and behavioural patterns are not equally institutionalized" Barley and Tolbert (1997: 96, see also Tolbert and Zucker, 1996).

Some authors suggest that ideology plays a significant role for career patterns as well, which is arguably manifest in the way the boundaryless literature has embraced the "wider neoliberal discourse that emphasizes individual rather than societal or organizational responsibility for economic and career outcomes", and thus minimized the institutional constraints inherent to each setting (Roper et al, 2010: 673). Institutions exist independently but constrain or enable individuals by providing them with interpretive schemes to build their career paths (Duberley et al, 2006b). "Institutions set bounds on rationality by restricting the opportunities and alternatives we perceive and, thereby, increase the probability of certain types of behaviour." (Barley and Tolbert, 1997: 94)

The notion of 'career scripts' has been put forward to describe a mediating tool through which institutions impact on patterns of behaviours of individuals who investigate probable and desirable career paths in a given context (Valette and Culié, 2015). Scripts have been used for some decades to study careers (e.g. Barley, 1989; Cappellen and Janssens, 2010; Dany et al., 2011; Duberley et al., 2006; Gioia and Poole, 1984; Tams and Marshall, 2011; Weick, 1996). Theories such as Barley's (1989) model of career structuration have looked at the interplay between institutions and the individual actions using scripts as an intermediary. It has been suggested that scripts "provide a unique approach to a fundamental organizational behaviour issue: that of understanding how people understand" (Gioia and Pool, 1984: 449). They have initially been defined as "schema-based knowledge of behaviour and behaviour sequences appropriate to specific organizational situations and contexts" which helps to make sense of events and guides behaviour in a manner appropriate to each situation (Gioia and Pool, 1984: 449). They are behavioural regularities, observable and recurrent patterns of activities and interactions typical to a given environment, and represent pivots between institutions and action (Barley and Tolbert, 1997). Career scripts can be seen as "institutionally rather than

individually determined programmes" (Arthur, Inkson and Pringle, 1999: 42) which provide

guidance on the acceptability and legitimacy of individual behaviours within social structures

(Duberley et al, 2006b). Tams and Arthur (2010) point out that a focus on institutions such as

human resources policies and practices cannot provide an accurate understanding of career

actions without considering the mediating role of personal career preferences of individuals.

Similarly, Battilana and D'Aunno warn against "an oversocialized view of action" (2009: 36)

and reducing individuals to "institutional automatons" (2009: 47). Through "script

processing" individuals enact behaviours enclosed in the knowledge structure of scripts (Gioia

and Pool, 1984: 449). They are thus assumed to be aware and familiar with the career scripts

in their occupational field and can purposefully choose to follow the one best suited to their

particular aspirations (Dany et al, 2011), within the limits of their personal constraints. The

concept of 'scripts' thus encompasses the importance of both context and personal agency: "A

career script results from the interactions between a context that prescribes appropriate

behaviours and individuals who conceive their career paths according to their own

preferences and aspirations" (Valette and Culié, 2015: 2). Gioia and Poole (1984) argue that

although individuals appear to make such conscious choices themselves, the patterns of

behaviour might well be also a result from unconscious learning processes.

The concept of scripts was first developed in predictable career path environments within

organizations (Barley, 1989) to designate drivers for individual career decisions (Dany et al.

2011). However, scripts relate to contexts and patterns of prescribed behaviours, and therefore

their applicability can be broadened to other settings such as occupations, industries, family

and social contexts (Arthur et al., 1999). In their working lives and environment, individuals

are part of a "loose collective of people… who have made the pursuit of a […] career

personally meaningful to them, and… have contributed to the enduring view of what it is to

have [such a] career" (Duberley et al, 2006: 284). As Barley (1989: 51) puts it, "only when a path is socially recognized can an individual draw from that career a ratified identity", which emphasizes that individuals choosing a particular type of career recognize and follow certain "rules" to achieve social validation of their endeavours, and participate to the reinforcement of career scripts (Duberley et al, 2006; Cappellen and Janssen, 2010).

Even if institutions and their economic, social and political environments have been recognized as very important to shaping career experiences and paths (Tams and Arthur, 2007), more research is needed to elucidate links between particular career dynamics and context-dependent institutional processes (Gunz and Mayrhofer, 2007; Inkson et al, 2012; Ituma and Simpson, 2009; Tams and Arthur, 2010; Valette and Culié, 2015). Further, scripts have been criticized for their ambiguity with regard to their position between cognition and behaviour (Gioia and Poole, 1984; Valette and Culié, 2015), for their similarity with other concepts such as Bourdieu's (1998) notion of habitus (Gunz, 2012), or for their association with organizational or institutional expectations as suggested by some authors (e.g. Cappellen and Janssens, 2010; Tams and Marshall, 2011). Instead, scholars propose to consider scripts "from the point of view of individuals' beliefs, as expressing what they represent to themselves and justify in a given context" (Valette and Culié, 2015: 5), take into account "the irreducible element of individual agency that is displayed when actors select and interpret the schemas on which to build their career decisions in their specific situation" (Dany et al., 2011: 976), and link career scripts to the resources individuals possess and the constraints they face in their career paths (Valette and Culié, 2015).

In order to explore the variety of constraints and enablers and offer a more comprehensive picture of modern careers, scholars have suggested studying the range and nature of boundaries individuals face throughout their work lives (Clarke, 2013; Dany et al, 2011; Gerli

et al, 2015; Grote and Hall, 2013; Gubler et al, 2014; Herbert and Tienari, 2013; Inkson and King, 2012; Inkson et al, 2012; Okay-Somerville and Scholarios, 2014; Rodrigues and Guest, 2010; Rodrigues et al, 2015; Yao, Thorn and Doherty, 2014; Williams and Mavin, 2015) and their impact on career transitions (Baruch and Vardi, 2015; Briscoe et al, 2012; Chudzikowski, 2009; Chudzikowski, 2012; Culié, Khapova and Arthur, 2014; De Caluwé et al, 2014; Forrier et al, 2009; Loacker and Śliwa, 2015; Lyons et al, 2015; McElroy and Weng, 2016; Rodrigues and Guest, 2010; Sullivan and Baruch, 2009; Tartari and Di Lorenzo, 2014).

2.3.3 Career boundaries and transitions

"Boundaries are 'physical, temporal, emotional, cognitive, and/or relational limits that define entities as separate from one another' (Ashforth, Kreiner and Fugate, 2000: 474)"

"If work careers are patterns of movement across a social landscape formed by the complex network of economic society, then career boundaries are the lines on that social landscape that mark discontinuities in the patterns, points at which there are constraints on these movements" (Gunz et al., 2007: 472)

The boundaryless and protean views of careers which have dominated career thinking over the past decades have attracted major criticism for their undermining of the existence and the role of boundaries in structuring careers of individuals (Grote and Hall, 2013; Gubler et al, 2014; Inkson, 2008; Inkson et al., 2012; Rodrigues and Guest, 2012; Tams and Arthur, 2010). Increasingly, boundaries are considered crucial for careers (Gunz et al., 2007), even though the environments in which they are embedded have become more turbulent and the career patterns more fragmented (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011). The greater flexibility of boundaries has arguably not reduced their salience (Clark, 2000), and boundarylessness and embeddedness are increasingly regarded as coexisting career dimensions (Rodrigues et al, 2015). Rodrigues et al. (2015) found in their study of professional pharmacists that people face multiple boundaries both within and outside their employment, such as type of

employment contracts, occupation, non-work, sector or geography, and that these boundaries shape careers to various degrees for different populations.

Organizational boundaries and inter-organizational mobility have been the main focus of research on boundaryless careers (e.g. Greenhaus et al., 2008; Inkson et al., 2012, Gubler et al, 2014), although the initial definition included both psychological and physical mobility (Sullivan and Arthur, 2006). Other context-dependent boundaries identified in the literature include culture (Hall and las Heras, 2009; Ituma and Simpson, 2009), labour legislation (e.g. Hall and las Heras, 2009), industry (Bagdadli, Solari, Usai, and Grandori, 2003), and reference groups (Grote and Hall, 2013). Gunz et al. (2002) suggest that boundaries can "be imposed by specialization, industry, the firm, occupation, educational level, experience, geography, professional qualification, organizational membership and to a lesser degree (although nevertheless real), age, race, ethnicity, sex, and religion" (p. 62). Therefore, as suggested by Gunz and Mayrhofer (2011), careers can be seen as evolving within a bounded social space which is work-related or conceptualized in a broader sense to cover the variety of contextual boundaries encountered by individuals. Context is thus multilayered and spans across several perspectives ranging from environmental constraints to life course (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011).

In the sociological literature, boundary theory (Hernes, 2004) seeks to clarify the way boundaries are socially constructed and their impact on behaviour (Rodrigues et al, 2015). Schneidhofer (2013) suggests that the common understanding of boundaries pertains to real or expected limits to something. Such demarcation between the identifiable spaces of in and out, and thus between the socially constructed notions of inclusion and inclusion, defines what is or is not a career through explicit or implicit agreements. Boundaries are thus "acts of

(sometimes common) (un)consciousness(es)" (Schneidhofer, 2013: 4) and shape careers when individual beliefs become social facts (Gunz et al., 2007: 473).

Boundaries have been studied from different angles. Major questions in the careers literature concern their nature as well as what motivates individuals to cross career boundaries (Rodrigues et al, 2015). According to Hernes (2004), boundaries can be more or less visible and salient, permeable or impermeable, and variously durable over time. Tangible boundaries can be physical such as geographical location, or social such as inclusion or exclusion from a professional community, whilst psychological boundaries pertain to individual inclinations such as preference for a certain type of organization (Rodrigues et al, 2015). Scholars (e.g. Gunz et al., 2002; Ituma and Simpson, 2009; Rodrigues and Guest, 2012 Schneidhofer, 2013) distinguish between objective and subjective dimensions of boundaries. Objective boundaries refer to real barriers individuals could face to, for example, their mobility or career advancement, whereas subjective boundaries pertain to perceived barriers which could imply a move away from a person's comfort zone (Inkson, 2006) and potentially hinder the realization of career opportunities (Gunz et al., 2002). Rodrigues and Guest (2012) suggested that boundaries are "socially constructed and subjectively perceived limits" (p. 12). Therefore, as Inkson et al (2012) argue, career boundaries could offer a vantage point from which to examine the interplay between organizational and social contexts and careers, as well as the career actors' interpretations. Boundaries can differ in strength and permeability (Forrier et al, 2009; Gunz et al., 2002; Gunz et al., 2007; Rodrigues et al, 2015). The boundaryless literature emphasized and advocated the complete permeability of boundaries and thus the primacy of individual agency over structural constraints, whilst leaving unaddressed the degree of importance of impermeable boundaries for careers (Inkson et al, 2012). However, empirical findings suggest a more complex picture whereby boundary crossing is determined not only

by the aspirations, values and goals of individuals but also by their ability to negotiate desired boundary-crossing conditions and patterns (Rodrigues et al, 2015), which can be hampered by career constraints such as gender or ethnicity (e.g. Kirton, 2009). Further, life and career stages, family, social background, and social and economic environment could have a significant impact on the engagement with and the success of boundary management to achieve desired outcomes (Rodrigues et al, 2015). In addition, as King et al. (2005) point out, "careers are bounded by prior career history, occupational identity, and institutional constraints imposed by 'gatekeepers' to job opportunities" (p. 981)." Consequently, scholars contend that it is important to examine the processes underpinning boundary creation, establishment and shifting, as well as to clarify which particular boundaries individuals cross, why, and under what circumstances (Inkson et al., 2012).

Researchers have pointed out that boundaries should not be considered only as negative (e.g. Gunz et al., 2000) but could lead to positive outcomes as they help individuals to make sense of their work experiences by providing structure and guidance (Gubler et al, 2014). Gunz and Mayrhofer (2011) argue that boundaries could influence careers in several ways: they can limit the opportunities of individuals to make desired changes, they can enable such changes by providing favorable conditions, and they can punctuate careers by marking important passages and thus help individuals to structure their working lives (Inkson et al, 2012). As socially constructed phenomenon within communities of people (Inkson et al, 2012), boundaries are a product of the interplay between the individual and the other people in the same context who can provide a positive support for boundary-crossing (Gunz, Pieperl and Tzabbar 2007; Williams and Mavin, 2015). On the other hand, circumstances such as organizational restructuring, changes in labour markets, economic crises, and spread of

education and technology, can influence working lives (Inkson et al, 2012) and create new boundaries.

Career transitions, defined as moves across different types of boundaries (Gunz et al, 2007), are important events in individuals' lives (Chudzikowski, 2012). They can help understand careers as they are a result of the interplay between individual decisions and other influences such as superiors and family (Briscoe et al, 2012) and the macro context (Mayrhofer et al, 2007). It has been suggested that changes in the labour market in the last decades have affected mobility patterns of individuals who are now arguably more likely to engage in self-directed transitions and to proactively seek opportunities to enhance their career capital (Baruch, 2004; Hall and Mirvis, 1996). This trend was arguably underpinned by increasing and generalized expectations to be on the move (Loacker and Śliwa, 2015), with career mobility being the result either of individual agent's choice or imposed as necessity by the new employment climate (Al Ariss et al., 2012). Career mobility includes job changes such as responsibilities, title or hierarchical level, change of employer, change of status, and changes in the work environment, the education and the skills required to perform job-related tasks (Feldman and Ng, 2007). A main characteristic of the agency perspective on career mobility is movement capital (Trevor, 2001), which incorporates skills, knowledge, competencies, and attitudes, all of which potentially impact on mobility opportunities of individuals but are mediated by the perceived ease of movement (March and Simon, 1958) , i.e. the perception of available alternatives (Forrier et al, 2009). This interplay emphasizes the importance of both individual and structural factors (Forrier et al, 2009). Furthermore, cross-cultural studies (e.g. Chudzikowski, Demel, Mayrhofer et al, 2009) revealed that transition patterns and career mobility are likely to be conditioned both by cultural values (Tams and Arthur, 2007) and by drivers internal to the person, and are thus context-specific. Empirical data from a study of

generational differences in career mobility patterns (Lyons et al, 2015) also challenged the presumed increasing career mobility and variety of moves by showing that upward hierarchical moves continued to be the norm for all generations. More support for the importance of structural constraints comes from the literature on career barriers which are defined as "events or conditions, within the person or in his or her environment, that make career progress difficult" (Swanson and Woitke, 1997: 434). Such barriers have been studied with regard to gender and ethnicity (e.g. Blancero and DelCampo, 2005; Powell, 2000; McWhirter, 1997), or labour market imperfections (Gunz et al., 2000) referring to employers' reluctance "to allow certain kinds of people to make given moves" (p. 50). Therefore, a career barrier is any constraint to career development (Ituma and Simpson, 2009). Also, the number and types of jobs available and the skills required in particular internal and external labour markets broaden or limit the opportunities for career transitions (Feldman and Ng, 2007; Forrier et al., 2009). The effects of transitions will also depend on the type of boundaries crossed (Ng, Eby, Sorensen and Feldman, 2005) and can vary in importance ranging from insignificant to major interruptions (Chudzikowski, 2012).

2.3.4 Career success

Gunz and Mayrhofer (2011) argue that researchers frequently move directly to the operationalization of the career success concept as it is not easily conceptualized. Career success has been defined as the accomplishment of desirable work-related outcomes over time (Arthur, Khapova and Wilderom, 2005; Verbruggen, 2012), "the positive psychological or work-related outcomes or achievements one has accumulated as a result of one's work experiences" (Judge, Cable, Boudreau and Bretz, 1995: 486), or "the real or perceived achievements individuals have accumulated as a result of their work experiences" (Kammeyer-Mueller, 2007: 60). It has been studied with relation to both objective aspects of

career accomplishments and the individual's own perception of their experiences throughout their working lives (Arthur et al., 2005; Judge et al., 1995; Maurer and Chapman, 2013; Sammarra, Profili and Innocenti, 2013). Dries (2011) identifies the dichotomies which exemplify the criteria used to measure career success: objective versus subjective, self-referent versus other-referent, and factual versus self-report. Objective career success pertains to observable career-related outcomes and commonly recognized extrinsic measures such as status, hierarchical level, salary and promotion (e.g. Arthur et al., 2005; Arnold and Cohen 2008; Dries, Pepermans, Hofmans and Rypens 2009; Gunz and Mayrhofer, 2011; Judge et al, 1995), and subjective career success which refers to intrinsic evaluations such as personal career satisfaction, wellbeing, and psychological success (Dries et al, 2009; Hall, 2002: Heslin, 2005; Judge, Higgins, Thoresen and Barrick, 1999). This highlights evaluation mechanisms through which individuals' careers are either judged by others or considered in relation to one's feelings (Judge et al., 1995), i.e. are other-referent versus self-referent (Dries, 2011). In their study, Grote and Hall (2013) found that reference groups could indeed exercise both direct and indirect influences on career transitions and career success "by creating the 'rules of the game' and providing standards for how a person evaluates outcomes such as how many transitions are 'normal' in a career or what level of attainment is considered to be 'success' (p. 266). The last dichotomy, factual versus self-report (Dries, 2011), is concerned with the type of data collected for evaluation, which derives either from archives or personnel records, or from accounts by the individual (Dries et al, 2009).

Although both objective and subjective career success are seen as important (Boudreau, Boswell and Judge, 2001; Maurer and Chapman, 2013), there is a lack of clarity regarding their aspects and the reference points individuals use to assess their careers (Gunz and Heslin 2005; Heslin, 2005). Attribution theory (Johns, 1999) suggests a positive relationship between

objective and subjective career success with salary increases and promotions triggering positive perceptions of self (Stumpf and Tymon, 2012). On the other hand, according to social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954), individuals may feel enhanced self-perception and career success when comparing their career advancement and salary to others (Stumpf, 2014). However, objective and subjective career success have not been found to correlate strongly (Hall and Chandler, 2005; Judge and Kammeyer-Mueller, 2007) and their theoretical connection has been questioned (e.g. Arthur et al., 2005). This led Feldman and Ng (2007) to state that "[t]he term career success has become a catchall signifier for widely disparate measures of achievement, ranging from very specific measures of salary increases to very general measures of psychological well-being" (p. 351).

Objective career success has long been the primary focus on research (Arthur et al., 2005; Heslin, 2005). However, in increasingly turbulent environments and greater employment insecurities, it is arguably more difficult to achieve, and individuals may turn to subjective perceptions of career success (Dries, Pepermans, and Carlier, 2008). This trend has resulted in growing interest in how people evaluate their careers (Heslin, 2005; Verbruggen, 2012).

Inter-organizational mobility has been studied in relation to objective measures of career success (e.g. Chudzikowski, 2012), the former believed to link positively to the latter (Feldman and Ng, 2007; De Vos, De Hauw, and Van der Heijden, 2011; Lam, Ng, and Feldman, 2012). As pointed out by Eby et al (2003), boundaryless careers literature often implicitly assumes that mobility goes hand in hand with career success. However, research has produced mixed results, finding both negative (e.g. Valcour and Tolbert, 2003) and positive effects (e.g. Dreher and Cox, 2000). Building on research on the number of organizational changes and their impact on careers, Verbruggen (2012) initially expected to

find a negative relationship between mobility between organizations and both objective and subjective career success. This view is based on the assumption that such mobility signals a lack of commitment or competences (Messmer, 1998). The results pointed to the opposite - a positive effect - of inter-organizational mobility, notably in terms of job satisfaction, as presumably individuals have changed employers because of dissatisfaction with their situation (Gesthuizen, 2009; Verbruggen, 2012).

Individuals are held to have control over the development of their competences against reduced organizational career management (Arnold and Cohen, 2008) in the new employment climate. In an insecure and unpredictable work environment, individuals are urged to enhance their employability and marketability by acquiring human capital and transferrable skills attractive to potential employers outside of their current organization, thus increasing their movement capital (Forrier et al, 2009; Thijssen, Van der Heijden and Rocco, 2008; Wittekind, Raeder and Grote, 2010). Several studies have explored the meaning of the notions of movement capital and employability as well as their significance for individuals and organizations. Movement capital is defined as an accumulation of personal competences and strengths which enhance perceived employability (Forrier et al., 2009), and presumes individual agency to explore career opportunities (Forrier, Verbruggen and De Cuyper, 2015; Thijssen et al., 2008). Employability on the other hand refers to "a form of work specific active adaptability that enables workers to identify and realize career opportunities" and thus to enhance one's career development prospects (Fugate, Kinicki and Ashforth, 2004: 16). This is in line with what Dany (2003) designates as 'pragmatic opportunism' and implies proactive behaviour to identify and realize career opportunities (Fugate et al, 2004). Employability in this sense moves in a different direction from its definition as the ability of an individual to get and keep a job (Fugate et al, 2004) in the internal and external labour market, to include

evaluation of one's chances and taking initiative to increases these chances (Forrier et al, 2015). External employability refers to ability to change employers whereas internal employability pertains to pursuing opportunities within one's current organization (Forrier et al, 2015; Van den Broeck, De Cuyper, Baillien, DeWitte, Vanbelle, and Vanhercke, 2014; Vanhercke, De Cuyper, Peeters and De Witte, 2014).

It has been argued that high employability could not only protect individuals from environmental turbulences, but also encourage them to use their transferable knowledge, skills and other competitive advantages to seek better career opportunities (Lu et al, 2016), which, in turn, would enhance their objective and subjective career success. However, as noted by Forrier et al. (2015), the concept has been criticized for its lack of clarity regarding what types of chances career actors pursue and how. For example, it is unclear why salary increases and promotions are considered measures of career success instead of measures of earnings and position in hierarchy, and how subjective career success is any different from job satisfaction (Gunz and Mayrhofer, 2011). Also, researchers call for contextualization of career success and related notions in order to capture the particularities and complexities of career patterns (Chudzikowski et al., 2009; Gunz and Mayrhofer, 2011) and the effects of culture and ideology (Dries, 2011). Thus, whereas status, hierarchical position and income are valued in the USA and considered to be measures of objective career success, they typically hold value in societies where the dominant ideological framework is capitalism (Dries, 2011). Through socialization processes, corporate career discourse, and organizational policies and practices, the evaluation of success then translates into desired norms, values and identities (Pfeffer, 2010).

 2.4 Academia and the academic career

Academic sector and academic careers have been studied extensively both from national and comparative international perspective (e.g. Altbach et al, 2009; Berg and Chandler, 2006; Dany et al, 2011; De Paola and Scoppa, 2015; Duberley and Cohen, 2010; Deem, 2003).

The primary purpose and *raison d'être* of the postsecondary education as a public good has traditionally been to educate citizens through enhancement of human capital which would ultimately lead to economic growth and prosperity (Altbach et al, 2009). As such, until relatively recently, academic institutions have been collegial communities (Harley, Muller-Camen and Collin, 2004). Institutions and faculty have enjoyed autonomy, freedom, relaxed control systems, and substantial public funding, and the academics themselves played an important role in shaping their work environment and objectives (Baruch and Hall, 2004; Enders, 2003; Herbert and Tienari, 2013; Tartari and Di Lorenzo, 2014). Academic career success was largely viewed as a personal matter, depending on individual qualities and following established patterns of advancement, success and recognition (Baruch and Hall, 2001; Davies, 2003). Some authors argued that academics could be considered as autonomous professionals who acted as free agents to pilot their careers and move with ease to other institutions, thus being committed to the academic profession and not to an employer, in line with the boundaryless career model (Baruch and Hall, 2001). Several studies focus on academic mobility and the arguably freer academic labour market (Bedeian, Cavazos, Hun and Jauch, 2010; Maadad and Tight, 2014; Suárez-Ortega and Risquez, 2014). Mobility across universities and countries is considered beneficial for building networks and enhancing human capital (Tartari and Di Lorenzo, 2014) and output through collaborations (Bekhradnia and Sastry, 2005; Boudreau, Ganguli, Gaule, Guinan, and Lakhani, 2012). However, although academics are found to have higher mobility than other professions, they still have to conform with norms, rules and performance requirements pertaining to the profession in different

settings and national contexts, and therefore their careers cannot be meaningfully considered as boundaryless (Dany et al, 2011; Loacker and Śliwa, 2015; Rodrigues et al, 2015).

While the archetypal academic responsibilities include teaching, research, and administration (Harley et al, 2004), the 'publish or perish' rule (Acker, 1983; Dany et al, 2011; Miller, Taylor and Bedeian, 2011) emphasises the critical importance of publication output as a major characteristic in what Baruch and Hall (2001) call a 'a rejection-based profession'. With globalization and international competition, it is placed at the heart of the success or failure of academic institutions and faculty worldwide.

2.4.1 Globalization, international competition and managerialization

Higher education has undergone major changes worldwide in the last decades in terms of governance, research priorities, and evaluation of research results through exogenous, formalized measures destined to enhance the reputation of institutions (Bleiklie, Enders, Lepori and Musselin, 2011; Kallio, Kallio, Tienari and Hyvönen, 2016). Whitley (2011) points out that the exogeneity of governance mechanisms is growing, together with the prominence of formal rules and procedures related to quality assurance and performance monitoring systems and bodies. Similarly, Paradeise and Thoenig (2013: 191) emphasize the 'accelerated rationalization' higher education is facing which demands conformity to the 'global common sense' and 'one good way' of judging academic quality fostered through 'soft law' standardized instruments such as international league tables, rankings and accreditations, media, and national audits developed by governments and public authorities, and public policy incentives such as funding allocation to institutions (see also Auranena and Nieminen, 2010; Berg, Huijbens and Larsen, 2016; Mingers and Willmott, 2013; Murphy and Sage, 2014). These developments occur in a neo-liberal climate (Roper et al, 2010) and stem

from the New Public Management or managerialization drive which seems to have spread across countries to a different extent, and its focus on enhanced competition, private sector hands-on management practices, explicit and measurable performance standards, and control through pre-defined output measures (Chandler, Barry and Clark, 2002; Kallio et al, 2016; Knights and Clarke, 2014; Parsons and Priola, 2013). These developments created an audit culture which is "a condition […] shaped by the use of modern techniques and principles of financial audit, but in contexts far removed from the world of financial accountancy. […] it refers to contexts in which the techniques and values of accountancy have become a central organizing principle in the governance and management of human conduct – and the new kinds of relationships, habits and practices that this is creating. (Shore, 2008: 279). Audit culture "derives its legitimacy from its claims to enhance transparency and accountability" (Shore, 2008: 278).

As Bleiklie and Kogan (2007) point out, recent reforms in the governance of higher education have led to institutionalization of performance monitoring and quality assurance mechanisms. The 'outsourcing' of the objective setting and performance evaluation of academics to external agencies leads to formalization of such processes and results in their legitimization as validation mechanisms of academic research productivity and excellence. At the heart of this new system are journal rankings which are used to benchmark research quality according to particular sets of criteria (Mingers and Willmott, 2013; Sangster, 2015; Tourish and Willmott, 2015). These criteria and the outcomes they trigger are both self-reinforcing (see Macdonald and Kam, 2007) and embedded within mutually reinforcing organizational and societal contexts (Adler and Harzing, 2009). Individuals and institutions "adopt patterns that are externally defined as appropriate to their environments, and that are reinforced in their interactions with other organizations" (Westney, 2005: 47) thus causing academic rankings to

persist (Adler and Harzing, 2009). Similarly, Kallio et al (2016) argue that "[m]anagerialism elevates metrics and indicators, and the system is likely to become self-referential and self-fulfilling" (p. 690). The formalization and generalization of such a model is supported by actors at all levels and thus results in what Adler and Harzing call "a very high degree of institutional alignment" and reification of the system (2009: 84). As a consequence, and in line with institutional theory (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Westney, 2005), "organizations, and individuals within organizations, are moved toward isomorphism, the adoption of structures and processes prevailing in other organizations within the relevant environment" (Westney, 2005: 48).

Assessment tools appear accurate, objective, and fair, and provide justification for allocating research funds through what is perceived to be a transparent process in the public eye; the process is time and effort-saving for reviewers; and in an environment of intensifying pressures and competition for prestige and credibility, individuals and institutions can use this system to distinguish themselves in a justifiable and publicly visible way (Adler and Harzing, 2009). In addition, simply counting the number of papers published in ranked journals instead of reading them to assess their quality on the case-by-case basis is "quick, easy and cheap", and because acceptance for publication is a result of a peer-review process which is the widely recognized way of producing knowledge, it would be difficult to argue against the system (Durand and Dameron, 2011: 561). At an individual level, academics are socialized by more 'seasoned' academics to the wisdom and 'tricks' of the culture which would encourage them to follow the norms and thus to achieve the same success as other academics before them (Adler and Harzing, 2009; Butler and Spoelstra, 2012). But more importantly, as emphasized by Macdonald and Kam (2007), institutions 'play the game' and encourage or pressure academics to publish in prestigious journals (Clarke and Knights, 2015), thus

reinforcing the system and limiting the possible exit from this mode of governance (Whitley, 2011). Journal rankings are used as proxy for research productivity and quality (Sangster, 2015), and often have career-defining consequences for individual authors because they directly influence recruitment and promotion decisions (Adler and Harzing, 2009; Mingers and Willmott, 2013). As a result, academic careers become more fragmented and insecure (Loacker and Śliwa, 2015; Ylijoki and Henriksson, 2015), and faculty time, motivation and involvement in decision-making decrease (Baruch and Hall, 2004)

The shift from collegial to managerial systems could exacerbate the already well documented gender equality issues in academia. Göransson (2011) points out that the experience from business management in companies does not offer promising prospects for advancing equality in Higher Education.

2.4.2 Gender in the academy

In 1983, Sandra Acker wrote: "If there is anywhere that women professionals should be successful, it is in the universities" (p. 191). More than three decades later, findings from studies on women's academic careers suggest that despite the significant numerical increase of women in Higher Education, they are still underrepresented in many disciplines and at upper hierarchical levels, and face more and different challenges compared to their male colleagues (e.g. Howe-Walsh and Turnbull, 2016; Lee, 2015; Reilly, Jones, Rey Vasquez and Krisjanous, 2016; Peterson, 2015; SHE Figures 2015), which might be considered surprising for institutions with claims for meritocracy, objectivity and fairness (Bailyn, 2003; Heijstra, Bjarnason and Rafnsdóttir, 2015; Treviño, Gomez-Mejia, Balkin and Mixon Jr, 2015).

Substantial research has been conducted on women's academic careers, mainly in the scientific disciplines, in which women are considered to be particularly disadvantaged (e.g.

Duberley and Cohen, 2010; Howe-Walsh and Turnbull, 2016; Mavriplis, Heller, Beil, et al., 2010; O'Loughlin, 2015), but also in other academic fields such as economics and social sciences (e.g. Ginther and Kahn, 2004; Morrison, Rudd and Nerad, 2011). Studies focused on regions as varied as Vietnam (Nguyen, 2013), Italy (De Paola and Scoppa, 2015), Nigeria (Olaogun, Adebayo and Ajoke Oluyemo, 2015), New Zealand (Reilly et al, 2016) and the Arab Middle East (Afiouni, 2015).

Studies show significant improvements in the position of women in academia (e.g. Acker and Armenti, 2004; SHE Figures 2015; Winchester and Browning, 2015). Nevertheless, numerous studies reveal that academia has been and continues to be ruled by men and horizontally and vertically segregated by gender (e.g. Maranto and Griffin, 2011; Bagilhole and White, 2011). The fact that women are still outnumbered by men in academia and underrepresented higher on the academic career ladder points to underlying persistent issues, despite the introduction of equal opportunity policies and measures designed to address them (Bird, 2011; Le Feuvre, 2009; Reilly et al, 2016). Monroe, Ozyurt, Wrigley, and Alexander (2008: 215) claim that "overt discrimination has given way to less obvious but still deeply entrenched inequities". These are arguably embedded 'in patterns of interaction, informal norms, networking, training, mentoring and evaluation' (Sturm, 2001: 469). Similarly, Prentice (2000) discusses the 'chilly climates' operating in academia which are characterised by subtle processes of diminishing women's contributions, and a lack of support, encouragement and recognition, which result in lower self-esteem and confidence (see also Baker, 2010; Reilly et al, 2016).

Issues related to the gendered nature of academia (Savigny, 2014; van den Brink and Benschop, 2014) have produced substantial body of literature. The 'sex differences approach' (Acker and Armenti, 2004) is concerned with gender differences in pay, career advancement, publications output, and other variables which distinguish women's academic careers from

men's and point to unequal treatment and chances for female faculty. The SHE Figures of the European Commission (2015) show that women are still underrepresented in research at 33% across the EU-28 in 2011, and that despite progress in some countries between 2010 and 2014, the number of Higher Education institutions with a female head varies widely but remains low in many countries. Several reports have revealed a persistent gender pay gap (e.g. Blackaby, Booth and Frank, 2005; Currie and Hill, 2013). Many account for both implicit and explicit differential treatments which appear to prevail in academia (e.g. Savigny, 2014; Van den Brink and Benschop, 2012), and systemic barriers put in place by institutional structures which disadvantage women (Bird, 2011).

Studies also focused on the way values and assumptions subtly shape academic life, how gender is 'done' in academic institutions under the influence of culture, structure and particular procedures, and how excellence is socially constructed in this context (Benschop and Brouns, 2003; Fitzgerald, 2014; Treviño et al, 2015; Savigny, 2014). Adams (1983) argued that the only sex in academia is male, with its 'Men's Club', and hostility is shown towards change and towards women who threaten the existing structures and 'status quo'. With only a very few exceptions, academia has been a men's realm until well into the 20th century, and as first comers men defined the rules to suit their own needs and preferences (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988). It appears therefore of little importance whether women have credentials comparable to men's in education and research achievements - they will still face resistance and barriers in their careers (Adams, 1983). According to Bailyn (2003), academia is "anchored in assumptions about competence and success that have led to practices and norms constructed around the life experiences of men and around a vision of masculinity as the normal universal requirement of university life" (p. 143). Discourse in academia emphasises competition, individualism, and self-promotion (Davies, 2003; Bleiklie

et al, 2011; Haynes and Fearfull, 2008), as well as long hours (Sang, Powell, Finkel and Richards, 2015), continuous commitment (Williams and Mavin, 2015) and forsaking of private life outside the workplace (Bagilhole, 1993; Knights and Clarke, 2014), thus maintaining a set of 'masculinist' values and relations of power and subordination, and creating an environment where women are singled out as the 'others', or as 'outsiders' (Bagilhole, 1993).

Recent studies confirm the enduring nature of masculine norms (e.g. Treviño et al, 2015; van den Brink and Benschop, 2014). According to Savigny (2014), women are subject to 'cultural sexism' which undermines their visibility and achievements. Wilson (2005) argues that academia appears to present a difficult dilemma to women: in an environment where men set the norm with which women would arguably need to comply, women can either try to be the same as men to gain recognition and acceptance, or different to men and preserve their female identity. Complying with men's standards would involve adopting masculine qualities and aspirations at the expense of the female identity, and accepting men's living and working conditions; preserving the gendered differences would put women at disadvantage (Wilson, 2005). According to Wilson (2005), matching male standards involves "aspiring to masculine qualities like independence, autonomy, instrumental rationality and denying the culturally defined female identity" (p. 234), as well as accepting men's working conditions.

However, in many cultures women still have the burden of responsibility for caring in the family and have to take leave after childbirth (Raddon, 2002; Mason, 2009; Schiebinger and Gilmartin, 2010) which puts them at disadvantage (Deem, 2003; Reilly et al, 2016). The highest productivity is expected early in the career which coincides with the reproductive years for women (Maranto and Griffin, 2011), and tenure in many institutions depends on research performance during those years (Morrison et al, 2011). Also, old beliefs that women

with children are less committed and serious about their careers, reportedly still persist in academia as well as in other professions, on the premise that women would prioritize family obligations (Armenti, 2004; Hoobler, Wayne, and Lemmon, 2009; Hoobler, Lemmon, and Wayne, 2011). In Ridgeway and Correll's words (2004: 697), motherhood "will implicitly lower people's expectations for a mother's competence on the job, reduce her perceived suitability for positions of authority, and raise the standards she must meet to prove ability in the workplace" (see also Treviño et al, 2015). It is thus hardly surprising that many women plan childbirth for a convenient time ('May babies' and 'posttenure babies', Armenti, 2004; see also Acker and Dillabough, 2007), or remain single and/ or childless in order to avoid what Mason, Wolfinger and Goulden (2013) call the 'baby penalty'.

Challenges for women academics are not limited to their competing family and professional roles. Researchers argue that gendered socialisation plays a role in shaping different values and ambitions in girls and boys. For example, Bagilhole and Goode (2001) attribute women's lesser willingness to self-promote to such a behaviour being discouraged in girls and women because of its perceived unfeminine character, and to the belief that recognition will be awarded for abilities, excellence and personal investment regardless of gender. Differences between how men and women consider negotiation, self-worth, money and entitlements, disadvantage women and contribute to the gender gap in academia (Lee, 2015). Moreover, double standards appear to operate in academia and result in assessing differently men's and women's leadership abilities and competences: women's assertive behaviour may be perceived as bossy whereas in men it is viewed positively (O'Loughlin, 2015). O'Loughlin (2015) argues that such perceptions impact on women's careers at different stages such as recruitment and negotiating promotion.

Women do not have the same career experience as men, as they tend to have heavier teaching and counselling loads, and are overrepresented in part-time and temporary positions (e.g. Sax, Hagedorn, Arredondo, et al, 2002; Ylijoki and Henriksson, 2015). Park (1996) refers to 'a gendered division of labour' in academia with research implicitly considered as 'men's work' and explicitly valued, whereas teaching and service are characterized as 'women's work' and explicitly devalued (p.17, see also). Other aspects of the academic life impact on recognition and promotion, such as informal networking, mentoring and sponsorship. The scarcity or lack of senior women (Göransson, 2011) who could act as role models (Armenti, 2004a) and mentors, put further barriers to advancement for women (Maranto and Griffin, 2011).

2.4.3 Business Schools

Research on Business Schools has focused on issues such as challenges and opportunities for Business Schools in a global competitive environment, international rankings, curricula and its relevance to practitioners, scholarly productivity, peer-review, dominance of research over other aspects of the academic profession, and staff turnover (Adler and Harzing, 2009; Bedeian, 2004; Bennis and O'Toole, 2005; Certo, Sirmon and Brymer, 2010; Miller et al, 2011; Mingers and Willmott, 2013; Sangster, 2015).

A major concern voiced in several studies is what Collini (2010) calls a 'mania for constant assessment' by the means of journal ranking guides and related organizational policies and procedures which shape "career-defining decisions about the allocation of teaching and administration duties as well as those concerning appointments, probation, promotion and retention" (Tourish and Willmott, 2015: 38; see also Miller et al, 2011). Sangster (2015) point out that impact of journal rankings on academics is widely negative, ranging "from slight constraints on academic freedom to admonition, censure, reduced research allowances, non-

promotion, non-short-listing for jobs, increased teaching loads, and redesignation as a non-researcher" (p. 175), thus endorsing a culture of discipline and punishment (Richard, Plimmer, Fam and Campbell, 2015; Tourish and Willmott, 2015: 38). Business Schools have become avid players of the game of prestige promoted by a 'fetishised' use (Özbilgin, 2009: 113) of such rankings as proxy for research excellence (Knights and Clarke, 2014; Macdonald and Kam, 2011; Willmott, 2011). This trend develops to the detriment of research other than the type favoured by highly ranked journals, as well as of the broader context of academic work and the management scholars' contributions towards solving societal issues and concerns (Tourish and Willmott, 2015). Thus, Business Schools are increasingly seen not only as excessively focused on a narrow vision of what constitutes research quality, but also as neglecting the relevance of their research to the broader audience of various stakeholders, and stifling creativity and specialist research for the benefit of 'conformist' studies more likely to be accepted by listed journals (Adler and Harzing, 2009; Rafols, Leydesdorff, O'Hare, Nightingale and Stirling, 2012; Richard et al, 2015; Sangster, 2015; Tourish and Willmott, 2015).

Macdonald and Kam (2011) argue that "[p]ublication in the top journals of management studies is highly skewed. Very few authors publish in these top journals. They are said to be the best few, on the assumption that skew indicates quality" (p. 467). They further point out that "[a] slot in a top journal is a valuable commodity only as long as it remains scarce" (p. 468). The pressures are thus growing on academics to join the 'best few' amidst ever fiercer competition and necessary trade-offs of research interests that do not fit the mold of 'top' journals (Mingers and Willmott, 2013; Murphy and Sage, 2014). The 'publish or perish' rule (Dany et al, 2011) affects not only the career outcomes for academics but also their wellbeing and the work-family tensions, arguably more so for women than men (Richard at al., 2015).

Unlike scientific disciplines, studies on women's academic careers in Business Schools appear to be limited both from national and from comparative international perspective. Reilly et al. (2016) argue that a particularly 'chilly climate' (Prentice, 2000) and persistent 'inequality regime' (Acker, 2006) exist for women underpinned by low organizational commitment to gender equality in a post-feminist era of 'gender fatigue' (Kelan, 2009). Women in business schools are underrepresented, especially at higher hierarchical levels, and are reportedly subject to both overt and subtle discrimination (Lanier, Tanner and Guidry, 2009; Reilly et al. 2016). Fisher (2007) described in her ethnographic study the gendered and sexualized work culture in a UK Business School where women academics were subject to differential treatment and attitudes, and are seen as 'others' expected to comply with the established masculine norms. McTiernan and Flynn (2011) found that despite the progress made by women towards achieving deanship, they are still underrepresented amongst deans of Business Schools. A study conducted by Metz and Harzing (2009) on the representation of women in editorial boards of Management journals found that over the 15 years prior to the study, gender imbalances still persisted, thus potentially affecting women's chances to achieve academic recognition, but also, arguably, the nature and scope of the research in Management.

Gender-related issues do not appear to hold a prominent place in research on Business Schools and on Management Education in general. According to Offermann (2007), in 2006 only 4% of submissions to the Academy of Management Learning and Education were concerned with issues related to gender. This has implications for the management education as many of the published articles inform the curricula of Business Schools, are used as teaching material, and as a consequence affect managerial actions and decisions in the real world (Metz and Harzing, 2009; Offermann, 2007). Furthermore, Kelan and Jones (2010)

argue that "a postfeminist climate is operating in management education, so that gender is no longer seen as salient, even while it continues to shape the culture in significant ways" (p. 26).

The next section will compare the distinct institutional and societal features which shape career patterns of the workforce in general and the academics in particular in the UK and France.

CHAPTER 3

BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH: COMPARING THE UK AND FRANCE

Looking into the broader institutional settings and labour market structures and patterns, Eyraud, Marsden and Silvestre (1990) distinguish between 'occupational' labour markets (OLM) and 'internal' labour markets (ILM). The former is characterized by individuals in possession of transferable skills who are mobile between firms, while the latter designates career movements within the same organization. Considering employment patterns in the light of the work of Esping-Andersen (1990, 2009) on welfare state regimes, Muffels and Luijkx (2005) points out that job mobility rates are the highest in the Anglo-Saxon or liberal regimes, as opposed to low rates in corporatist continental regimes such as France. With regard to the role of the state, Hall and Soskice (2001) distinguish between liberal and coordinated market economies. The former, which is exemplified by the UK, promote deregulation, market mechanisms for the coordination of the economic activities, and low level of social benefits. The UK is characterized by a historical resistance to state intervention (Tatli et al., 2012), and a flexible and highly individualized labor market (Donnelly, 2009) in which temporary contracts are widespread (Ward, Grimshaw, Rubery, and Beynon, 2001). France on the other hand is characterized by heavy reliance on state intervention in several areas such as employment, work-family conciliation, and gender issues (e.g. Dambrin and Lambert, 2008; Milner and Gregory, 2014).

Schein (1984) suggests that career paths and decisions are influenced by both the occupational structure in a given society and by the organizational culture which at least partly reflects the broader culture of the society. He further posits that criteria used to define career success in a given national, occupational and organizational context could provide insights about

appropriateness and legitimacy of career motivation, behaviours and patterns in different settings:

"countries and organizations differ in the degree to which they specify explicitly the external career paths that are to be followed by members of a given occupation, the kinds of motives and ambitions that are considered legitimate for pursuit of careers, and the degree of prestige that is attached to different paths" (Schein, 1984:73-74).

The two countries have different institutional, legal, normative and social frameworks which shape employment patterns and careers (Donnelly, 2009).

3.1 Employment and precarity

Employment legislation and employee protection differ significantly between the two countries. The OECD Employment Protection Legislation data show that France (last available data from 2013) has notably higher protection than the UK (last available data from 2014) for all types of employees, with the gap being the most significant for temporary workers: on the scale from 0 (least restrictions) to 6 (most restrictions), France scores 3,75 and the UK 0,54. It is significantly easier for employers in the UK to dismiss or make redundant their employees, those with fewer than two years of continuous employment have no protection, and wrongful dismissal payouts are capped. The UK is in the top three OECD countries for labour market flexibility (The Guardian, 16 May 2016). A particular feature of the UK labour market is the "zero-hours contracts" which do not guarantee a minimum number of hours (ONS, 2016). Workers on such contracts are 'on call', are only paid for the actual hours they work, and only have the minimum rights to the statutory annual leave and the national minimum wage but not to sick pay. The latest estimate from the Labour Force Survey shows that 903,000 people were on a "zero-hours contract" between April and June 2016, representing 2.9% of people in employment, which is 21% higher than the reported

figure from the same period in 2015 (747,000 or 2.4% of people in employment), although there might be a recent higher awareness bias (ONS, 2016). According to ONS (2016), the November 2015 survey of businesses indicated that there were 1.7 million contracts that did not guarantee a minimum number of hours, which represented 6% of all employment contracts (see also Mandl, Curtarelli, Riso, Vargas and Gerogiannis, 2015). Furthermore, the substantial increase in agency workers – 30% since 2011 to reach 865,000 – who are paid less than regular employees but often work on continuous basis, reportedly also contributes to the growing insecurity and precarity of the UK labour market which now concerns a wide range of professions and qualifications (The Guardian, 5 December 2016).

Zero-hours contracts are not permitted in France. There are other types of what is considered precarious employment in France, which in 2014 represented 12.3% of all employment (INSEE, 2014), such as agency workers, apprentices, fixed term contracts, interns, and 'assisted contracts' (contrats aidés) in the public and private sector. All these types of employment are regulated by the Labour Law (Code du Travail) and offer higher protection than similar work arrangements in the UK. Significantly, in the UK fixed term contracts do not trigger similar precarity concerns. Lower protection and a more flexible labour market in the UK result in a higher turnover which has been reportedly on the rise (https://www.eef.org.uk/about-eef/media-news-and-insights/blogs/2016/may/back-to-business-as-usual-labour-turnover-on-the-rise).

3.2 Employment and gender

The massification of higher education (Altbach et al, 2009), women's quest for human capital and economic autonomy (Esping-Andersen, 2009), postindustrial restructuring of economies and the rise in skilled and qualified service jobs at the expense of manual unskilled jobs

(Blossfeld, Skopek, Kosyakova, Triventi and Buchholz, 2015), as well as the rise of civil rights movements, have led to a greater salience of women in the labour market and the broadening of equality legislation (Burri and van Eijken 2014). In addition to potential source of human capital, women have also arguably become potential competitors to men for jobs (Blossfeld et al, 2015). Employment and career patterns of both men and women in different contexts are likely to be affected by multiple factors such as the regulation, implementation and reinforcement of gender equality measures, the social policies encouraging particular breadwinner and caring models, and the social acceptance and attitudes towards women in the labour market (Dambrin and Lambert, 2008; Löfström, 2009)

France has been legislating on gender equality for a few decades but women in France continue to experience disparities in pay and access to certain professions and hierarchical levels, and are found in disproportional numbers in part-time positions with consequences for their pay and careers (Observatoire des inégalités, 2013, 2014; INSEE, 2016). According to INSEE statistics (2016), there were as many salaried women as men in France in 2014; 69.6% of women worked full-time compared to 91.9% of men in 2015; but women earned 19% less than men in 2013 (INSEE, 2016). Further, similar to other countries, women's employment in France tends to concentrate in a small range of occupations where salaries are lower than in male-dominated occupations. According to Meron, Okba and Viney (2006), women occupy 70% of jobs in 14 occupations out of 84, whilst men represent more than 70% of the workforce in 43 occupations (see also Dares Analyses, 2013). In top French companies (the so-called CAC40 firms) women represented 10 % of the board members until early 2011, but new legislation on gender quotas requires 40% of females at board of directors and supervisory boards six years after the law comes into force (Loi Copé-Zimmermann, 2011; Klarsfeld et al, 2012). Companies of above 50 employees are required to report the conditions

of their male and female employees and suggest an action plan for gender equality and reducing pay and promotion gaps (Klarsfeld et al, 2012; Ministère du Travail, 2012).

Gender is one of the 20 legal criteria for discrimination in France. The French Constitution stipulates that all citizens are equal before the law and here is a strong attachment to republican ideas which insist on freedom, equality and brotherhood for all (Tatli et al, 2012). Therefore, legal rights transcend differences to guarantee, at least in theory, equality and non-discrimination.

The UK labour market has become increasingly diverse with more women entering the workforce, but according to the Equality and Human Rights Commission's (EHRC) 2013 Triennial Review, it continues to be horizontally and vertically segregated by gender and in employment rates, and gender pay gaps persist. A third of managerial jobs in Britain are now occupied by women which represents a progress towards tackling vertical segregation by gender. However, women are employed in 77 percent of administrative and secretarial jobs and 83 percent of personal services jobs but only in a small percentage of high-paying professional and technical jobs (EHRC, 2013). Furthermore, over 40% of female jobs compared to 15% of male jobs are in the public sector which makes them vulnerable to public sector cuts (EHRC, 2013), and significantly more women are found in part-time jobs which are subject to gender pay penalty (Klarsfeld et al, 2012). Only 12.5 percent of directors of FTSE 100 companies and 7.8 percent of FTSE 250 companies are women (Davies report, BIS, 2011). Occupational segregation results in pay differences, especially in the private and voluntary sectors where at age 40 men are earning on average 27% more than women (EHRC, 2013).

The UK has well established equality legislation on gender (2010 Equality Act). The Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) is the key equality watchdog, and its mission is to ensure the implementation of the legislation (Klarsfeld et al, 2012). However, the UK follows a liberalised and market-driven approach to equality, promoting voluntary initiatives and commitments (Hyman, Klarsfeld, Ng, and Haq, 2012).

Welfare state models play important role in shaping labour market structures and equality patterns, and influence the division of labour and the employment of women (Esping-Andersen, 2009; Lewis, 2001). Liberal welfare states such as Britain endorse market provision of services to their citizens, in contrast to conservative-corporatist regimes such as France in which the welfare state provision is well-developed (Hall and Soskice, 2001; Orloff, 1996). Lewis et al (2008) argue that public policies are likely to have an impact on both women's preferences and the constraints they face in reconciling work and family. For example, availability of childcare, its price and quality, as well as various financial incentives would affect differently female labour supply and equality outcomes across countries (Löfström, 2009)

In France, public policies historically promoted full-time, continuous employment for women, and mothers benefit from assistance with employment and childcare (Crompton and Le Feuvre, 2000; Crompton and Lyonette, 2006). There is comprehensive provision of full-time, affordable childcare services (Latour and Portet, 2003; Toulemon, Pailhé and Rossier, 2008; European Platform for Investing in Children, 2016), and public spending is among the highest across OECD countries (OECD, 2010). Pre-primary education is effectively universal among children aged 3-to-5 with enrolment rates around or above 98%, whilst participation rates for 0-to-2-year olds in formal childcare and pre-school services is above 50% (OECD, 2016) Subsidized use of registered childminders amounted to more than 30% of the care for under 3

years old in 2013 (European Platform for Investing in Children, 2016). As Crompton and Le Feuvre (2000) point out, since the late 1970s public policies in France has been designed to encourage participation of women in the labour market (see also Ciganda, 2015). Furthermore, it is socially accepted in France that mothers would return to full-time work and leave their few months old child to support childcare services (Hantrais, 1995; Dambrin and Lambert, 2008), which appears to be exceptional in Europe (van der Lippe and van Dijk, 2002). These services are open between eight and ten hours-a-day compared to most European countries where they open four hours a day (Dambrin and Lambert, 2008). As a result, France is amongst the European Union member states with the highest fertility and employment rates of women with children (European Platform for Investing in Children, 2016).

In the UK on the other hand, the government has little involvement in childcare provision (Crompton and Lyonette, 2006), which is left to private providers whom families pay directly, is based on a first-come, first-served basis, and the waiting lists are long (Viitanen, 2005). Provision is among the lowest in Europe (Crompton and Le Feuvre, 2000; OECD, 2016). Participation rates for 0-to-2-year-olds fall since 2006, and children in this age group spend on average only around 17-18 hours in formal care during a usual week (OECD, 2016). Furthermore, childcare costs are a very high: in 2004, net childcare cost amounted to 43% of a dual earner family net income, compared to 15% in France (OECD, 2010). In 2008, Lewis et al (2008) claimed that part-time employment is high in the UK and is "recognisably *the* way of reconciling work and family in the UK" (p. 25, italics by authors). Currently three and four-year- old children are entitled to 15 hours per week of free early education for 38 weeks a year, to be extended to 30 hours from September 2017, and other support is available

through working tax credits and the projected Tax-Free Childcare (TFC) benefit of up to £2,000 per child and per year (European Platform for Investing in Children, 2016).

Comparative social policy studies show growing interest in parental leave due to its significance for gender equality in the so-called 'woman-friendly welfare state' model (Ray, Gornick and Schmitt, 2010). Research is concerned with the potential of parental leave to enable women's employment whilst engaging both men and women in caregiving, in line with the social model of 'dual-earner/dual-carer' (e.g. Pfau-Effinger, 1999; Sainsbury, 1999; Crompton, 1999). Policies still allocate more time to mothers in France, whereas the UK has adopted in 2015 the Shared Parental Leave and Pay allowing parents to choose how to split the allocated time and pay (European Platform for Investing in Children, 2016).

3.3 Academia and Business Schools

According to Göransson (2011), historically different ideas shaped the higher education systems in Europe: in the British model universities were private non-profit institutions, whereas in France universities were similar to public bureaucracies and belonged to the state administration. With the rise of managerialism (Bell, 2012; Knights and Clarke, 2014), such differences are increasingly blurred, as higher education institutions change from a public good to market-driven enterprises (Göransson, 2011). Higher Education in both the UK and France has moved in this direction (e.g. Broadbent, 2011; Boitier and Riviere, 2013), in a context of a general drive at European level and in OECD countries towards utilitarian vision and corporatisation of universities (Parker, 2011). In the last decades, the principles of New Public Management (Bleiklie et al, 2011) have been shaping broader public administration reforms through discourse and policies of control, efficiency and accountability (Broadbent, 2011), although this trend was slower to reach France (Boitier and Riviere, 2013).

The UK higher education sector changed following the introduction of the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act which allowed polytechnics and some HE institutions previously controlled by local education authorities to be become universities (Baruch and Hall, 2004). The number of UK universities has thus increased significantly. There is a clear distinction between 'old' and 'new' universities, the former tending to focus more on research and the latter on teaching. Funding is managed by the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) and similar bodies in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. It covers basic research infrastructure and salaries for permanent faculty which are complemented by government funding for teaching (Tartari and Di Lorenzo, 2014). Academic vacancies are publicly advertised. The UK academic labour market is regulated with salary scales determined for all universities, but the so called market supplements to attract and retain what is considered as top talent are increasingly common (e.g. LSE, 2015; UCL, 2016). Tartari and Di Lorenzo (2014) observe that "academic researchers face a very fluid labor market, where mobility barriers are very low and mobility is usually rewarded" (page n/a). Research output determines funding allocation to universities and their presence on national and international rankings and concerns mostly 'old' universities. 'New' or post-1992 universities receive their income mainly from teaching but increasingly strive to improve their research profile.

With the massification of Higher Education and increased competitiveness in the sector, the academic labour force has arguably been reconfigured with the purpose of intensifying productivity without increasing significantly the funding for the institutions, and "delivery is increasingly judged in terms of efficiency, value for money, and ability to attract large numbers of fee-paying students, who are being duly re-constituted as customers" (Harley et al, 2004). The drive to adopt market discourse and managerialist practices has been particularly salient in the UK (Kallio et al, 2016) and is well documented (e.g. Martin and

Whitley, 2010; Murphy and Sage, 2014; Tomlinson, 2015). The introduction of "new managerialism" has transformed the universities from largely autonomous, collegiate institutions which could manage and allocate their resources independently, to institutions externally controlled and internally directed by a corporate type of managerial hierarchy (Enders, 2003; Göransson, 2011). Research output is judged through the Research Excellence Framework (REF, formerly the Research Assessment Exercise, or RAE). The REF results are used for the development of 'benchmarking information' and 'reputational yardsticks' (REF, 2012), for the allocation of funding to different institutions, for positioning in university rankings, as well as for determining career trajectories of academics through hiring, promotion and transfer market strategies (Mingers and Willmott, 2013; Murphy and Sage, 2014). As Adler and Harzing (2009) point out, universities' hiring and promotion committees are usually made up of academics that have achieved their current status and reputation by playing the same game, and therefore are unlikely to judge the system they have benefitted from as illegitimate. Career success is defined in terms of visible and publicly acknowledged research output. The message conveyed to individuals is clear, and as Macdonald and Kam comment, "all academics in the UK are desperate to publish in quality journals" (2007: 641).

Business Schools are generally part of the universities in the UK, and hence are dependent on university-wide policies, procedures and funding. Research on Business Schools demonstrates that the audit and accountability culture has a significant impact on both scholarship and the careers of academics (Butler and Spoelstra, 2012; Richard et al, 2015; (Tourish and Willmott, 2015). As reputational and financial competition reportedly intensify between institutions and between individual academics, Business School faculty experience growing pressures to publish in listed journals (e.g. Financial Times and the Association of Business Schools journal lists), which further promotes a commodification of academic labour (Mingers and

Willmott, 2013; Van Fleet, Kacmar, Griffin, Ford and Duncan, 2011). Mingers and Willmott (2013) observe that the use of journal ranking lists is widely and deeply embedded in the UK context. The International Guide to Academic Journal Quality, formerly known as the Association of Business Schools (ABS) Academic Journal Quality Guide, has become 'de facto standard' across UK business schools since the preparation for the RAE 2008 (Mingers, Watson and Scaparra 2012: 3). Harney and Dunne (2013: 338) argue that "business school scholarship can be seen as the example par excellence of what we are calling extreme neo-liberalism […] the coexistence in the same sphere of extreme externalization of costs and extreme regulation of the sources of value. [..] this condition is most obvious in the research audits conducted in Britain, and spreading globally, audits that record both the extreme externalization in business scholarship of all the sources of the wealth expropriated by business, and at the same time, regulate the very labour that produces this extreme self-regulation."

The REF is being increasingly criticised for undermining intellectual freedoms, distorting research agendas and priorities, hierarchically separating teaching from research, encouraging individualism and discouraging collaboration, fostering discriminatory and unhealthy working practices, creating institutional inequalities, and affecting negatively academic identity and morale, among others (Morrish, 2015; Murphy and Sage, 2014; Tourish and Willmott, 2015; Wells, 2013)

Gender inequalities in UK academia appear to persist. Göransson (2011) points out that female faculty continue to experience horizontal segregation, in particular by discipline, as well as vertical segregation by grade. According to a Gender survey of UK professoriate in 2013 (Times Higher Education, 2013) women make up 45 per cent of non-professorial academics but it men still dominate at professor level. Overall, around one in five professors

in the UK is female, but statistics show that in some institutions only one in 10 professors is a woman. Results also show that there are fewer female professors at research-intensive universities (Times Higher Education, 2013). In 2013/14, the majority of academics were men (55.4%); a lower proportion of female academic staff were on open/permanent contracts (61.5%) than male academic staff (66.5%); women represented 22.4% of the professors across institutions and made up 39.8% of the academic managers, directors and senior officials; 34.8% of male academics earned over £50,000 compared with 20.1% of female academics (Equality in higher education, 2015). The pay gap between men and women is 13.5% (Savigny, 2014). In Business and Management Studies, 41.2% of the academics are women, but their distribution at different levels is unknown (Equality in higher education, 2015). Data on gender in academia can be found in the UK-wide Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA).

The Higher Education sector in France is also experiencing managerialist pressures and New Public Management reforms since the 2000s. These are driven by legislation, with the adoption of the LOLF (Loi Organique relative aux Lois de Finance, 2001) which concerns the modernisation and optimisation of the functioning of the state through increased budgetary control, setting of objectives, audits, and the promotion of a results-based culture built on accounting information (Boitier and Riviere, 2013). These reforms were introduced in public universities which are distinct from other academic institutions such as the élites Grandes Écoles (Baruch and Hall, 2004), but marked a general trend in France towards accountability and enhanced control mechanisms.

There are mainly two types of Business Schools in France: those which are departments of public universities, and private Schools, which are outside of the public university system and instead are operated and partly funded by a local chamber of commerce and industry. The first

group are mostly known within France and generally do not appear on international rankings such as the Financial Times ranking. The second group are mostly the élite Business Schools (École Supérieure de Commerce or Grande École de Commerce) which appear on international rankings and are known for producing most of the French politicians and business executives. They are highly selective, have limited numbers of students, generally focus on a single area such as business subjects, and charge tuition fees unlike universities which have the obligation to accept all regional candidates who possess the Baccalaureate and where education is free of charge except for a small registration and administration fee. These Business Schools do not receive direct funding from the government and do not share their income and profit. They are funded by tuition fees, a legally defined tax on companies which they can choose to partly invest in a particular School (http://vosdroits.service-public.fr/professionnels-entreprises/F22574.xhtml), the Chamber of Commerce, and other private funds. Many have several decades of history and some more than a century. They are members of the prestigious Conférence des Grandes Écoles (CGE), a national non-profit association of engineering schools, management schools and other higher education institutions. Its members also include companies, alumni associations and organisations. It accredits its members' educational programmes, and "admission to the CGE is dependent on satisfying particularly stringent criteria relating to structure, recruitment methods, teaching methods and support provided to students in the institutions […]. [The CGE] aims at developing an ambitious vision of higher education on key issues as financing, training courses, research activities, links with companies" (http://www.cge.asso.fr/en/).

Unlike the universities in France and the UK, the French Business Schools do not have nationally agreed salary scales and salaries are negotiated individually during the recruitment process, within the limits set by the individual School which are not made public. Vacancies

are advertised but candidates making unsolicited applications are also recruited. Similarly to the UK, research output is evaluated through academic journals ranking lists, but there is no external validation mechanism comparable to the REF. The Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) list which includes international journals but also a number of French language journals is the most widely used either as it is, or as a contribution to lists compiled by the individual Business School. These Business Schools have traditionally been relatively stable institutions but recently some decided to merge, presumably to increase their research impact and improve their position in an international competitive environment (e.g. Kedge Business School resulted from the merger of Bordeaux École de Management and Euromed Management). In addition, several schools are changing their status following the adoption of a law allowing them to have more autonomy in general decision-making, recruitment, and management of their budget, including the possibility of acquiring capital from private investors and the introduction of academic contracts with employment conditions comparable to the private sector (Loi Mandon, 2014). Further, there have been recent attempts at rapprochement between public universities and Business Schools in order to gain a critical mass and greater international visibility and competitiveness. Initiatives such as PRES (pôles de recherche et d'enseignement supérieur – research clusters in higher education) and its successor COMUE (Communauté d'universités et établissements – Community of universities and institutions) created by law in 2013 (loi E.S.R. 2013) aim to combine educational offer and research excellence under the umbrella of common structure and governance (http://www.enseignementsup-recherche.gouv.fr/cid94756/les-regroupements-universitaires-et-scientifiques-une-coordination-territoriale-pour-un-projet-partage.html), although for the moment Business Schools do not appear to embrace these partnerships.

Equality was presented as a priority for the Higher Education in the late 1990s following the drive in the European Union, and in February 2000 the Ministry of Education initiated a National Action Plan on Equality in Education (Latour, 2003). However, gender inequalities appear to persist. In 2015, 23% of the full professors and 44% of the associate professors in universities were women (Ministère de l'Education Nationale, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche, 2016). Currently in France there are no official statistics on the percentage and the hierarchical distribution of female academics in Business Schools.

Table 3 summarises the context for Business Schools in the UK and France.

Table 3: Context for Business Schools in the UK and France

	UK Business Schools	**French Business Schools**
Broader environment & regulations	Liberal market economy • Deregulation, market coordination of economic activities, low level of social benefits, resistance to state intervention, flexible & individualized labour market • Equality legislation on gender • Non-legislative, voluntary initiatives, e.g. company/ industry Charters, Athena Swan Liberal welfare state • Endorses market provision of services to citizens (e.g. childcare)	Coordinated market economy • reliance on state intervention in employment, work-family conciliation, gender issues • Equality legislation on gender • Non-legislative initiatives, some voluntary (e.g. Diversity Charter), Others more constraining (e.g. Diversity Label) Conservative-corporatist welfare state • Well-developed welfare state provision (e.g. childcare)
Governance & funding	• Business Schools part of the universities: dependent on university-wide policies, procedures & funding • Government involved in funding	• Business Schools independent institutions: do not share governance, resources & profit within a broader structure • Financial independence
Performance management	• UK government heavily invested in design & promotion of the REF & the TEF • Funding allocation to institutions contingent on REF results	• No equivalent to the REF & the TEF • Decisions about recruitment, task allocation & promotion decided internally in each School

	• Hiring, task allocation & promotion contingent on REF results	
Women in Business Schools	• Persistent inequalities in academia (HESA) • Hierarchical distribution in Business Schools unknown	• Persistent inequalities in academia (Ministère de l'Education Nationale, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche) • No publicly available data for Business Schools

3.4 Conclusion: institutions and scripts in the UK and French Business Schools

It is clear from the overview of the two contexts that the careers of academics in UK and French Business Schools evolve in different regulative, normative, cultural and ideological environments and social structures. The institutions shaped by the distinct features of these environments could prove crucial for understanding the formation, legitimacy and longevity of specific career scripts, their deterministic power, the dynamics between structure and individual and collective behaviours (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006), and the impact on identities. They provide the broader background for building shared meanings and understandings of what is considered legitimate, desirable, recommended and feasible in each setting in terms of career, and guide the behavioural responses of individuals in general and Business Schools academics in particular.

A major difference between the two contexts appears to be ideology (Roper et al, 2010), particularly the extent to which neo-liberal ideologies have permeated the regulatory, normative and cultural landscape in each country. Deregulation, flexibility, high degree of mobility between jobs and occupations, individualism and personal responsibility for one's career are defining characteristics of neo-liberal ideologies, which have, de facto, become institutionalised in the UK, as apparent in the way economic activities and welfare state

provision are thought of and conducted (Table 3). Institutionalised neo-liberal ideology would influence how employees in the UK, including Business School academics, interpret and devise their career paths (Duberley et al, 2006b), taking into consideration the perceived available opportunities and obstacles (Barley and Tolbert, 1997) as well as how legitimate and/or prestigious these paths are perceived to be (Schein, 1984). They could thus adjust their behaviours and decisions accordingly, for example in terms of inter-organizational mobility, particular strategies for self-preservation, and identity work in times when employment stability is declining. Regulation and state intervention in both work and family/non work related matters could determine the degree of reliance of employees on external support versus proactively seeking personal solutions, as well as the effectiveness of any equality legislation. This is especially relevant in matters such as childcare provision and employment protection, on which the UK government appears to be particularly disengaged. For example, although the UK has legislation on gender equality, it has institutionalised a caring model which envisions family responsibilities largely as private matter left to the families themselves, which could jeopardize equality objectives as legislation is not supported by care structures, services and funding mechanisms working parents could rely on. Similarly, employment/unemployment affairs and outcomes pertain to a great extent to the individual. Generalised liberal approach to work and employment and limited regulation and 'safety net' for employees to rely on establish self-reliance and flexibility as features of social life and models for action. As such are likely to exercise institutional pressures on beliefs, norms and values people hold in their everyday life and professional endeavours, as well as on organizational cultures.

By the same token, dominant ideologies and the degree of their institutionalization through regulation, policies and practices would influence career paths of employees in France,

including Business School academics. In France the state not only regulates employment and family matters such as childcare provision but also provides related assistance and services to its citizens (Table 3). Unlike in the UK, the French government funds the structures which allow women and families to reconcile work and care. Furthermore, employees benefit from a significantly higher employment protection than employees in the UK. State interventionism is therefore the dominant paradigm permeating various aspects of French society and culture, and both organizations and employees in France are subjected to the related institutional influences under which they craft their decisions and behaviours.

The limiting power of institutions on perceptions of available opportunities and alternatives in both contexts makes more likely that behaviours of individuals would align (Barley and Tolbert, 1997). This, in turn, could influence patterns and forms of reproduction of the dominant ideology and existing work arrangements.

Despite the significant degree of general disengagement and the non-interventionist stance of the UK government, it is heavily invested in the Higher Education sector which it controls through funding and accountability requirements institutionalized through the control mechanisms of the REF and the TEF. Assessment of academic output has a long history and has become an institutionalized feature of academic life. Thus, on the one hand, academics in the UK build their career expectations and paths in a labour market characterised by significant flexibility and in which they could supposedly manage their boundaryless careers as 'free agents', as discussed in the literature review. On the other hand however, their work and careers are shaped by unambiguous accountability rules and expectations imposed by the government specifically on the Higher Education sector. Therefore, academics in UK universities, and Business Schools as part of them, find themselves in a double-bounded context: the high flexibility, low general protection and precarity of employment also

affecting academia (for example, in the form of short-term, hourly paid and zero-hours contracts) are combined with the government demand for compliance with external measures of output which are, to a large extent, out of the academics' control (publications in a small number of international journals for the REF or student satisfaction, retention and employability for the TEF). Academics in the UK are thus subjected to institutional pressures of both career self-management and enhanced accountability likely to create boundaries to its enactment. The UK government intervenes specifically in a control function to assess compliance with the rules governing academic performance.

By contrast, in France there is no explicit and institutionalized accountability to the government and other external stakeholders similar to the REF and the TEF. The absence of regulation and intervention by the government on Business Schools' governance, accountability and funding means that state interventionism only affects the Schools and their faculty through the general employment legislation and protection, such as the types of contracts that are not allowed (e.g. zero hours), as well as the various types of assistance, structures and funding it provides, for example to families and women in employment. On the other hand, the Business Schools which are members of the Conférence des Grandes Écoles (CGE) - all of the Schools in this study - are bound to rules pertaining to good practices, quality of accredited educational programmes, communication activities, image and reputation. This is significant because of the prestige attached to membership in this association in France where most of the students come from. The Grandes Écoles are thus also under institutional pressures to maintain their quality standards in compliance with professional norms, or else lose their recognitions and suffer the related consequences on their finances (e.g. decline in student numbers or appeal to businesses).

As discussed in the literature review, career scripts fulfil the function of a mediating tool between institutions, on the one hand, and individuals on the other, and help crafting career decisions and behaviours. Career scripts provide guidance as to what is acceptable, desirable, recommended or imperative to follow in a particular context which people process to adapt to their own aspirations and goals (Valette and Culié, 2015) in interplay of structure, power games between different actors, and individual agency. Higher Education in both the UK and France has been experiencing growing pressures to justify relevance, usefulness and worth under the now widely promoted results-based culture across industries and sectors. As managerialism and international standards for excellence create conditions for mimesis and homogenisation of academic structures, policies and practices, enduring institutional pressures in each context, or 'local orders' (Paradeise and Thoenig, 2013) could impact on the way these standards translate into particular academic career scripts and through them influence behaviours and career outcomes, as well as on particular identity work processes of academics.

3.5 Aims and objectives of the research

The purpose of this research is to explore how various institutional factors and their interplay influence the construction of performance management systems and practices in UK and French Business Schools and impact on careers and identities of academics through scripts. I aim to investigate the deterministic power of institutions and scripts to generate particular boundaries and opportunities for Business School academics in the two contexts.

Figure 1 below summarises the potential institutional influences on academic career scripts and identities of academics in UK and French Business Schools.

Figure 1: Institutional influences on academic career scripts and identities in UK and French Business Schools

General trend towards marketization & accountability in Higher Education across OECD countries

Country-specific institutional environment

UK: Neo-liberalism & differentiated state (de)regulation	France: State interventionism & selective non intervention

Deregulation	*REF, TEF & prof. association*	*Gov't control & support*	*Accountability & prof. norms*

Work and non work
- Significant government disengagement, reliance on market & voluntarism
- Institutionalized flexibility, individualism, self-reliance, competition
- Work & non work viewed & treated as distinct matters

Universities
- Enhanced accountability: government control through REF, TEF & funding
- Ascriptive excellence through belonging to the Russell Group but no specific reinforcement of professional norms
- Competition b/n universities for prestige, funding, students, academics based on REF&TEF

Work and non work
- Significant government intervention in all spheres
- Institutionalized reliance on the state & the safety net it provides in work & welfare
- Government provision of structures & funding to assist families & women in employment

Business Schools
- Independent in governance & funding, no accountability similar to REF/TEF but internal
- Ascriptive excellence through membership with the CGE, mechanisms for compliance with its professional norms
- Competition b/n institutions for prestige, students & academics through benchmarking

Performance management in UK Business Schools	Performance management in French Business Schools

Compare career scripts & outcomes in UK and French Business Schools (Study 1)

Compare identity work & outcomes in UK and French Business Schools (Study 2)

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CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1   Introduction

This chapter details the research design and the methodology used for conducting this study. It covers several aspects of the research process in its different sections and justifies the chosen research strategy. This research is positioned against the backdrop of globalization and its effects on economic, political and social actors and relationships through "a greater degree of capital penetration and homogenization across the globe" (Best and Kellner, 1997, p. 3). As Beck (2009, p.1) observes in the Introduction of his book "What is Globalization?": "Globalization makes possible things which, though perhaps always there, remained hidden during the stage of the welfare-democratic taming of capitalism". This study explores developments in academia which can be directly linked to the shift of perspective from national to global. A comparison of Business Schools in two countries offers the advantage of selecting cases with a number of similarities pertaining to a common constant but presenting different variables which can be contrasted and their implications analyzed (Burnham, Gilland Lutz, Grant and Layton-Henry, 2008).

I begin with establishing the philosophical underpinning of this study from ontological and epistemological perspectives. I then proceed to the discussion and justification of the research strategy, methodology and research method of data collection and analysis before considering potential ethical issues and the way they have been addressed by the researcher.

4.2   Philosophical approach

This research is positioned in the wider debate of the effects of performative pressures and New Public Management on stakeholders in general, ranging from academics to institutions to society, and in particular on academics and their careers. Below I will focus on the epistemological and the ontological stance of the study.

4.2.1 Epistemological positioning

Epistemology is concerned with "how knowledge can be produced and argued for" (Eriksson and Kovalainan. 2008, p. 14). Epistemology pertains therefore to the theory and the production of new knowledge as the purpose of the research, to the questions related to what and how we know (Krauss, 2005). Bryman (2012) argues that "A particularly central issue in this context is the question of whether the social world can and should be studied according to the same principles, procedures, and ethos as the natural sciences." (p. 27). He further comments that positivism, or the position advocating the importance of applying methods drawn from natural sciences to the study of social reality, is very difficult to outline in a specific manner as it is used in different ways by scholars, including through principles such as phenomenalism, deductivism, inductivism, and objectivism. The positivist paradigm postulates that the objective reality exists independently form the researcher, and that direct observation and gathering reliable evidence can establish universal truths (Healy and Perry, 2000; Krauss, 2005).

By contrast, interpretivism as an epistemological paradigm is advanced by scholars who argue that the scientific model cannot be applied to the study of the social world, as people and institutions are considered fundamentally different from the subject matters of natural sciences and should be studied from different logical standpoints and perspectives (Bryman, 2012). Ritchie and Lewis (2008, p.17) point out that "methods of the natural sciences are not

appropriate because the social world is not governed by law like regularities but is mediated through meaning and human agency". An epistemological clash (Von Wright, 1971) thus is triggered by the divide between the focus on the explanation of human behavior advocated by positivism and the emphasis on understanding and interpreting human behaviour and actions supported by various intellectual traditions which constitute the interpretivist epistemology (Bryman, 2012). As Usher (1996, p. 18) observes, "…knowledge is concerned not with generalization, prediction and control but with interpretation, meaning and illumination". The intellectual traditions advocating interpretivism have in common their "concern with subjective and shared meanings" (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008: 19).

This study is positioned in the interpretivist epistemological paradigm as it does not separate the researcher from the research (Ritchie and Lewis, 2008) and does not consider respondents as mere objects but seeks to understand and interpret their attitudes and behaviours. Its aim is to establish the dependencies and influences between external factors (international performative pressures and related norms and scripts) and the academics themselves. Unlike the positivist approach, this research does not look for an absolute truth but explores the experiences and behaviours of individuals. Their evaluation results in new constructions which are not necessarily to be seen as improvements or as holding more truth than those previously believed (Pring, 2000).

4.2.2 Ontological stance

Bryman (2012, p. 32) states that "Questions of social ontology are concerned with the nature of social entities. The central point […] is […] whether social entities can and should be considered that have a reality external to social actors, or whether they can and should be considered social constructions built up from the perceptions of social actors", which points to

a distinction between objectivism and constructionism. The former implies the existence of social phenomena independently of social actors, whereas the latter refers to "an ontological position […] that asserts that […] social phenomena and categories are not only produced through social interaction but that they are in constant state of revision" and also present the researcher's version of social reality (Bryman, 2012, p. 33). This research explores two main themes: precarity and identity construction in two academic contexts under performative pressures. By looking into mechanisms of precarity affecting faculty on regular contracts instead of what is already considered as precarious conditions in the form of short-term, zero hours and other insecure work arrangements, I take into account the importance of social interactions and actors in building categories, phenomena and meaning. The second theme – identity construction – explores identity responses to performative pressures which are not pre-given but evolve and are subjected to revision under changing circumstances. This research is therefore positioned in the constructionist ontological paradigm. It moves away from a notion of universal truths and adheres to the vision that reality does not exist independently from individuals, their actions and their creations but is socially constructed: "Reality would not exist independently of the individuals' personal creations against which they might assess or evaluate their perceptions" (Pring, 2000, p. 60).

4.3 The study

4.3.1   The choice of qualitative approach

The effects of neo-liberal performative pressures have been explored in the literature mainly using qualitative methods (e.g. Butler and Spoelstra, 2014; Clarke, Knights and Jarvis, 2012; Peterson, 2015; Watermeyer, 2014) such as semi-structured interviews. Some studies employ mixed methods such as individual interviews and focus groups (Tomlinson, 2015), or quantitative surveys combined with responses to open questions (Kallio et al, 2016), and,

rather infrequently, only quantitative methods such as analysis of publication and citation data (e.g. Rafols, Leydesdorff, O'Hare, Nightingale and Stirling, 2012). The appropriateness, validity, justifiability, workability, and negative impact of the audit culture in academia have also been questioned extensively through theoretical exploration and building of analytical frameworks and typologies (e.g. Craig, Amernic and Tourish, 2014; Hall and Bowles, 2016; Harney and Dunne, 2013; Mingers and Willmott, 2013; Paradeise and Thoenig, 2013; Sangster, 2015; Shore and Wright, 2015a, b; Tourish and Willmott, 2015).

There are advantages of qualitative research for exploring the effects of new public management in academia as it is concerned with words, experiences and interpretations of social actors and focuses on daily events and context (Barbour, 2008) instead of quantification (Bryman, 2012). Academia is experiencing significant changes (Berg et al, 2016; Bleiklie et al, 2011; Murphy and Sage, 2014) in functioning, funding and quality control mechanisms, which impact on institutions, academic careers and identities (e.g. Clarke et al, 2012). A deep understanding of their effects can be achieved by shedding light on the context and the perceived and documented changes that are shaping the lives and careers of academics. A qualitative approach allows for exploration of individuals' understanding of what is happening in their lives and of any discrepancies between concepts and their experiences (Barbour, 2008). For example, in this study I am looking into policy documents and institutional discourses of merit, achievements and reward, as well as how individuals perceive them and to what extent these are accepted, internalized, and acted upon. I am also interested in mechanisms of precarity and not in the number of academics already on precarious contracts. Such explorations are not likely to produce meaningful results with quantitative methods as these would not account for subjective experiences, interpretations and meaning making which are difficult to categorize and quantify (Saunders, Lewis and

Thornhill, 2009). As Kraus (2005, p. 757) points out, "meaning making actually occurs through qualitative data analysis". This study contributes to understanding of the important changes in academia through individual narratives of academics who perceive them in certain ways in a reality experienced differently by each of them, and qualitative research enables the exploration of their lived experiences (Sixsmith, Boneham and Goldring, 2003). Furthermore, "qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world" and "study things in the natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p.3). It is also viewed by some authors as generating richer data (Robson, 2002) as the data collection focuses on meaning for individuals instead of standardization (Saunders et al, 2009).

4.3.2   Evolution of the intended comparative design

My initial intention was to compare academic careers in Business Schools in France, the UK and Sweden. However, I quickly realized that I would encounter practical difficulties to conduct research in three countries. As a PhD student with limited financial resources and timeframe to complete my research, I would have struggled with deadlines and travel for organizing, conducting and transcribing the intended number of interviews. After consulting with my supervisors, I decided to focus on the UK and French Business Schools. Both the UK and France are developed Western European countries with advanced Higher Education systems which are experiencing growing student numbers and a neo-liberal drive towards a utilitarian vision of the role of Higher Education (Altbach et al, 2009; Broadbent, 2011; Boitier and Riviere, 2013; Göransson, 2011) similarly to other OECD countries (Parker, 2011). Business Schools in both countries are influential on the international educational arena through, for example, the Financial Times ranking, or prestigious quality accreditations.

However, the two countries and their Business Schools differ in several ways, as seen from the review of the literature.

The following section will present and justify the method employed in the study.

4.3.3 The research method

It was beyond the scope of this study to explore the possible variations in the Higher Education systems in each country. For the purpose of establishing a basis for comparison, I selected institutions accredited by EQUIS and listed in the Financial Times ranking of European Business Schools. International rankings and accreditations of Business Schools are considered crucial for maintaining international reputation and attracting renowned academics (Paradeise & Thoenig, 2013; Sangster, 2015; Tourish and Willmott, 2015), and are therefore particularly relevant for studying the effects of global pressures versus national specificities on academic careers.

According to Bryman (2012), interviews are the most used method when conducting qualitative research. Semi-structured interviews present a number of advantages over structured and unstructured interviews:

[They have] "pre-determined questions, but the order can be modified based on the interviewer's perception of what seems most appropriate. Question wording can be changed and explanations given; particular questions which seem inappropriate with a particular interviewee can be omitted, or additional ones included' (Robson, 2002, p. 270)."

Researchers using semi-structured interviews have an 'interview guide' of questions pertaining to topics they would like to cover which may not be asked in the same order each time, but similar wording is used in each interview (Bryman, 2012). Semi-structured interviews offer flexibility and the opportunity for the researcher to probe further following a

respondent's comment and thus expand on what could shed additional light on the researched topic. This method allows deepening the understanding of a particular point of view.

Sampling

Unlike quantitative research which focuses on probability sampling, qualitative research and in particular interview-based studies tend to opt for purposive sampling, as it allows the researchers to access individuals whose various perspectives and activities are relevant to the researched topic (Bryman, 2012). Ritchie and Lewis (2008) point out that the objective of qualitative research is not representativeness of the sample but in-depth information obtained from units which reflect particular features of the sampled population. Purposive sampling can be considered as a 'master concept' (Bryman, 2012) comprising a number of different sampling approaches such as the snowball sampling (Patton, 2015) used in this study. Snowball sampling involves selecting a small group of individuals relevant to the study who could then recommend other potential respondents with the required relevant characteristics, who could in turn suggest other potential respondents and so on (Bryman, 2012).

In-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 45 male and female academics employed by Business Schools in the UK and France at all hierarchical levels in three departments: Management, Marketing, and Accounting and Finance (Tables 3 & 4). There are differences between academic titles in the UK and France. In the UK, all the academics interviewed were Lecturers, Senior Lecturers, and Professors, with the exception of a former Senior Lecturer who had to accept a teaching only role as Principal Lecturer just before the interview took place. In France, all academic are called Professors: Assistant Professor (equivalent to Lecturer in the UK), Associate Professor (equivalent to Senior Lecturer), and (Full) Professor. An Assistant Professor on a teaching contract but in the process of re-

negotiating her contract to include a research element was the participant in one of the pilot interviews. Purposive snowball sampling strategies for selecting participants were used (Arber, 2001) in order to achieve a diverse non-probability sample with no claims of representativeness but sufficiently varied to provide insights on the researched questions (Hornby & Symon, 1994). My approach was to provide the initial group I had identified with detailed information about the research and the type of respondents I was looking for. This allowed me to identify and reach the respondents needed for this study (Robson, 2002). I first conducted two pilot interviews in order to become familiar with the interview situation and to identify any potential areas of further probing.

Table 4 & 5 below list the respondents and their characteristics.

Table 4: Respondents in the UK

Discipline	Position	Designated as	Sex	Children	Number of moves within academia (last 10 years)
Management	Professor	UK, PM 1	Male	Yes	> 2 international
Management	Professor	UK, PM 2	Male	Yes	> 2
Management	Professor	UK, PM 3	Male	No	> 2
Management	Professor	UK, PM 4	Male	No	> 2
Management	Professor	UK, PM 5	Male	Yes	> 2
Management	Professor	UK, PM 6	Female	Yes	> 2
Management	Professor	UK, PM 7	Female	No	1
Management	Professor	UK, PM 8	Female	No	> 2
Management	Senior Lecturer	UK, SLM 1	Male	Yes	1
Management	Senior Lecturer	UK, SLM 2	Female	No	> 2
Management	Senior Lecturer	UK, SLM 3	Female	No	> 2 national, international
Management	Senior Lecturer	UK, SLM 4	Female	No	> 2
Management	Lecturer	UK, LM 1	Male	No	> 2
Management	Lecturer	UK, LM 2	Female	Yes	1
Management	Lecturer	UK, LM 3	Female	No	> 2
Marketing	Professor	UK, PMK	Male	Yes	1
Marketing	Senior Lecturer	UK, SLMK	Female	Yes	0

Marketing	Lecturer	UK, LMK	Male	No	1
Accounting and Finance	Professor	UK, AFP 1	Male	Yes	1
Accounting and Finance	Professor	UK, AFP 2	Female	No	> 2
Accounting and Finance	Senior Lecturer	UK, AFSL 1	Male	No	1
Accounting and Finance	Senior Lecturer	UK, AFSL 2	Female	No	> 2
Accounting and Finance	Lecturer	UK, AFL	Female	No	0

Table 5: Respondents in France

Discipline	Position	Designated as	Sex	Children	Number of moves within academia (last 10 years)
Management	Professor	FR, PM 1	Male	Yes	> 2 international
Management	Professor	FR, PM 2	Male	Yes	> 2 international
Management	Professor	FR, PM 3	Female	Yes	1 international
Management	Professor	FR, PM 4	Female	Yes	0
Management	Associate Professor	FR, APM 1	Male	Yes	1 international
Management	Associate Professor	FR, APM 2	Female	Yes	1 international
Management	Assistant Professor	FR, ASPM	Female	Yes	0
Marketing	Professor	FR, PMK 1	Male	Yes	0
Marketing	Professor	FR, PMK 2	Male	Yes	0
Marketing	Associate Professor	FR, APMK 1	Male	Yes	0
Marketing	Associate Professor	FR, APMK 2	Female	Yes	0
Marketing	Associate Professor	FR, APMK 3	Female	Yes	0
Marketing	Associate Professor	FR, APMK 4	Female	Yes	0
Marketing	Assistant Professor	FR, ASPMK	Female	No	1 international
Accounting and Finance	Professor	FR, AFP 1	Male	Yes	0

Accounting and Finance	Professor	FR, AFP 2	Female	Yes	0
Accounting and Finance	Associate Professor	FR, AFAP 1	Male	Yes	0
Accounting and Finance	Associate Professor	FR, AFAP 2	Female	Yes	1
Accounting and Finance	Assistant Professor	FR, AFASP	Female	Yes	0
Pilot interview (Management)	Assistant Professor	FR, PIASPM	Female	Yes	0
Pilot interview (Marketing)	Associate Professor	FR, PIAPMK	Female	Yes	0

Similarly to Gioia, Corley and Hamilton (2012: 17), I assume that individuals are 'knowledgeable agents' who make decisions and attempt to explain their thoughts and actions in a socially constructed world. The latter point is of major importance for this study as I am seeking to shed light on the importance of contextual factors for the career decisions of a privileged group of knowledge workers who appear to possess the characteristics of the free agents described in the boundaryless literature. The interviews were conducted in person, on Skype, and by telephone. They lasted between 45 minutes and an hour-and-a-half. All interviews were taped and transcribed. In addition, salary scales, data on workload models, recruitment, performance evaluation and promotion criteria, faculty CVs, the REF, and accreditations and journal rankings were collected whenever possible before, during or after the interviews and online, in order to gain additional insights on academic scripts, the related policies, and the impact on careers. I started with the analysis of secondary data, which I then examined using "the situationally, historically, and biographically mediated interpretations" of these by respondents (Van Maanen, 1979, p. 540). I first asked respondents to reflect on their careers to date, inside and outside of academia, thus giving them the opportunity to narrate freely on their paths and possibly share personal views on events and milestones which have been decisive to their careers. In order to gain rich insights of how they made

sense of their roles, transitions and identities in the academic context, I invited them to share their views and experiences of key subjects they chose to identify as significant for their careers (Cohen and Mallon, 2001), and of the importance of the rules and expectations guiding their actions. The full list of questions is available in Appendix 8.1.

The data generated open, descriptive first order codes which I then developed into "theoretically engaging second-order concepts", or "interpretations of interpretations" (Van Maanen, 1979: 541), thus applying "progressive focusing" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995) from descriptive codes derived from our data to conceptual codes crafted by us as researchers inevitably influenced by the theoretical knowledge gathered from the relevant literature (Weick, 1995). I organized the findings thematically in Chapters 5 and 6. Chapter 5 (Study 1) focuses on career transitions and precarity and Chapter 6 (Study 2) on identity construction of female academics. Tables 5 and 6 illustrate the First order (descriptive) and Second order (analytical) themes. In addition, a heterogeneous set of data sources which have not been produced for the purposes of this study were used, such as personal and official documents, Internet resources, and mass-media outputs (Bryman, 2012).

Validity and reliability

Mason (1996, p. 24) defines validity as conditioned by whether "you are observing, identifying, or 'measuring' what you say you are". The researcher should thus endeavour to achieve credibility and plausibility of their claims (Ritchie and Lewis, 2008). This study "reflects or assesses the specific concept that the researcher is attempting to measure" (Eriksson and Kovalainan, 2008, p. 310), and uses the relevant instruments and meaningful constructs (Wragg, 2002) which corroborate other studies referred to in the literature review.

Reliability, on the other hand, "is generally understood to concern the replicability of research findings on whether they would be repeated if another study, using the same or similar methods, was undertaken" (Ritchie and Lewis, 2008, p. 270). The scholarly discussion of the need for reliability in qualitative research ranges from considering it as unnecessary because of the interpretative and contextual nature of this type of research (Holstein and Gubrium, 1997) to prescriptions about how to make studies replicable by providing detailed information about "the procedures that have led to a particular set of conclusions" (Seale, 1999, p.158). Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) make an interesting point in suggesting that an increase in reliability might require more structured interviews which, in turn, could diminish the validity of the research, and therefore a possible solution could be a 'judicious compromise' (p. 153) between the two. This study dealt with this question by providing information on the research procedures and opting for in-depth exploration.

4.4 Ethical considerations

Kvale (1996) emphasizes the importance of ethical sensitivity when conducting interviews. The interviewee should have clear information about the research and its purpose, and receive assurance that the gathered data will be treated anonymously and confidentially (Kvale, 1996). Robson (2002) argue that researchers taking into account ethical concerns obtain better quality results as they achieve high standards of data collection. Trust between the researcher and the respondents is of paramount importance as a two-way relationship is established (Ritchie and Lewis, 2008). Cameron (1994) points out that 'If empowering research is to be done 'with' subjects, as well as 'on' them it must seek their active cooperation which requires the disclosure of the researcher's goals, assumptions and procedures' (Cameron, 1994, p23)."

Participants in this study were informed about the details and the objectives of the study and guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality. They were given written Interview information and consent forms (Appendix 8.2), and were invited to ask for further details before the interview. I emphasized that they could cancel the interview if they changed their mind, withdraw at any point of time during the interview, and let me know up to three months after the interview if they did not wish the collected data to be used, in which case it would have been destroyed. Participants were also asked to give their consent for the interviews to be recorded. All names were replaced with codes and any details in the responses which could lead to recognizing the individual were removed in order to ensure that anonymity is preserved.

CHAPTER 5

STUDY 1

CARROTS, STICKS AND SCRIPTS: CAREER TRANSITIONS AND PRECARITY IN UK AND FRENCH BUSINESS SCHOOLS

5.1 Introduction

Recent marketization trends in Higher Education trigger concerns about growing precarity of the academic profession in some contexts. Global pressures from reputational mechanisms such as international rankings and accreditations underpin the risk of institutional isomorphism and a possible convergence of academic career paths. Drawing from the collected empirical data, I demonstrate how context-bound career scripts, their validation mechanisms, and the margins they allow for individual agency variously shape permeable and impermeable career boundaries and condition the agentic behaviour of academics. I argue that the particular ways in which performance incentives and punishments are balanced in each country under supranational competitive pressures produce different results in terms of segregation and casualization of academics.

This study follows recent calls for a more bounded view of careers (Ituma and Simpson, 2009; Rodrigues and Guest, 2010), and for exploring empirically the interplay between career patterns of individuals and the context in which they evolve (Dany, 2014; Gunz et al, 2011; Inkson et al, 2012; McElroy and Weng, 2016; Rodrigues et al, 2015). The embeddedness of careers in national institutional environments (Mayrhofer et al, 2007), the interdependency of structure and agency (Giddens, 1984), and the contextual drivers and constraints to agentic behaviour are increasingly recognised as important factors to take into account in careers research (Grote and Hall, 2013). There is growing acknowledgement that careers are shaped

by boundaries (Gunz, Peiperl and Tzabbar, 2007; Williams and Mavin, 2015) and that contextual factors can reduce or increase the permeability of such boundaries (Grote and Hall, 2013). Consequently, scholars argue that career research would benefit from 'bringing back' boundaries in order to understand their role in constraining, enabling and punctuating careers (Inkson et al, 2012). I use the concept of 'career scripts' (Barley, 1989; Dany et al, 2011; Duberley et al, 2006b), which accounts for the influence of both environmental constraints and individual action on contemporary careers. Dany et al (2011) demonstrated the relevance of career scripts in academia where careers are still shaped by rules pertaining to the occupation such as the requirement to hold a Doctorate at recruitment and to publish in top journals to be considered for promotion. There is insufficient research on the particular career boundaries created in academia by performance management systems and practices, the extent to which individuals are able to manage their careers accordingly, and the broader impact on all stakeholders. I seek to enrich the growing research on the casualization of the academic profession in different contexts (Courtois and O'Keefe, 2015; Polster and Newson, 2015; Ryan, Burgess, Connell and Groen, 2013) by exploring its mechanisms of institutionalization through particular career scripts and by contrasting two different approaches to internalising international pressures and new public management agendas by Business Schools.

Drawing on institutional theories and scripts literature, I suggest that the enactment and the persistence of career scripts are contingent on their legibility, validation mechanisms, and the margins they offer for personal agency. The first, legibility, refers to the clarity of the environmental career clues specific to a given profession (see Dany et al, 2011). These clues include rules, set expectations, and implicit or explicit definitions of career success that individuals are able to read and consequently adopt certain career behaviours, voluntarily or

under various degrees of constraint. Validation mechanisms pertain to the way rules and expectations are reinforced both tacitly and explicitly within and outside the organization, with more or less significant consequences on the individual's career. Finally, my third factor, the margins for personal agency, designates how much deterministic power career scripts have in different contexts, namely the extent to which individuals can afford to flexibly interpret them for their career decisions.

The contribution of this chapter is to deepen the understanding of contextual institutional responses to international challenges and to highlight the implications for academics and Business Schools in the UK and France.

5.1.1 The convergence hypothesis

Arguments highlighting a convergence scenario for academic institutions worldwide multiply (Durand and Dameron, 2011; Marginson, 2008) against the backdrop of globalization and "increasing economic and political interdependence between nations" (Zajda, 2013: 236). Widespread quality evaluation instruments such as ranking and accreditations lead to intense international competition and to isomorphic pressures to conform to global standards of excellence, in particular for business schools which use them as a key marketing tool to gain prestige and resources, as well as to attract top academics and students (Adler and Harzing, 2009). These instruments reportedly foster uniformity and standardization, local differentiation is seen as unacceptable, institutions strive to copy 'the best' competitors through identical practices, and failure to adopt them could prove 'a costly if not suicidal strategy' (Paradeise and Thoenig, 2013: 191) for the institutions concerned. However, despite a common trend to convergence, research on national systems reveals enduring differences (e.g. Bleiklie et al, 2011; Musselin, 2005), for example between the decisive and systematic

implementation of performance measures in the UK from the 1980s and the more recent managerialist turn in other European countries where particular historical heritage and power relationships (Boitier and Rivière, 2013; Murphy and Sage, 2014; Paradeise and Thoenig, 2013) could undermine homogenization claims. The adoption of tools for 'formalized evaluation of quality' (Paradeise and Thoenig, 2013: 194) and the delegation of responsibility for judging quality to external actors and stakeholders (Whitley, 2011) are likely to differ between countries in form, extent, and deterministic power on careers. Individual country or universities interpretation of New Public Management and the solutions they come up with to deal with the new normative standards remain underexplored (Paradeise and Thoenig, 2013).

5.1.2   Insecurity and precarity in academia

Recent studies have addressed the role of neoliberalism and the audit culture for producing and aggravating insecurities in the academic profession (Courtois and O'Keefe, 2015; Knights and Clarke, 2014; Ryan et al, 2013). Scholars deplore the decline of tenure and the dramatic increase in the number of casual, adjunct, part-time and zero hours faculty which contribute to creating an academic precariat (Barnshaw and Duneitz, 2015; Berg et al, 2016; Burawoy, 2012; Ivancheva, 2015; Spooner, 2015). The phenomenon is spreading across countries with different historical makeup and traditions in their Higher Education (Göransson, 2011) and results from a combination of trends and factors such as significant increase of student numbers, reduction in government funding, and the pressure for research production (e.g. Altbach et al, 2009; Kallio et al, 2016). These developments unfold in a context of growing precariousness of employment in general which was further exacerbated by the persistent economic crises since 2008 (Berg et al, 2016). Higher Education institutions with traditional employment model of long-term engagement, secure employment and a career structure have been transformed into "organisations that resemble construction sites and supermarkets with

day and casual labour; short-term and insecure hires; seasonal and monthly fluctuations in demand; and a "floating pool" of contingent labour located on the boundaries of universities" (Ryan et al, 2013: 163). Similarly, Ivancheva (2015) notes that "the academic precariat has risen as a reserve army of workers with ever shorter, lower paid, hyper-flexible contracts and ever more temporally fragmented and geographically displaced hyper-mobile lives" (p.39).

Unlike most studies on casual academic labour which are concerned with academics who already find themselves in precarious conditions, I focus on those academics that hold regular academic contracts, and explore how career scripts shape precarity. I suggest that research on the link between career scripts and patterns of insecurity and casualization deepens the understanding of the ways in which institutions create, regulate, and reproduce precarity or alternatively maintain employment continuity. By generating and supporting career scripts of various deterministic powers, higher education institutions demonstrate the degree to which they internalise the market logic under financial and other contextual pressures.

Following Briscoe et al. (2012) who propose that career transitions are essential to understanding careers in general, I explore the effects of academic career scripts on desired, intended, constrained, imposed, and actual inter- and intra- organizational mobility of Business School academics in the UK and France. Internal and external mobility presume both accumulation of movement capital and individual agency to act upon individual's perceived employability in pursuit of career opportunities (Forrier et al, 2015). High employability could shelter individuals from insecurity in turbulent times (Lu et al, 2016). However, research shows that individuals encounter career boundaries which enable or limit their career management behaviours, such as demand-side constraints for career transitions (Okay-Somerville and Scholarios, 2014). Thus, I also look into the extent to which labour market conditions for academics are influenced by academic career scripts in each country.

5.2 Findings

Table 6 summarizes the collected secondary data and shows that policies and procedures in UK Business Schools are significantly more formalized than in France at all career stages. Research output is given high importance in both countries, but in France there appears to be more flexibility and possibilities for negotiation and re-negotiation. Bonuses for publications in France are an official practice detailed in policy documents. Performance evaluation and promotion in the UK follow explicit procedures and require from the academic to submit detailed paperwork, whereas in France they seem to be formal but less formalized. Overall, in most instances both the policy documents and the paperwork required from French academics for performance evaluation and promotion are shorter in length and less detailed than in the UK. Further, UK academics have duties expected from them as normal part of their job, such as grant applications, double marking and moderation, and participation in various committees, whereas in France grant applications are not compulsory and participation in committees is mostly remunerated at a generous rate. Internal mobility in the UK is predominantly institution-driven and from a position including research to a teaching-only position. Transitions from a teaching to a research position are hindered by time constraints related to pre-determined teaching loads which are usually spread throughout the year, and by exclusion of academics on teaching-focused contracts from REF submissions. By contrast, in France internal mobility is both institution and individual-driven. Institutions encourage academics on teaching contracts to conduct research and publish, and to apply for a revision of their contract and teaching loads. Unlike in the UK, teaching slots are mostly negotiable and can be re-organized to leave time for research and/or other academic activities.

Table 6: Policies and Procedures

Country / Policies	UK	France
Salary scales	• Public • Minimal margin for negotiation within the scale (up to Professorial level)	• Not public • Specific to the institution • Remuneration negotiable at recruitment & revisable after, incl. at the academic's initiative • Bonuses for publications
Recruitment	• Positions publicly advertised	• Positions publicly advertised • Unsolicited applications
Performance evaluation	• Pre-determined, reinforced with detailed policies and procedures • Formalized process • Extensive and detailed paperwork to complete • Major importance allocated to grants and grant applications • Personal circumstances with significant impact considered (e.g. maternity, illness) • Importance of the individual's proportion of contribution to co-authored papers	• Guidelines and general rules provided • Formal but less formalized procedures • Some flexibility and margins for a case-by-case approach • Personal circumstances considered
Promotion	• Pre-determined, reinforced with detailed policies and procedures • Detailed and formalized promotion criteria for each level	• Normally after a pre-determined period (e.g. 3 years) at a particular job level • Negotiable at other times if increased contribution in research and/or other areas

	• Extensive and detailed paperwork to complete with achievements at all aspects of the job • Major importance allocated to grants and grant applications • Importance of the individual's proportion of contribution to co-authored papers • Possibility to requests promotion based on exceptional achievements	• Paperwork to complete with achievements at all aspects of the job
Mobility between types/focus of positions (teaching, research, management)	• Mainly institution-driven and imposed • Between research and teaching-focussed roles if failure to produce research at the required output for the position • Significant time constraints for teaching only academics to do research and change roles • REF submissions only of faculty on academic contract that includes research responsibilities	• Institution and individual-driven • Moving from a teaching to a research role normally encouraged and supported by the institution, and mostly based on potential • More teaching hours if unjustified failure to produce research at the required output for the position, but other contributions considered (e.g. program management, new partnerships)
Workload	• Pre-determined, detailed, defined in the specifications for each level • Pre-determined teaching slots • Broader range of duties (e.g. double-marking, moderations, grants applications)	• Negotiable and re-negotiable • Normally a minimum of teaching hours attached to each job type • Additional teaching hours and participation at committees etc. outside the role specifications paid at a high rate (from about 6 times the national minimum wage) • Flexibility in teaching time slots to suit individual needs

Results from the interviews show that inter-organizational mobility is far more frequent and indeed rather commonplace in the UK (Table 4), with many academics changing institutions more than twice within less than 10 years. In France, by contrast, inter-organizational mobility appears to be rather infrequent at the time of the interviews (Table 5). Similarly to the UK, for some of the respondents in France the academic career was a second career after a period on a different career path, but most stay and develop within the same academic institution. As highly ranked Business Schools also recruit academics from outside France, the mobility of these academics seems higher. However, once they have been recruited in France, academics appeared to 'settle down' and moving between French institutions is far less frequent than in the UK. Those who move are more likely to leave for, or come from, another country. Further, in the UK sample, women appear to have mobility patterns similar to those of men, and in the French sample both women and men appear to have stable organizational careers (Tables 2 and 3). Several studies (e.g. Morrison et al, 2011; Wolfinger, Mason and Goulden, 2008) found that family and children affect the career of women in academia, and many female academics choose to postpone family formation and children (Sax et al, 2002), to plan childbirth for a convenient time ('May babies' and 'posttenure babies', Armenti, 2004), or to remain single and/ or childless (Acker and Dillabough, 2007). In the UK sample, only 3 out of the 11 female respondents had children compared to 6 out of 11 men. By contrast, in the French sample, only one respondent, a female Assistant Professor, did not have children.

The three factors which I argue shape the enactment and the persistence of career scripts are detailed in Figure 2 below: legibility of career scripts, their validation mechanisms, and the margins they provide for individual agency.

Figure 2: Factors shaping the enactment and the persistence of career scripts

First order (Descriptive) themes	Second order (Analytical) themes
The academic profession	*Legibility of scripts* • *New managerialism* • *Government policies* • *Organizational policies and procedures*
Performative pressures	
HR policies and procedures	*Validation mechanisms* • *External validation mechanisms and organizational policies and procedures* • *Prevalent discourses and strategies and career consequences*
Career opportunities and options	
Career strategies, decisions and outcomes	*Margins for personal agency* • *Career development options* • *Flexibility and negotiation*

From the respondents' accounts it became apparent that Business School academics entered the profession following a variety of educational and professional paths in both countries. The perceptions of what the academic profession involves were commonly about teaching, research and administration, as well as the flexibility it is believed to offer. Individual aspirations along these lines motivate the choice to engage in an academic career, as explained by academics that have moved from other professions into academia: "I wanted to teach", FR, APMK 3; "I wanted to pursue my research interests", FR, ASPMK; "One of the nice things about being an academic is that I can work from home", UK, PM 1).

As noted earlier, several studies suggest that performative pressures operating internationally in the form of competitive rankings and accreditations are increasingly affecting Higher Education in general and Business Schools in particular, and I expected these to feature prominently in the accounts. Both French and UK respondents referred to them. However, UK respondents talked at length about the dominance of publication output requirements: "You need REF-able publications…" (UK, LM 2); "…realistically these days, focus is shifting more towards journal articles, and given the dominance of the ABS list, more towards high quality journal articles" (UK, PM 1).

By contrast, French academics discussed the importance of the various aspects of the academic profession as well as the apparent lack of competition between academics with different profiles and responsibilities: "I started here in [year]… they looked into my background, all my experience… my teaching and research… We discussed what was expected from me in terms of teaching, research and administration, and what I needed to achieve for promotion" (FR, APMK 3); "It doesn't really matter what your profile is, what you have to do, as long as you do it well" (FR, PM 2).

There is a certain reported trend towards formalization of the research output requirements in France as well, but it did not permeate the accounts to an extent comparable to the UK: "…and this is something they are trying to increasingly… kind of quantify… and formalize" (FR, PM 3). Further, whilst UK academics talked about HR policies and procedures managing career opportunities, options and outcomes, French respondents frequently had only a vague idea of the existence of documented policies: "I think there is something" (FR, APMK 4). Instead they drew information from common faculty knowledge and from their employment contract: "I know there are 3 academic profiles which have various proportions of teaching, research and contributions to the institution [administration] attached to them… For example,

my contract…" (FR, APMK 4). Perceived career opportunities, related individual strategies, and career outcomes in the UK revolved almost exclusively around publication success: "I would say, if I had the publications, it would be much easier in my life, you know, the salary would increase and everything…" (UK, LM 2). In France, on the other hand, respondents narrated about the various ways in which an academic can make a contribution to their institution and receive recognition: "You can contribute to your institution in different ways" (FR, AFASP); "We work closely with companies to create courses that suit their needs. We have to make sure we attract the best candidates, and that they'll find the right employment after [graduation]… And there are awards for pedagogical innovation" (FR, APM 2).

5.2.1 Legibility of career scripts

In both the UK and France academics showed knowledge of the scripts guiding their careers and ability to easily decipher norms and rules in their environment (Dany et al, 2011), but the importance of context was evident.

New managerialism

Policy documents as well as public debates, for example in Times Higher Education (https://www.timeshighereducation.com/), underpin the high visibility and legibility of the recent managerialist developments in UK academia. REF-related criteria for judging the quality of the research produced in Universities, the submission process, and the outcomes are available online. The objectives of accountability are clearly stated:

"The assessment provides accountability for public investment in research and produces evidence of the benefits of this investment. The assessment outcomes provide benchmarking information and establish reputational yardsticks, for use within the higher education (HE) sector and for public information" (http://www.ref.ac.uk/about/).

Furthermore, academic institutions put in place highly formalized procedures for performance evaluation and promotion explicated in relevant documents using language normally associated with private firms (citations drawn from performance evaluation and career progression documents provided by the respondents): "The candidate will have an auditable track record of appropriate publishing… an auditable record of very good teaching and/or supporting learning…", "client-focused research" (Career Progression Framework, UK, University A); "Generation of executive education/CPD income from leading clients" (Criteria for Academic Promotions, UK, University B). Individuals need to complete extensive and detailed paperwork in which they are explicitly asked to provide information about all the aspects of their work and their contributions. This includes narratives about the nature of their research, detailing what they regard as their major research achievements, who are their key research audiences, and what is the impact of their research. Consequently, academics report intensified constraints on time, resources and their ability to carry out their work: "it's actually an awful lot of work to complete these forms, and it does take an awful lot of time…" (UK, PM 8); "It's such a waste of time. And that's on the top of everything else. You could spend, like, *days* doing just that" (UK, PM 1).

The latest development in the marketization of UK academia arguably would appear to be the newly devised Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF) which will broaden and strengthen the monitoring and accountability of institutions and their faculty. Similarly to the REF, TEF-related documents use business language when describing its purpose, requirements and expectations: "Creating a competitive market", "Market entry, quality and risk-based regulation", "Competition", "A new risk-based approach to regulation", "Levelling the playing field through deregulation", "Market exit", etc. (White Paper on TEF, May 2016)

Many respondents voiced their worries and resentment with regard to the TEF: "With the TEF, it's gonna get even worse. It feels like we have to justify everything" UK, LM; "I really don't think student evaluations are a reliable measure… They [the students] might have, you know, some expectations… to get what they think they're paying for. Or there might be some bias, some preferences for a certain type [of teacher]" (UK, LM 2).

Universities are called upon to deliver what is considered to be their mission by competing with other providers to deliver better quality products at lower costs:

"But there is more to be done for our university system to fulfil its potential as an engine of social mobility, a driver of economic growth […]. At the heart of [current issues] lie insufficient competition and a lack of informed choice […]. Competition between providers in any market incentivises them to raise their game, offering consumers a greater choice of more innovative and better quality products and services at lower cost. Higher education is no exception." (White Paper on TEF, May 2016)

New managerialism in French public universities has been formalised through the LOLF (Loi Organique relative aux Lois de Finance, 2001). It regulates funding to universities, emphasizes the importance attributed to independent assessment agencies, and underpins the Law on Freedom and Responsibility for Universities (Liberté et Responsabilité des Universités, 2007), and has prompted wider debates about responsibilities, accountability, and economic impact of higher education in the knowledge economy (Boitier and Riviere, 2013). However, direct encouragement for institutions to compete with each other is notably absent in the public discourse and policy on universities. Moreover, the Business Schools' organization, the Conférence des Grandes Écoles, "has taken the decision, on ethical grounds, not to release information which would allow comparisons or classifications of its member

schools" (http://www.cge.asso.fr/en/about-us/presentation) thus refusing to promote competition at national level even for institutions with far closer ties with businesses than the public universities. Furthermore, unlike in the UK, in France the need for enhanced accountability of institutions to various stakeholders, including the government and the students as customers, is not stressed.

Websites can be considered as artefacts of organizational culture (Bellard and Rüling, 2001), and as such, they provide insights on the message organizations want to communicate to their customers, other stakeholders, and the general public. Both UK and French Business Schools discuss on their websites what underpins the institutions' claims for international excellence, such as the quality of their professoriate (FR, Business School Z; UK, University D), and the recognition of their position as a major player amongst European and other Business Schools worldwide though international rankings and accreditations (e.g. Fr, Business School S; UK, University E). Unlike French Business Schools' websites, some of UK institutions' online mission statements openly express commitment to "provid[ing] a return on investment for students" (UK, University D) and following a "corporate plan" (UK, University F).

Government policies

In the UK, the government allocates funding for research excellence through the REF:

"The four higher education funding bodies will use the assessment outcomes to inform the selective allocation of their grant for research to the institutions which they fund, with effect from 2015-16." (http://www.ref.ac.uk/about/).

This compels universities to compete with each other through recruitment and promotion of academics with enhanced research profiles, thereby emphasizing research output as a priority: "So everybody is expected to have […] publications, and the best publications they possibly

can, because the university funding, you know, is based upon how many people we submit, who are research active…" (UK, PM 4); "It's simple, really. Publications bring money [to the institution]" (UK, SLM 1)

The Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF) will work in a similar fashion:

"As the body will have responsibility for the distribution of over £6bn per annum of public funding we will establish UKRI [UK Research and Innovation] in a way which we consider offers the best balance between scientific and academic independence and accountability to Parliament." (White Paper on TEF, May 2016)

In France on the other hand, funding of Business Schools comes from various sources, and government does not provide or manage direct funding. Indirectly, the government could influence institutions through legislation, such as the recent Loi Mandon (2014) and the COMUE (2013), but it remains the individual School's decision to opt for new forms of governance or new partnerships with other institutions. There is no particular mechanism which would compel institutions to compete for finances. National reputation coming from belonging to the historically prestigious Grandes Écoles (Élite Business Schools), and more recently international rankings and accreditations, influence the fees for students mainly through benchmarking. As some respondents commented: "We have our budget, we have bonuses… not like the Universities" (FR, APM 1); "As far as I know, we don't have financial difficulties. We are a Grande École, we have been around for a while now, we have our reputation, we have our accreditations, more students apply each year… So I think we are doing fine" (FR, PM 2).

Organizational policies and procedures

Career rules in the UK are quite clearly influenced by the REF requirements through university policies and procedures. All of the respondents were strongly aware of the REF requirements in terms of publication output and the related recruitment and promotion processes in UK academia in general and their institution in particular:

"I think it's quite sad that we see a sort of decline of the monograph… but I can see exactly why… universities are basically playing the REF game… because they know that *they* are going to be judged on how many good journal articles they show through at the end of the day… so they are going to pass that down to the staff and look at the journal articles they produce…" (UK, PM 7)

"Well, it's not a secret, if you look at the workload models and what is required to get promoted… of course it's all about publishing in those journals…" (UK, LM 1).

Individuals that moved to other institutions most frequently were self-reported or reported by colleagues to already possess, or are in the process of building strong research profiles as defined by the REF criteria. Institutions offer high salaries to attract star authors (Clarke et al, 2012). Academics appear to have used their 'REF-ability' in the negotiation process with Schools to obtain better financial and benefits conditions and/or customized workload models, especially at Professorial level: "I had the right publications for the REF… they contacted me… and I could negotiate" (UK, PM 3); "You look around to see what's on offer… If you've got what they ask for, you negotiate" (UK, PM 1).

There is a high level of understanding regarding which journals should be targeted for career development and promotion purposes:

"The way it works is each subject area nominates […] journals as its 'A' list […]. Each subject area also nominates a similar number of [specialist] journals which are seen as

important but not quite as important as 'A' journals. These are then the 'target' journals for faculty to aim at." (UK, PM 2)

Furthermore, major importance is also attributed to successful grant applications, as pointed out by respondents: "And then, you see, we have to apply for funding… to bring money to the Business School… God knows how many hours I've spent on writing the applications" (UK, LM 2)". Grant applications are an integral part of the evaluation and promotion criteria of academics and can be a condition for passing probation or being promoted:

"The candidate has a sustained record of substantial income generation…"; "the requirements for successful completion of probation are […]: the Lecturer has applied for external funding […] to appropriate funding bodies as is consistent with the expectations of the Department/School and discipline" (Career Progression Framework, UK, University A)

In France, in the absence of an overarching validation mechanism similar to the REF, career scripts are created, decoded and enacted within the School. Research output features as an important element of the academic responsibilities, and is detailed in Faculty documents:

"The Research Department establishes minimum publication goals for the different activity plan profiles. These goals take into account the AACSB requirements for maintaining qualification." (Faculty Handbook, Fr, Business School Y)

However, respondents consistently accounted for the importance of the other aspects of the academic job, the flexibility and tailor-made solutions for different cases, and the holistic approach of their institution to recruitment, performance evaluation and promotion:

"There are some basic obligations for research, teaching and administration, but then we have various allowances, we can buy back or carry over teaching hours [to the next year],

we get coefficients for class sizes, for Executive Education … I even got my teaching reduced when I was completing my 'Habilitation à diriger des recherches' [HDR, an additional qualification allowing the academic to supervise Doctoral theses]" (FR, PM 1)

"If you show that you have performed well in everything [teaching, research and administration], then after a minimum of 3 years you can ask for promotion. But meanwhile you can ask for salary increases if you can show you have performed well in something, like creating a new course, or setting a partnership" (FR, APMK 3)

This is confirmed in policy documents:

"Bestowing [the] title [of Professor] is determined by the following four criteria: a) Research and publications; b) Teaching; c) Participation in management of Institutions; d) Competence shown in other professional activities. A candidate applying for the status of Professor must have carried out work judged to satisfy all four of these conditions during his or her career. Furthermore, he or she must have excelled in one of the first three specifications, and attained an internationally recognized level of competence in this area. In other words, the candidate must have significantly advanced teaching, theoretical knowledge or practical implementation in their subject matter, or more generally in business education." (Career progression memo, FR, Business School Z)

Policies and procedures for workloads and career development also exist, but there are significant differences with the UK in terms of language used and accountability expectations. Faculty responsibilities and career-related documents tend to be presented as guidelines and 'activity plans' based on minimum requirements specific to the academic profile but individualized beyond that:

"Each faculty member is expected to register for one of the proposed academic profiles for 3 years […]. He/she thus commits by themselves to achieving the objectives relevant to the chosen profile […]. Managerial contributions [are determined in a way as to achieve] a good overall balance [of responsibilities] of each permanent Faculty member […] and are taken into consideration for promotion" (Academic Charter, FR, Business School X)

"Specific adjustments can be made to the activity plan of professors, depending on the projects to which they are committed." (Faculty Handbook, Business School Y)

There is no obligation for passing probation or for promotion to bring money to the institution through grants, big research projects with substantial funding, or lucrative partnerships with businesses. External funding is appreciated and rewarded whether acquired through individual or collective effort. Funding of French Business Schools does not appear to be seen as an issue with consequences for individual careers, and was not raised by the respondents.

5.2.2 Validation mechanisms

In the light of the results, I distinguish between external and internal validation mechanisms of career scripts. The former come from institutions outside the individual organizations and set the rules for career development and behaviours in a given occupation. Formalized and institutionalized external validation mechanisms allow for a certain degree of transparency and accountability of decisions and actions of public institutions and bodies, as well as for greater visibility of career success but also of what is considered to be career failure. They benefit from high legibility which is aimed at a larger audience within and outside the particular occupation. Internal validation mechanisms of career scripts, on the other hand, are set within individual organizations, and might come under various forms: they might mirror and thus reinforce external validation mechanisms and/or occupational and societal norms,

reflect them only to a certain extent to allow for context-specific adaptations, differ from them, or remain vague and thus open to case-by-case interpretations and negotiations.

<u>External validation mechanisms and organizational policies and procedures</u>

Academics in the UK feel that they are required to continuously prove their worth to the institution and its stakeholders, and that all their activities are subject to scrutiny and closely monitored by Managers, Head of Departments, senior fellow academics, various Committees, etc. REF-defined research output requirements are directly reflected in the university's policies and procedures for recruitment and promotion. The degree of institutionalization of the REF as a validation mechanism of research quality and, by extension, of the quality of academics, is evident in the following comments:

"If you're good, you're going to get promoted, if you are not good, you'll find it very difficult if you're not REF-able". (UK, SLM 1)

R: What does it mean to be good, in your opinion?

"Oh, that's a good question. I think at X [institution] it's very clear what being 'good' means. Being good means having [the required] points for the forthcoming REF… and if you have not got [them], we will not consider hiring you or promoting you at this stage… or else, if you do apply and we think you're a good teacher, we might take you on but put you on a teaching only contract". (UK, SLM 1)

Some expressed frustration and perception of unfair treatment:

"[other colleagues] would not have contributed to the organization really in terms of the way I would think I have contributed to the organization… taking on responsibility of developing new teaching, when there are new initiatives to be started… a lot of that work I

have done, and that has not been recognized by the organization, not been rewarded… And they got promotion purely on their publications" (UK, LM2)

R: Have you applied for promotion?

"No, I haven't applied for promotion, no… because it has been very clear to me that I would not have been promoted, so I didn't want to put myself forward through that" (UK, LM2)

Promotion documents emphasize the importance of the type of publications:

"[for promotion, the candidate needs to show] an appropriate quality and volume (discipline specific) of publications of good quality which are listed as 3* or 4* according to the Association of Business School (ABS) list of journals and/or FT40 list of journals or publications which have similar impact." (Promotion criteria, UK, University C)

However, having REF-able publications becomes increasingly difficult:

"the journals are becoming more and more demanding in terms of technical expertise, so the time it takes to craft your papers and revise them (for top journals at least) is going up. Every school, it seems, is targeting the same small list of top journals, so acceptance rates are going down further." (UK, PM 2)

For many academics, non-compliance with the publication requirements often triggered uncertainty and anxiety about the future, in a context where failure could become publicly visible (Harley, 2004). To the question *Are there any consequences on the career [of not being REF-able]?*, the answer came unequivocal:

"Yes, yeah, very much so... The way that [the REF] works, it's, it's based upon publications… each person is meant to have a target of X [number of] publications between this research assessment exercise and the next research assessment exercise. And we look for people with four 4* publications, they're best… And if you haven't got those… then people start to express concern… and it's better for the university if you're on a different contract than research contract. So for example I've got a colleague, or a couple of colleagues who haven't got the REF submissions for this time, and so the question is, what should happen to them, because we don't want to count them as research active staff, so what tends to happen is… people might be encouraged to change their contract, so they become teaching-only staff, so that they are not part of the REF submission… and so… so if you are not performing in terms of your publications, then you just have consequences, you know, the worst could be, that you get your contract changed to a teaching only contract, so that you don't have any research applications". (UK, PM 4)

Many referred to the (highly procedural) reassignment to a teaching contract which was perceived negatively in the profession:

"anyone who [was] looking like they were not going to be REF-able was put on a list of people that they would start having meetings with… there is a disciplinary procedure… they move you to a teaching only contract" (UK, AFSL 1)

The scholar's worth is thus measured and the individual is rewarded or 'punished' according to their research output. Furthermore, a teaching contract appears to be of less worth than a 'research active' contract:

R: Is [teaching contract] equivalent to research contract in terms of career progression?

"Good question… Normally, yes. But it is far more unusual [to get a Professorship on a teaching contract]" (UK, AFSL 2).

Despite the apparently lower consideration of teaching, the pressures related to it are significant and growing:

"the message [previously] was, don't waste your time on teaching […] but this has changed… and you need to put time into achieving those teaching evaluations" (UK, LM 3)

Research output pressures are further exacerbated by the significance of first authorship and the proportion of the individual contribution to the research papers for REF submissions: "…you are asked how much you have contributed to the paper…" (Lecturer, Management, UK, LM 1). Performance evaluation and promotion documents require from the academic who is being assessed to detail their percentage contribution to jointly authored work: "[in case of] joint Authorship of Books and Articles – an indication of the size of the candidate's contribution should be given." (Progression and Promotion, UK, University D)

However, as some respondents commented, "the number of co-authors is also, understandably, rising as a result of these pressures [to publish in the same small number of top journals]" (UK, PM 2); "One way [to publish more papers]… is to co-author papers… you know, I put your name on my paper and you put my name on your paper, that sort of thing, and I know some colleagues do it… But then… that might not help that much because being first author is what matters most" (UK, LMK).

In France, in the absence of a public validation body, respondents reported lower levels of visibility of individual career paths and lesser perception that failing to achieve publication targets would trigger negative consequences on career. Thus, as one participant put it, "I may not have published, and I will continue my job. That's it" (FR, PM 1). The divide between

academics on research contracts with less teaching and those with more teaching is less striking: "Yeah, sure… Some do more teaching, others more research… it doesn't really matter. We do our job" (FR, PM 3) Academics on any type of contract are reported to volunteer for more teaching hours for additional income as these are reportedly well paid. Furthermore, other activities, such as the supervision and grading of theses and dissertations, and admission interviews with students, are remunerated separately:

"Supervision and grading of MBA thesis: (X hundred euros)/thesis. Supervision and grading of MS/MSc thesis: (X hundred euros)/dissertation. Admission interviews for Bachelor, Master Grande Ecole, MS/MSc, MBA degree programs: (X hundred euros) gross for a full day or (X euros) per candidate." (Faculty Handbook, Business School Y)

The CNRS list comprises also French language journals and thus broadens the options for publication. Interviewees remarked that research outputs are also valued, such as books, conferences, workshops, and articles in press. Similarly to the UK, performance is monitored and there are consequences on individual's position and career, for example:

"In order to maintain their status, every full-time professor with a type A [40% of time for research and contributions] activity plan must produce: on average, over a three year period, at least two articles published in a journal listed in the CNRS ranking; on average, in a three year period, at least one CNRS star per year. The two conditions are cumulative. […] Failure to publish in or to have an article accepted for publication by a peer-reviewed journal over a period of two consecutive years entails an automatic revision of his/her activity plan profile. These measures may also be applied when a professor has not respected his/her programme for submission of articles, by submitting no article in the preceding year." (Faculty Handbook, Business School Y)

The 'stick'/punishment element of academic career management in France is counterbalanced by a 'carrot'/incentive approach which rewards faculty members for publications and other achievements: "We've got more incentives than requirements" (FR, PM 1); "I feel valued here. It's not just the money, although I must say that's important… there are many possibilities to earn more here" (FR, PM 4). Bonuses are a normal institutionalized practice:

"A significant percentage of the Research Department's budget is used for incentives: bonuses or additional research budgets for professors depending on their publications, and the position of their journals in a ranking established by the Research Department; bonuses and prizes for contributions beside publications (internal educational innovation, dissemination activities" (Faculty Handbook, Business School Y).

Academics receive bonuses for publications of variable amounts depending on the ranking of the journals and types of publication:

"…and you also have publication bonuses if you publish in FT and CNRS [listed journals]… [so] this is another way that you can earn more money […] even a bottom-level CNRS level 3 or 4 journal. There is a […] bonus attached to that" (FR, PM 3).

Bonuses are thus given for journals with lower ranking but also for other types of publications: "[bonus amounts] depend on the CNRS ranking of journals. And on the type of book or chapter we write. Research books bring higher bonuses than handbooks… And we get bonuses even as Editors." (FR, PMK 1)

Faculty Handbooks and career development documents detail the amounts corresponding to different types of publications as well as other types of contributions, for example research books, coordination of a book and introduction, chapter in a book, or appointment to the

editorial committee of a journal listed in the CNRS. Bonuses are also allocated for articles in non-specialist economic and professional press, textbooks, case studies and teaching materials. Notably, publications in French and other languages are also rewarded, either with similar or lower amounts to English language publications. Academics are thus given the opportunity to achieve their performance objectives through a broader set of outputs. Further, academics reported allocation of the same bonuses regardless of the co-authorship position and sharing of the bonus among co-authors in the same institution, which discourages competition and individualistic approaches to research: "If I publish with colleagues from my institution, the bonus will be divided equally between the authors, regardless of whose name comes first. If I publish with co-authors from other institutions, I will receive the full bonus" (FR, AFAP 1); "It doesn't matter how many co-authors… it [the publication] still counts" (FR, PM 4)

Prevalent discourses and strategies and career consequences

Widespread discourses and career strategies in UK Business Schools appear to reinforce career scripts, in particular under the influence of the REF as a validation mechanism. They are perpetrated by academic decision-makers, government representatives, and the academics themselves: "So, you know, we go around to each person, and say 'what have you published since the last REF, which journals are they in?'…" (UK, PM 4); "Well now it's more about *where* you publish… this is what they want to know" (UK, PM 5)

There were strong time and reputation-related elements in the accounts of UK academics which punctuated their careers and motivated mobility decisions. Interviewees talked about career strategies and decisions directly linked to the REF and the uncertainties it brought:

"I haven't been at [name of the current institution] that long… just moved over to a Senior Lectureship, so on the same scale, but I just thought I needed to get into a more prestigious university before the [REF]… because [name of the previous institution]… its position isn't that strong really… the status of institutions and the uncertainty about what will happen after the REF at the end of this year [determined my decision to move]" (UK, SLM 2)

Prestige of UK universities depends on their position in rankings and league tables (Mingers and Willmott, 2013). Belonging to a research-focused, i.e. prestigious, institution, provides a means to strengthen one's position against any post-REF odds. Inter-organizational mobility seems to have accelerated significantly during this last year of the REF exercise which was referred to as the best period to negotiate one's 'best deal' based on the accumulated 'REF-able' research capital. As a Senior Lecturer in Accounting and Finance observed,

"because of the REF… all those REF-able academics [are] moving between institutions for promotion and to negotiate better pay and conditions…" (UK, AFSL 1)

Academics who possess the necessary publications can decide to move shortly prior to the REF and negotiate their conditions, as their publications could be used by the new institution for submission to the REF: "Now [just before the REF] you see a lot more jobs and people moving around… So you can try to get a promotion… or move" (UK, SLM 1). Such mobility is facilitated by the REF 2014 Guidance: "[Research output] produced or authored solely, or co-produced or co-authored, by the member of staff against whom the output is listed, regardless of where the member of staff was employed at the time they produced that output" (Assessment framework and guidance on submissions, 2012: 22). The last institution that employs the academic during the REF evaluation period gets the benefit of the researcher's publications: "Each university selected which staff to include in their submissions. To be

eligible, staff needed to have been employed by the university on 31 October 2013, with an academic contract that included research responsibilities." (REF, 2014)

The type of mobility thus enabled by the REF was identified as problematic by the REF Review (2016) which recommended that research outputs should be allocated for future REF submissions to the institution where they were generated.

Many respondents, who could afford to 'play by the rules', appeared willing to do so, or recognized the benefits of doing so:

"now, basically, if you are REF-able, you will get promoted, and if you don't get promoted in your home department, or if you are badly treated in your department, you have a very good defence, which is to go… because you *will* get appointed elsewhere" (UK, PM 4).

Under the REF induced pressure, institutions look for ways to achieve the best possible results and thus secure or improve their reputation, obtain government funding, and attract more fee-paying students who reportedly prefer to choose higher-ranked universities for their studies. A report by the University and College Union (2013) just before the REF 2014 revealed the strategies Universities were adopting to improve their REF scores:

"More than 10 per cent of academics at eight UK universities have been told that failure to meet their institution's expectations on producing work for the research excellence framework will lead to redundancy […]. In recent weeks, Times Higher Education has highlighted several examples of what critics have described as draconian treatment of non-submitted academics […]. Denial of promotion, transfer to inferior terms and conditions, to expect to be moved to teaching-focused contracts. Academics have been told to expect

"capability procedures" to address underperformance. Across the sector, 53 per cent of respondents fear losing their jobs if they fail to meet REF criteria." (UCU, 2013)

Until the last REF (2014) the institutions were allowed to choose which academics to submit for assessment, as pointed out by some respondents: "Of course they wouldn't consider me [for the REF]… I'm not considered research active you see" (UK, AFSL 2). However, this practice might change following the recommendations formulated in the REF Review (2016).

Respondents in France did not refer to any particular prevalent discourse or institutional strategy which would put pressure on academics to produce results against a common frame of reference. In a context of a significant individualization of careers, academics seemed to follow their own career plan in partnership rather than antagonism with their institution: "I think we have a good atmosphere here. I have worked for private [companies] and I can tell you, it's not everywhere like that, there is a lot more pressure" (FR, PMK 1). Mobility for career enhancement was not referred to as a viable option as both female and male academics thought moving between institutions was 'disruptive' for family life: "My partner has his job here and my children like their school, we have many friends in the neighborhood… Moving is disruptive" (FR, APMK 3); "I was commuting 3 times a week [whilst completing my PhD]… It was exhausting… But now that we moved here, we'll stay put, we are not moving anywhere. We are lucky to have our jobs here. It is also easier to have kids when you are settled down. We've been talking about this lately" (FR, ASPMK). Furthermore, unlike the UK where universities are scattered across the country, Business Schools in France outside Paris are generally not perceived to be located within commutable distance ("where we are, there are no other schools I could commute to", FR, APMK 1). These comments were corroborated in several accounts as demonstrated further in this chapter. One notable exception was an Associate Professor in Accounting and Finance who moved to another

institution because of what she considered an attempt by the institution to influence the direction of her research: "They didn't seem to like what I was researching […], this was demotivating. You see, Accounting and Finance is often seen as a quantitative field, and I was doing qualitative [research]" (FR, AFAP 2)

5.2.3 Margins for personal agency

The respondents' accounts differed in the two countries as to the degree to which career scripts were perceived to allow individuals to make career decisions which suit their needs and career aspirations.

Career development options

In the UK, the most viable option for those in possession of the right publications appears to be moving to another institution to boost their career and income: "of course it's good for my career to be able to move around, many people do it, that's how it is, [how] you can get what you want" (UK, PM 3); "I moved around a fair bit, it helped my career" (UK, SLM 3) The main factor facilitating inter-organizational mobility is the transferability of the research capital of the academics from one institution to another (The REF Review, 2016), and external applicants are reportedly held in higher regard by institutions:

"…internal promotions take forever, I think I gained a lot from moving. I would say that institutions rather sadly tend to assume that externals are better and internals are useless, often unfairly… and it is easier to get a promotion applying from outside" (UK, AFSL 2).

"So, I had to go… eventually, I had to move out to get promoted, which, again, isn't that an uncommon a story… in a lot of organizations, Management Schools, Business

Schools, you hear that it's actually more difficult to be promoted internally, so it's sort of easier to get promotion if you apply for a job at a different institution" (UK, SLM 2)

"I'm sure you'd have heard that from many other people but I don't think that universities are particularly good at promoting their own staff, and you often hear of obviously people moving for promotion, and you know, Y [institution] is a very good School, they offered me a Professorship and I thought, I'm not gonna get it at X [my current institution], I didn't even try to negotiate" (UK, PM 5)

R: So is mobility important for career progression?

"Yes, I suppose it is. Yeah. I think, certainly, as I look around myself, at X [institution] there are many people that all move in order to get promoted" (UK, PM 5).

Grants obtained by academics are also transferrable to the new institution (Tartari and Di Lorenzo, 2014). Within a regulated profession with explicit and publicly visible rules, inter-organizational mobility appears as a workable option, and often the only way to negotiate better financial and career conditions. By contrast, those who do not possess such capital face the risk of seeing their career develop in a less prestigious path, or losing their job.

In France, on the other hand, respondents did not refer to inter-organizational mobility as a viable option for career progression in French Business Schools, and even believed that it was viewed negatively in the profession as a sign of instability and unreliableness:

"If you move between institutions you would be considered as unreliable and unstable… Institutions would be reluctant to recruit someone who moves frequently… they would have doubts about the motives behind and think he or she would move again… so why bother to recruit them?" (FR, APMK 2)

"This is extremely rare. It is a very tight market and we are aware of all moves. Perhaps this could be feasible for younger employees without family constraints, or when children are much older, but once you are established and have a family, you are reluctant to move. Moves are unlikely and difficult to envisage" (FR, AFP 2)One respondent suggested that this might be changing, but insisted that this new development was not positive: "There is a beginning of a trend, the 'mercenaries' as they are called, who change institutions… as a recruiter I would find this puzzling. I view this negatively" (FR, PM 4).

<u>Flexibility and negotiation</u>

Academic careers in the UK are framed by very explicit and detailed policies and procedures which rule all aspects of the academic life. Up to Professorial level, academics are recruited, rewarded, evaluated and promoted into a profession with pre-defined salary scales, responsibilities attached to job levels, and workloads, with relatively little room for negotiations. Some respondents related own or other academics' experiences of internal negotiations for which the individual's REF-defined research capital was used to emphasize their marketability and potential for inter-organizational mobility:

"a lot of the time people figure out that the way to get promotions is to be offered a job externally and to say this so that your host institution promotes you. But then, if they say no, then you have to move… and this can be a problem for some because of family and commute." (UK, SLM 4)

Mobility at Professorial level can bring significant advantages:

"When you get to Professorial level, pay is basically by negotiation, and I'm not a particularly good negotiator, now I don't do badly because I've moved around in different institutions, and you tend to get a pay rise when you move… There is less room for haggling

at Lecturer, Senior Lecturer, and Reader level because you're on the official scale… but at Professorial level, there is a lot of room for haggling" (UK, PM 7)

To the UK respondents, flexibility was mostly understood as related to their geographical location and the possibility to work from home outside teaching and meeting hours: "It is a lot easier to commute as an academic, male or female, because you should be working from home a couple of days per week anyway, so… so it is easier for an academic to commute than it is for someone who is required to be in an office 9 to 5, Monday to Friday" (UK, SLM 2)

In France, on the other hand, although there are rules to organize academic life, there seems to be a degree of flexibility, personal initiative, and possibilities for negotiation with and within the individual School: "When we discussed the position, I said, given my experience [in the private sector], I have my expectations… I asked about the salary range and negotiated for the highest the School could offer" (FR, APM 1). There are no nationally negotiated and publicly available salary scales for academics in Business Schools, which provides significant latitude for negotiation during the recruitment stages: "The way I did it, I asked around what would be the salary for this position. It's word of mouth. You ask what you could expect, then basically you try to get that, or more if their range goes higher" (FR, APMK 1).

Similarly, further career and salary progression is subject to individual negotiation in which performance in all three aspects of the 'traditional' academic career are taken into account:

"Career development and promotion can be achieved through taking on administrative responsibilities for programs, projects, module electives, or heavier responsibilities such as head of department or Director of the School. These are considered as contributions to the School and therefore taken into account for career development". (FR, PM 2)

There are possibilities for career development based on other contribution to the institution as well, such as establishing partnerships with businesses and bringing funding to the School, and on accumulation of research outputs which are not necessarily in highly ranked outlets, such as books and chapters. In most cases, academics reported that they could choose the type of publications they would like to produce: "We choose what's the most appropriate way to publish our research" (FR, APMK 2). And because first authorship is not important for either bonuses or career progression, collaborations and multiple authorships are frequent within and outside the institution: "I talk with colleagues in the School or from other Schools that I think might be interested" (FR, APMK 4).

Flexibility is understood both in terms of managing one's own time and possibility to adjust and renegotiate one's output, workload elements, and type of responsibilities. Academics can also renegotiate their teaching-focused contract and engage in research, often at first through collaboration with colleagues on papers for conferences and workshops, or book chapters. In many institutions, every X number of years, academics can submit a request to undertake one route or another, research or teaching focused, and their application is evaluated on the basis of previous contributions and predictions for success in the proposed new route. As one interviewee explained:

"There are two career paths, research and pedagogical. Mobility between the two is possible and has already happened. If there is a *perceived* capacity of the person to achieve the research objectives, they can renegotiate their orientation, move to a research contract. They should demonstrate that they have contributed to research papers and that they would be able to publish in the next X [number of] years… Depending on their results, academics can also be asked to change path, in either direction" (FR, PM 3).

Institutions offer significant flexibility for adjustment and personalization of faculty workloads through various negotiable arrangements: "When I returned from maternity leave, I asked to work from home for a few months… So we've agreed that I do most of my teaching over 2 months in spring, and the rest the following year" (FR, PIAPMK). This possibility to use flexible arrangements is also stated in internal guidelines and faculty handbooks:

"The contractual teaching load may be reduced under certain circumstances: when a professor takes on administrative and/or pedagogical responsibilities; when a professor buys back teaching hours on a research budget or a chair; when a professor is ranked among the 10 best [name of the institution] researchers." (Guide to Teaching Load Requirements, Business School Z)

"Specific adjustments can be made to the activity plan of professors, depending on the projects to which they are committed […]: exemption from part of their pedagogical obligations, including teaching hours; transferring part of their teaching obligations from one academic year to the next […]. Institutional and program responsibilities are allocated to professors depending on the time each person has free from teaching and research […]." (Faculty Handbook, FR, Business School Y)

5.3 Discussion

The findings suggest that international performative pressures have different impact on academic careers in each context depending on how strongly and in what form they permeate national institutions, policies, practices, and norms for the profession. To the UK academics the way these audit pressures were reinforced and institutionalized through the REF and the related policies and practices in Universities took precedence over virtually all other aspects of their work. This is consistent with earlier studies on the effects of the REF which showed

that academics were aware of REF-driven changes in career patterns and of the primacy allocated to research and publication over the other characteristics of the academics role (e.g. Adler and Harzing, 2009; Harley et al, 2004; Mingers and Willmott, 2013; Whitley, 2011). The REF pressures are exacerbated both by discourses and the tactics institutions and the academics themselves deploy to meet research targets, with significant consequences on the careers of the academics who fail to comply with the publication requirements.

This appears to lead to segmentation in the academic workforce and a two-tier/class system, in which not only wages differ but also prestige and career prospects. Top academic managers are likely to become part of the gatekeepers securing the academic corporation's values, similarly to what is reportedly happening in Ireland where higher education institutions now employ more non-academic than academic staff (HEA, 2012: 110; see also Courtois and O'Keefe, 2015). Two main categories of academics on regular contracts emerge in the UK: those who are REF-able and those who are likely to see their career affected by non-submission to the REF. The 'top researchers' class of REF-able academics profits from the system financially and in terms of prestige and other intangible benefits such as individually negotiated work arrangements. The 'other' academics whose jobs and careers are under constant threat would include those on regular contracts who, for a variety of reasons, cannot achieve the required research output, as well as the casual, hourly paid and zero hours contract staff. As Spooner (2015) points out, "audit culture helps to cement the academic caste system in which only a few tenured professors enjoy the privileges of academic freedom in any meaningful way" (Spooner, 2015).

Regarding internal and external job transitions, both the supply side (the academics themselves and their institutions) and the demand side (the other institutions) in the UK create favourable conditions for inter-organizational mobility, but internal mobility is shaped mostly

unilaterally by the institution. Studies on employment turnover suggest that the decision to move to another organization is frequently motivated by negative perception of current career opportunities within the organization (Ng et al, 2007), and a belief that moving will lead to better income (Chudzikowski, 2012). In this sample, those who were undertaking inter-organizational moves motivated their decisions by the slow pace of promotion within the same institution and the availability of better opportunities elsewhere. REF-able academics can thus use mobility as a career enhancement strategy if they are willing to and unconstrained by the other aspects of their lives. UK Higher Education institutions proactively enable such moves by offering better conditions to those coming from outside. Thus, supply meets demand. Market supplements offered by many UK institutions to attract top researchers aggravate the class division but also require from institutions to commit resources to attracting those top researchers, thus affecting budgets and exacerbating the salary gaps between different categories of faculty. The formalized system of performance evaluation provides individuals with feedback on their level of employability (Fugate, 2004) and the human capital which could be marketable to other employers. The labour market for academics is knowledge based (Baruch and Hall, 2004), and publications in ranked journals increase the reputation of academics. Therefore, publications in such journals increase individual's transferrable research capital, which would facilitate mobility between institutions.

The clarity of the UK academic career script and the deterministic power of its validation mechanisms allow for use of individual agency by those who can afford it but impose often unsurmountable constraints to those who are unable to. The same script has 'provisions' for 'top' performers and staff considered underperforming according to clearly defined rules. Career development opportunities inside and outside the organization are only available to

those who follow the script, and only they are able engage in objective boundary crossing. The UK academic career script encourages career self-management and proactive career behaviour in terms of mobility, thus exemplifying the general trend in societies towards being 'on the move' in response to discursive mobility imperatives promoted amongst growing job unpredictability and instability (Loacker and Śliwa, 2015; for a review on mobilities as a contemporary phenomenon in work and organizing see Jeanes, Loacker, Śliwa and Weiskopf, 2015). The academic mobility imperative has different implications for different categories of academics, thus raising questions of inequality and of 'which (im)mobility for whom and when' (Jensen, 2011: 257). Academics in the 'underperforming' category see their career options limited by the paramount importance allocated to research for career development in their institution but also for satisfying demand-side preferences of potential recruiting institutions, given that they are not able to accumulate movable career capital based on the much sought-after REF-able research output. Contrary to criticism of organizational career which claims that individuals stay in the same organization because of fear of change or lack of initiative (see Clarke, 2013), academics in this category find themselves in a situation of "the choice which is not". They are in effect confined to the boundary of their institution and subjected to the socially constructed notions of inclusion and inclusion (Schneidhofer, 2013): they are 'out' of the highly performing and potentially highly mobile group whilst remaining 'in' a group with reduced recognition and career opportunities. Their fate rests entirely in the hands of university decision-makers whose priorities align with financial and market imperatives sanctioned by the government through the REF and the distribution of funding. This faculty is thus denied the right to "unforced movement", or "to be able to move (or to be able to voluntarily stay still)" which "is for individuals and groups a major source of advantage" (Urry, 2007: 51-52).

Therefore, non-REF-able academics seem to have very limited margin for agency. They could stay in their institution if they are not targeted by redundancy or disciplinary procedures, and run the risk to have their contract changed to a teaching-only contract, which would further jeopardize their prospects to do research and publish. The way workload models are designed appears to create significant difficulties for moving from a teaching to a research position because of the lack of time to develop a research profile and publish in highly ranked journals. Alternatively, the so-called 'underperforming' faculty could seek to move to a less prestigious institution in terms of research and with a greater focus on teaching. However, such a move is unlikely to allow them to pursue their research interests to the extent and level of output required by the REF in order to develop an academic career which includes a research element. All institutions play the same game and therefore, both academics on regular contract who do not meet the REF requirements and those on already precarious contracts run the risk of becoming victims of the "teaching trap" (Ylijoki and Henriksson, 2015) regardless of whether they stay in their University or move to a more teaching-oriented institution, as they would not have the time or the security to develop their research. As Michael Schwalbe observes, "…there is the practical matter of how much research and writing one can do while trying to piece together a living by teaching four or more courses per semester" (cited by Spooner, 2015). The way the rules of the game are currently set in the UK does not seem to provide significant margins for middle ground solutions, for example a second chance for non-REF-able academics to improve their output over the next REF period. Insecurity and precarity are pushed further by the forthcoming Teaching Excellence Framework through which teaching will be monitored and evaluated, competition between individuals and institutions will be exacerbated and the accountability of academics will be strengthened, as

well as by attempts by institutions to make securing grant income a core contractual obligation for faculty (Jump, 2015).

Notably, the particular form audit culture has taken in UK Business Schools exacerbates the flaws in the very notion of meritocracy academic institutions seem to be so attached to (Bailyn, 2003; Treviño et al, 2015). Beyond the segregation induced by the REF-related academic career script which reserves opportunities only for REF-able academics, thus creating permeable boundaries for some and impermeable for others (Gunz et al, 2007; Ryan et al, 2013; Williams and Mavin, 2015), there is a clear marginalization and stigmatization of academics as underperforming compared to publishing faculty. Mijs (2016: 14) argues that "any definition of merit must favor some groups in society while putting others at a disadvantage". In the UK, moving from a research to a teaching only contract is institution driven and imposed as a form of 'punishment' for failing to produce the required research output. It carries the stigma of 'underperformance' by common standards which are well-established and validated with discourses, policies and procedures. Therefore, both rewarding of success and punishment for failure are highly visible, and co-exist in stark contrast. Commenting on The Rise of Meritocracy (Young, 1958) in which the term was coined, Willets highlights the author's argument that "to lose out in a society because of bad luck is painful enough, but to lose out because you are assessed as being without merit is far worse" (Willetts, 2006: 237). Non-REF-able academics are singled out because the REF assessment process is designed to be transparent: academics are selected for submission or they are not, and their 'failures' are likely to be addressed by the institution through devaluing performance management procedures of which the UK respondents were well aware. As Morrish (2014) comments, "In some departments, these REFugees have been placed under various degrees of 'performance management', even though they may have produced quantities of excellent

research, as endorsed by international peer review. In other departments, harmony between colleagues has been replaced with antagonism as REFable scholars promise to scale the institutional hierarchy at the expense of those rejected."

Furthermore, marginalization and stigmatization are aggravated by the symbolic value attached to mobility (Urry, 2007) or the potential for mobility of top researchers. Demands for mobility increasingly affect professions and are an expected feature of contemporary careers in many occupational and organizational environments (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2005). Mobility is seen as a privilege for those who are able to make mobility choices and is praised for offering a rich variety of experiences and enhanced opportunities (Cohen, 2010; Jeanes et al, 2015). However, the normalising power of recognized career moves and paths shapes inclusion and exclusion patterns (Jeanes et al, 2015). As the current design of performance measurement tools promotes competition at all levels, the divide between 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' academics is likely to deepen. This became apparent in the respondents' various accounts which included relief and pride in one's success to secure REF-able output and/or to advance one's career through mobility, admiration for those who managed to produce the required publications and/or to 'move around' for career development purposes, resentment towards those who 'gamed' the system, sentiments of unfairness of the system, and high levels of anxiety about the future expressed by several non-REF-able academics. A common characteristic of these responses is the internalisation both of the REF-ability as the outcome to aim for regardless of one's personal circumstances and aspirations, and of mobility as the route to career development strategy. These have become the norm against which academics compare themselves and measure their achievements, quality and worth, and thus they de facto confirm the new way power operates in contemporary western work environments (Jeanes et al, 2015). Journal rankings (and, by extension, the REF which relies

on them), provide feedback and the interpretive schema people adopt to make sense of their professional experiences (Espeland and Sauder, 2007). Perhaps the most pervasive consequence is what Espeland and Sauder refer to as self-fulfilling prophecy, or "as processes by which reactions to social measures confirm the expectations or predictions that are embedded in measures or which increase the validity of the measure by encouraging behaviour that conforms to it" (2007: 11). Therefore, a by-product of the power of the UK academic career script and its validation mechanisms is the establishment of a generic human capital which is easily transferrable between organizations. Unlike firm-specific human capital which meets the firm's needs (Baruch and Vardi, 2015), academic human capital is 'shipped' as it is between institutions. This was taken as a matter-of-fact by the respondents and was not questioned in any way.

Furthermore, the reference group (Grote and Hall, 2013) of REF-able researchers acts both as a social driver of agentic behaviour to move elsewhere for those in possession of the required publications, and a social constraint reducing the permeability of boundaries for the rest of the faculty. These are imposed rather than chosen referents (Grote and Hall, 2013), and their influence through the norms and standards they represent can be positive or negative but contributing in all cases to growing inequality and insecurity in academia. The academic script in the UK thus creates psychological as well as objective boundaries in the faculty careers and working lives.

However, whilst REF-able researchers benefit from both the symbolic and the practical career development aspects of their (potential) mobility, there might be a downside in terms of such mobility turning into a normative demand and lead to self-defeating outcomes (Jeanes et al 2015). The sense of 'limitless possibilities' (Baerenholdt, 2013: 27) strengthened by one's power to choose to be mobile is likely to meet reality of how far such strategy can be pursued,

for how long, and what would happen if it stopped. As all institutions put a higher value to external candidates and star researchers play the mobility game, how the status and prestige of those who stay in the same institution would be affected in the long term? Furthermore, the 'top researchers' class is far from protected from the pitfalls of the highly uncertain system stretching its own limits. They could become vulnerable at any point of their careers for a variety of reasons preventing them for publish, including the simple fact that listed journals are under intense assault and reviewers who are themselves overworked by the same rules whilst being asked to work for free or being poorly rewarded (e.g. Shore and Wright, 2015). Considered in this light, the boundaries between job transitions by choice and those by necessity in UK academia appear to be blurred. Necessity is defined in various ways, such as "the state or fact of being required", "the state of being unavoidable", "a situation enforcing a certain course of action", and "an indispensable thing" (Oxford Online Dictionary), all of which seem to pertain to the situation in UK academia. Clegg and Baumeler (2014) argue that necessity can be both imposed externally and generated by the individuals themselves as they manage their lives and careers through mobility in the face of "an uncertain today and a precarious tomorrow" (p.43). Would a 'top researcher' move to another institution solely because they choose so in order to pursue their career aspirations and goals? Or, as I argue, the prevalent career script imposes mobility or at least the potential for mobility to maintain the reputation of the academic and prevent them from becoming what Butler and Spoelstra (2012: 893) refer to as "ex-excellent"? Perceptions of a 'mobility imperative' were hinted by respondents: "I think I might have been a victim of the fact that because I've been there for so long, people see you in a certain light" (UK, SLM 2). The risk of becoming "ex-excellent" is real and daunting in the light of the volatility of the publication process, the ever increasing delays due to growing numbers of submissions in the same small number of journals, and the

challenge to continuously competing with the small numbers of academics who are able to publish in top outlets. Some of the latter reportedly achieve so by aligning with the specific expectations of the journals, using 'tricks' and playing the 'publication game' (Butler and Spoelstra, 2012), and/or whose area of research is well known and hence invalidates the 'blind' reviews.

Regardless of such games, maintaining the required levels of 'excellence' throughout one's working life might be a goal which is difficult, if not impossible, to achieve, not least because other boundaries and constraints punctuate our lives (Inkson, 2006; King et al., 2005; Rodrigues et al., 2015), or simply because, as the respondents in this study commented, the chances to publish in those top journals are likely to diminish even further in the future (see also Macdonald and Kam 2011; Mingers and Willmott, 2013; Murphy and Sage, 2014). One illustration of the insecurity and precarity infiltrating even the researchers in the REF-able group is that those with personal circumstances which have prevented them from publishing to the required level of output are asked to provide details and justify themselves, thus bringing to the spotlight events which they might not feel comfortable openly disclosing with specifics, for example depression (Times Higher Education, July 30, 2016). These circumstances are then investigated, to various outcomes. Notwithstanding the discomfort related to the disclosure of sensitive information, respondents commented that having simply spent time on teaching, creating new courses, and pastoral care for students, is damaging to the academic's chances as these are considered part of the job and not necessarily as extenuating circumstances. Such devaluation of the efforts to excel in the other traditional aspects of the academic career and help students has left some respondents with frustrations and feelings of unfairness.

Concerns about uncertainty and precarity resulting directly from the audit culture are growing for all academics in countries which have implemented performance management policies and practices. For example, Ivancheva (2015) comments that in Ireland "senior academics, who contributed to the overproduction and competition, are also increasingly anxious about the bureaucratization of the application, recruitment, and self-evaluation, the brutal competition for short-term funding, and the excruciating income inequality between an ever smaller cohort of star academics and an ever growing reserve army of adjunct faculty. Against this background, a whole generation of junior academics is exposed to an ever growing casualization of labor." (p.41) Similarly, Polster and Newson (2015) point out that in Canada "an increasing sense of uncertainty and precariousness has begun to circulate even among faculty members who had become relatively inured to the effects of corporatizing policies" (p.4)… "precariousness is leaking into the work experiences of full-time, supposedly secure, tenure stream faculty members" (p.23).

Common features of all of the categories of UK faculty but the academic managers are the insecurity and precarity in which their careers evolve, although such precarity has variations in terms of whether it is current, likely, or potential. Current precarity concerns those on insecure contracts, likely precarity affects those who fail to produce the required research output, and potential precarity could affect academics who currently have the necessary publications but have no way to predict that this will be the case for the rest of their working lives. Although the latter precarity is hypothetical, it is realistic in a sense that it is a product of the way performance is constantly measured and the scores are reset at zero after each REF exercise. The 'Damocles sword' approach makes the academic career increasingly short-term oriented and perilous for all academics. As Berg et al. (2016) point out, the "expansion of precariousness" (p. 178) is exacerbated by the "production of academic workers as human

capital rather than labour" (p. 176). The authors pursue that "If human capital is simply something that universities invest in so as to improve their future value, they can just as easily decide to divest from human capital as well." (p. 178).

UK Business Schools use simultaneously the 'stick' approach towards their staff's ability to produce REF-able research output, and the selective 'carrot' approach towards recognition and inter-organizational mobility of academics as means to achieve REF targets and the related funding and reputation. Precarity as the 'stick' approach is arguably a neoliberal tool "to operate on minds and bodies as a disciplinary and disciplining practice" (Berg et al, 2016: 173) and the REF could be used to deploy institutional bullying (Morrish, 2014). The apparent anxiety in the respondents' accounts confirms that this is already the case in UK Business Schools. 'Failures' are punished and achievements are defined and delimited in a narrow, quantifiable way by the relevant career script, thus forcing compliance. The prevalent discourse is that productivity should be increased and research should be 'improved', 'reformed' and 'held to account'" (Morrish, 2014). Psychological and objective boundaries are thus created and boundary-crossing is made discriminative in favour of a group of academics. The objective career success of the others is made difficult to achieve because they are not given the opportunity to accumulate transferrable human capital and to gain professional prestige, and their wages stagnate. Being REF-able, on the other hand, provides recognition, legitimacy and visibility to the achievements of individual scholars, and defines what is perceived, willingly or reluctantly, as a successful career in a Business School.

However, UK Higher Education institutions could also potentially suffer from the pervasive audit culture and the resulting casualization of the academic workforce. Short-term gains might be made by attracting the current 'top' researchers, but on the long run institutions playing this game could face what societies with demographic concerns face: ageing of their

population of researchers, as well as shortages aggravated by disincentives and impermeable barriers for those willing to enter the profession and the country after Brexit, given the hostile climate and the devaluation of the pound it entails (THE, 10 November 2016). The demographic concern is likely to be the real challenge for UK Higher Education and there are signs that academic careers are becoming increasingly unattractive to graduates because of heavy workloads (Acker and Armenti, 2004), low, stagnating or declining salaries compared to other professions (Whyte, 2011; Huisman et al, 2002), the decrease of the autonomy and independence which have been traditionally considered characteristic to the profession (Altbach et al, 2009), and the "REF mechanism [encouraging] a narrow pragmatism; the only expertise is that involved in getting published" (Wells, 2013). The "shift in power from organization to individual" (Rodrigues et al, 2015: 25) materialized through inter-organizational mobility puts Higher Education institutions at the risk of losing key faculty as loyalty is no longer valued. Furthermore, as the managerial class continue growing and universities across the UK charge increasing student fees to invest in managers, vice-chancellors and luxury facilities to attract students (The Guardian, 3 March 2014, 15 August 015, 17 November 2016), there is a risk HE in the UK becomes an 'empty shell' (Hoque and Noon, 2004) with no or little substance, and thus lose its primary purpose to educate for the purpose to impress. Internally, if conditions of the third category of staff continue to deteriorate, the transmission of knowledge to students would inevitably suffer (Academics Anonymous, 2016). Recent reports in Times Higher Education (24 June, 15 July, 19 July, 24 October, 10 November 2016) suggest that there are signs that Brexit would only aggravate the situation. The UK is at risk of 'brain drain' as foreign universities reportedly offer incentives to poach top academics and academics turn down job offers. Furthermore, if the recommendations of the Stern report (2016) for the forthcoming REF are implemented, such

as non-portability of publications between institutions, mobility dynamics could change. REF-able academics accustomed to mobility and related negotiations might find themselves 'stuck' in their institution and potentially see their career stagnate. The current carrots/sticks approach could be further imbalanced as inter-organizational mobility incentive is taken away. It is unclear what would be the consequences of such development on motivation, internal competition, segregation, whether it would lead to shifting power to an extent back from the individual to the institution, and what would be the financial implications for all stakeholders.

A different picture emerged in the French Business Schools. Respondents consistently and knowledgeably referred to how their career would develop within their current organization, which supports other research suggesting that careers in France are still thought of in traditional terms (Dany, 2003). It was obvious that this career path was still available and helped respondents make sense of their working lives. It implied clarity and predictability which was appreciated by academics, and there didn't seem to be any perceived need for considering alternative career paths and inter-organizational mobility. Despite the reported trend towards formalization of the research output requirements in France, careers are not explicitly framed by external institutionalized and time-bound mechanisms of evaluation of the academic worth similar to the REF in the UK. There is no equivalent in France to the UK REF-ability. The rules guiding academic careers are legible but appear to correspond to what Gioia and Poole (1984) call a weak script. Such script provides information on the expected behavioural responses of individuals in given situations, whereas a strong script also specifies the progressive sequence of the responses (Gioia and Poole, 1984). The flexibility and variety of ways in which academics can achieve what is broadly seen as a good overall contribution to the institution, and the consideration given to individual circumstances, lead to highly individualised variations of career scripts. The REF process in the UK punctuates and frames

careers of academics in specific ways and thus acts as a strong validation mechanism by imposing strong regulation of expected behaviours as well as their sequence. By contrast, the most widely used CNRS list of journals acts as a weak validation mechanism for measuring research performance in French Business Schools as it does not directly and decisively determine positively or negatively perceived career outcomes and transitions.

Furthermore, although there was awareness of the potential consequences for academics who do not meet research targets, such outcomes are not made public and are therefore not stigmatizing in the same way as in the UK. Unlike in the UK where stigmatization operates at both individual and group level by imposing a non-REF-able label and the ensuing open designation of winners and losers, any change of an individual academic profile towards one with more teaching is mostly a private matter. Notably, unlike their UK counterparts, respondents did not show intense anxiety and fear of punishment. This is likely due to the fact that boundaries between different academic profiles are permeable and crossing them does not entail issues of inclusion and exclusion. In addition, the CNRS list contains French language outlets, which makes meeting research targets easier, and financial incentives for all types of publications and any ranking position of journals are motivating. Additional tasks/duties such as sitting at Committees, more teaching hours, and dissertation supervision, are remunerated as well. Therefore, in France incentives and punishments are balanced differently and the balance is individualized.

Furthermore, and in contrast to the UK, inter-organizational mobility is discouraged by the demand side (the other Higher Education institutions), but also by the attached suspicion of disloyalty and the pervasive stigma in the society of instability and unreliability. Furthermore, academics themselves do not see external mobility favourably because of the potential disruption it would cause to their family life. The negative view of individuals changing

institutions in France constitutes a barrier to mobility which, even if arguably largely subjective and 'constructed in the head of those people experiencing it' (Gunz et al., 2007: 478), as opposed to a real barrier to mobility, still affected mobility decisions (Ituma and Simpson, 2009). This view was so pervasive that it appears to have become a reality for the respondents, which happens 'when a critical mass of people agree that it exists' (Gunz et al., 2007, p. 481). Thus, inter-organizational mobility could be motivated by the level of appropriateness and indeed desirability of such career behaviour in a particular setting, where it could be seen either as the route to successful career defined by the norms for the profession, or as sign of unreliability and lack of stability. Furthermore, extensive or frequent commuting and moving house appears to be less common than in the UK. The latter may be partly due to differences in the market for accommodation in France, such as longer tenancies (typically 3 years, renewable for the same duration) and better protection of tenants offered by the French legislation (termination by landlord only allowed for reason such as selling the property or the landlord or his immediate family moving in, and is subject to a minimum of 6 months' notice by the landlord and 3 months to be given by the tenant, https://www.service-public.fr/particuliers/vosdroits/N349). In comparison, in the UK, typical tenancy is for 6 months or 1 year, is not renewed automatically for the same or longer duration but becomes 'periodic' and rolls from month to month, and the landlord has the right not to renew it without having to justify their decision

(http://england.shelter.org.uk/get_advice/private_renting/private_renting_agreements).

Buying and selling a property in France is also a longer and more regulated process (https://www.service-public.fr/particuliers/vosdroits/F15913). Inter-organizational mobility is therefore unwelcome for a number of reasons ranging from objective to psychological.

On the other hand, internal transitions and building a career within the same institution is enabled by multiple factors. There is significant flexibility of the rules governing different academic profiles. The opportunity to publish is encouraged by the institution and allows for negotiation for moving to a profile with a research element, even for academics with purely pedagogical profile. In the absence of competition between individuals required and reinforced by career scripts and validation mechanisms with financial and symbolic implications, academics seem willing to help colleagues to 'join the club' of publishing faculty. Institutions discourage individualistic approach by encouraging collaborations through allocation of bonuses to all co-authors regardless of their co-authorship position, and by not seeking to determine the percentage of the individual's contribution. Such approach allows for a mix of meritocracy in the form of recognition of individual achievements, and strengthened collegiality. This is in stark contrast with the UK and was already documented by Altman and Bournois (2004): "An incidental (but relevant) note on the order of authorship. Both authors are full professors in their respective higher education systems. Nevertheless they follow different conventions. For Altman who follows the Anglo-Saxon code, it matters to appear first, as that would enhance the perceived weight of his contribution; whereas for Bournois, who follows the French canon, this is of little consequence to his standing, hence he is second" (p.320).

A notable difference in the French system is therefore that in addition to prestige, there is a direct material reward attached to publications without the need to change institutions, whereas in the UK the material reward is more indirect as it is tied to the REF and related mobility decisions. It is also potentially delayed to match demand-side interest which peaks just before the REF exercise. The pursuit of employability through building movement capital through publications is not a priority for academics in French Business Schools, which

contradicts the perceived requirement in contemporary organizations to be 'on the move' (Loacker and Śliwa, 2015), especially for knowledge workers. This finding is consistent with earlier research in France which demonstrated that employees would prefer to stay in the same organization if the benefits from staying outweigh the benefits of moving (Dany, 2003). Unlike UK Business Schools which value external candidates and impose different degrees of insecurity to their faculty, French Business Schools offer favourable conditions to their faculty to build an organizational career in a stable environment with no perceived threat of precarity. Furthermore, unlike in the UK, academics in France are evaluated not only on past performance but also on potential which is discussed during the negotiation at the recruitment stage and at other points in time thereafter, including at the request by the individual, and serves as a basis for determining the individual academic profile. The individualization of different career paths and the permeability of boundaries between profiles do not promote the salience of a particular reference group (Grote and Hall, 2013) and thus allow academics to pursue their own career objectives at the desired pace. Internal negotiations appear to be the way to get recognition and advance one's career, and individual agency is enacted when academics decide to engage in such negotiations. The loosely defined but widely legible career script provides a framework within which individuals can benefit from a high degree of flexibility and make behavioural decisions. Academic careers in French Business Schools are thus internalized within the organization by scripts based on a combination of incentives, flexibility, and behavioural and career expectations within the occupation typical for the country. At the same time, interviewees clearly felt that they could exercise their agency and follow their individual choices as to the pace and the way to advance their career by balancing out the different responsibilities as academics, within an environment perceived as less

threatening and more flexible in terms of consequences, and where their personal constraints are taken into account.

Noteworthy features of the studied French Business Schools are their independence from direct government involvement and funding, their relatively small size (typically a few hundred to a few thousand students, with some having grown following mergers in recent years), and their free use of their own resources without the need to share them within a broader academic structure. This allows institutions to use discretion in their recruitment, career development and promotion decisions and exemption for external accountability. The comparative reputation of many of the institutions in our sample is built on their historical status as elitist Grandes Écoles which is nationally recognized as a guarantee for excellence in education regardless of their actual research performance measured against the new internationally established indicators, which points to ascriptive rather than acquisitive judgments of quality (Paradeise and Thoenig, 2013) and a high degree of localization as opposed to conformity to global standards. Benchmarking of both institutional and individual academic excellence is thus based on socially constructed criteria.

However, recent dynamic developments in the educational landscape and practices in Business Schools might push the latter more towards the UK model. Several Business Schools have merged in order to produce multi-campuses structures with larger budgets, critical size and greater visibility internationally, for example KEDGE and NEOMA, and the now defunct France Business School which only lasted about 2 years but had detrimental effects on some of its co-founding Schools (e.g. ESCEM which lost its right to deliver Master level diplomas, its accreditation AACSB, and its status as a Grande École). There also have been encouragements by the government for rapprochement or integration between Grandes Écoles and universities, e.g. the creation of COMUEs, which, if fully implemented, could

result in academic structures similar to UK Higher Education institutions. Some cases of excessive use of casual teachers (the so-called vacataires) have been challenged in court and the financial consequences for the institutions for not providing an open-ended contract to teachers for many years were publicised in press (e.g. Le Figaro, 28 August 2015). Furthermore, there might be potential negatives of individualized career negotiations. Some female respondents commented that men engaged to a greater extent in networking and thus could obtain a certain advantage compared to women when applying for promotion.

All the respondents in this study are academics who have been with the institution for at least a year prior to the interviews and normally past probation period. However, a glance at current job offers reveals that Business Schools increasingly recruit academics who have already established strong publications records in highly ranked journals, frequently from abroad, but also internationally-oriented French academics. Mastery of the French language is often not required as most courses are taught in English and French language courses are offered to successful candidates. On academic recruitment websites such as AKADEUS, EFMD and the French FNEGE requirements for a PhD or a Doctorate and for "publication track record in highly regarded management journals such as those in the FT list", "outstanding and ongoing program of academic research and publications in top-tier journals", "evidence of an ability to publish regularly in FNEGE or CNRS highly-ranked journals" are increasingly common, including for entry level Assistant Professor positions. These expectations clearly disadvantage early career academics who, given the current delays and rejection rates of top journals, would struggle to publish before they apply for their first academic position, and to compete with more established candidates for a limited number of opportunities. They could thus face impermeable career barriers to enter the profession, or diminished opportunities for negotiation which could result in heavier teaching loads.

Although inter-organizational mobility is still not considered by most academics in France as a career progression strategy, increasing reliance on per-defined research output expectations could, similarly to the UK, appeal to ambitious academics. Interestingly, the absence of nationally agreed salary scales and the widespread individualized negotiation at recruitment could facilitate such mobility at all hierarchical levels for those who have the right publications. Longevity in the same institution until now means that there are Professors from different generations, before and after the international rankings and accreditations started to gain importance in France. This could lead to tensions between newly appointed faculty for whom a PhD and publications in highly ranked journals are a pre-requisite, and those who have spent a significant part of their career and climbed the career progression ladder in the institution, some of them without a PhD, and under the traditionally collegiate climate where all contributions mattered. A sign of growing similarity to practices in UK academia is the fact that the historic quality validation mechanism in the form of recognition as a Grande École is increasingly paralleled by the drive by institutions to obtain international accreditations and to appear on international rankings such as the Financial Times.

Furthermore, Business Schools located in distant parts of France merge, set up partnerships, and open more campuses abroad in locations such as China, former French colonies in Northern Africa, former Soviet Union republics, and across Europe. Thus, mobility is likely to increase geographically as faculty are sent to deliver courses and to carry out other academic activities as required by their institutions. Although this mobility is limited in duration and is meant to meet teaching, research and administrative needs of the employing institution, building and promoting it as an integral part of the job could have significant implications for academics, especially those with family and caring responsibilities. Despite the high individualization of career paths, the requirement to accept assignments of various

lengths abroad could lead to a stratification of the faculty and a distinction between those who accommodate such institutional demands and those who would experience difficulties and/or are unwilling to do so as it could disrupt their family life. Such developments could potentially lead to even greater performance management and accountability, and related consequences on careers.

As pressures to publish grow and Business Schools seek international recognition, a new distribution of the different activities pertaining to the academic job could emerge, with some expected to carry out heavier teaching loads in order to allow star researchers to produce research publishable in highly ranked journals, thus prompting more transitions within the institutions. Furthermore, there are already signs that some Schools are willing to separate teaching from research to an extent by recruiting academics for positions dedicated exclusively to teaching and pedagogy-related research. Such positions are filled traditionally by part-time professionals with or without a PhD, and PhD students but recent academic job offers show a new trend to recruit academics with a PhD who are willing to focus on pedagogical innovation: "The preferred candidate for the position will hold a PhD, a French "Doctorat" or a DBA; demonstrate evidences of excellence in high level teaching in English and in French; demonstrate evidence of strong interest in pedagogical engineering, curricular innovation, creation and coordination of new courses; commit to the development of Management programs […]; provide leadership in the areas of teaching, curriculum development, student engagement and extra-curricular activities in Management; impulse and contribute to outreach activities to the broader practitioner community". It is still too early to evaluate any potential positive or negative consequences of such developments on academic careers and institutions but they reflect some trends hinted also by the UK respondents in this study.

Although financial rewards for publications are not new in France, a new competitive dynamic could result from the trends described above. As discussed earlier, precarity similar to the situation of academics in UK Business Schools is not a threat yet in France. However, the UK academia has been devising and fine-tuning academic assessment exercises for many years, whereas French Business Schools are rather at their débuts in the use of performance management tools inspired by neo-liberalism and international competition. It is therefore unclear at the moment whether the next years would witness a further push in the direction of the UK-style academic audit culture, a certain stabilization of the current situation, or a new development shaped by the distinct French normative and cultural context. Interestingly, there are debates and increasing questioning of the audit culture, as some Nordic countries are rethinking the rationale behind and the effectiveness of New Public Management in academia. According to recent contributions on the University World News (www.universityworldnews.com), in Norway there is a growing resistance to university reforms and the country is urged not to let itself be contaminated by the "English illness" with the REF described as "hell on Earth", the Swedish Prime Minister states that "The time for New Public Management now is ended", and there are suggestions in the Netherlands to opt for a more holistic governance approach based on 'confidence governance', or the 'public value' approach in public administration, where management objectives are reached through trust and legitimacy rather than through measurements and control. France on the other hand seems to be experiencing a certain (for the moment relatively slow) move towards prioritizing research which is for the moment not being directly recognized as such nor resented by current permanent faculty to the extent of the UK. It can be therefore speculated that the way individual institutions decide to manage publications imperatives, individual performance, and any resulting tensions would affect collegiality, careers of academics, and patterns of intra

and inter-organizational transitions, as well as the future make-up of performance management in France.

Figure 3 below demonstrates that scripts are thus not equally deterministic in different contexts and offer different margins for negotiation and personal agency.

Figure 3: *Academic scripts, reinforcement and outcomes in the UK and France*

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                        ┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
                        │ International rankings & accreditations│
                        └──────────────────┬───────────────────┘
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UK academic career script & reinforcement	**National context**	**FR academic career scripts & reinforcement**
- High legibility of a strong unique script - Strong validation mechanisms, external accountability - Imbalance of incentives & punishments - Differentiated margins for agency	- The role of the government - Employment patterns - Specificities of HE and Business Schools	- Legibility of a weak script & individualized variations - Weak validation mechanisms, internal accountability - Individualized balance of incentives & punishments - Individualized margins for agency

REF-able academics	**Non-REF-able academics**	**Scientific profiles**	**Pedagogical profiles**
- Individual recognition for achievements - Lower teaching/ administration loads - Higher salary & market supplements through external appointments - Agency through demand-driven external mobility 'Ex-excellent' potential precarity threat	- Blame for failure on the individual & stigmatization - Heavier teaching and administration loads - Stagnating salary - Likely precarity through imposed internal mobility to teaching only contracts & redundancy	- Individual and collaborative recognition - Lower teaching loads - Tailor-made admin loads - Bonuses regardless of co-authorship position - Agency through individual negotiation	- Individual and collaborative recognition - Higher teaching/ administration loads - Pedagogical publications required for some profiles - Bonuses for publications, committees, additional teaching, supervision, etc. - Agency through individual negotiation

──────▶ Permeable boundary   ┅┅┅┅▶ Impermeable boundary   ────▶ Influence

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5.4 Conclusion

This study compared the particular local responses to the 'one-size-fits-all' global pressures for excellence and the degree to which they are institutionalized as guiding frameworks for academic careers in Business Schools. It is novel in that it compares career scripts and outcomes for both individuals and organizations in two different cultural and institutional settings and in a field which, although subjected to intensifying international pressures, has been so far underexplored. Unlike other studies, this research does not focus on hourly paid and other insecure academic employees but on those employed on regular contracts. I looked into mechanisms for casualization built into seemingly meritocratic discourses and policies and argued that whilst common international competitive pressures have the potential to affect institutions and academics worldwide, national contexts determine the particular outcomes. The comparable presence of UK and French institutions in the Financial Times ranking of European Business Schools and the high number of triple accredited schools in both countries show that success of institutions and individuals, as defined by criteria justifying managerialization, are achievable through different routes and balances between incentives and punishments. My findings demonstrate that the same competitive pressures produce distinct results in different national contexts through context-bound career scripts and validation mechanisms. By exploring empirically these differences, I demonstrate that careers are not boundary free but are shaped by a complex interplay of norms and institutionalized policies and practices both within and outside organizations. Individual career agency is enacted within the limits of the occupational scripts for the profession, and careers are embedded within national institutional environments (Mayrhofer et al, 2007). Furthermore, I found that although international rankings and accreditations are likely to influence research output requirements and hence recruitment and promotion decisions in Business Schools

(Paradeise and Thoenig, 2013; Mingers and Willmott, 2013; Adler and Harzing, 2009), academics in the UK and France do not engage equally in competition and pursuit of individualistic goals as 'free agents' willing to move their research agenda between institutions to follow their own aspirations, as has been argued by some scholars (Baruch and Hall, 2004).

CHAPTER 6

STUDY 2

"ONE SIZE FITS ALL"? GENDER AND 'CONVENIENT IDENTITIES' OF

ACADEMICS IN FRENCH AND UK BUSINESS SCHOOLS

6.1 Introduction

This study explores the identity responses of female Business School faculty in the UK and France to the growing performative pressures in academia worldwide, and strategies they adopt to reconcile compliance with managerialist requirements and their own need for recognition and meaningful work in what is traditionally seen as a gendered professional environment. It examines the impact of performance management systems and practices on identity work in the two contexts.

Identity in its various guises as professional, occupational, organizational, managerial, social, collective, gender, etc. has become central to many studies in management and organization (e.g. Alvesson, Ashcraft and Thomas, 2008; Clarke, Knights and Jarvis, 2012). Research to date has investigated the social construction of identities in organizations, and the relevance of studying identities through the lens of the difference it makes, or could make, to organizations (see Ainsworth and Grant, 2012). A major impetus for studying identities comes from the notion of 'liquid modernity' (Clegg and Baumeler, 2010) which emphasizes the flexibility and unpredictability of the modern fast-moving world where identities are no longer secure, organizations are prone to rapid transformations, and loyalty is eroding, thus creating a more interesting but also challenging context for identities to exist and evolve. Ybema, Keenoy, Oswick, Beverungen, Ellis and Sabelis (2009) highlight the centrality of identity to organizational life as it helps make sense of issues and phenomena related to

gender, success, power, culture, status, etc. The latter do not happen in a vacuum, and thus Coupland and Brown (2012) recommend studying identities in context as crafted amongst tensions, negotiations, enablers and constraints inherent to the processes of organizing.

In a context of shifting academic discourse and practices from collegiality to managerialism and a growing focus on competition, external accountability, monitoring and performativity (Craig et al, 2014; Fredman and Doughney, 2012; Harney and Dunne, 2013), academic identity is arguably under threat (Kallio et al, 2016; Tourish and Willmott, 2015). Although studies have examined the impact of performance management on the identity of academics (e.g. Clarke and Knights, 2015; Ylijoki and Ursin, 2013), they have largely focused on a single country, and have rarely, with few notable exceptions (e.g. Barry et al, 2006; Parsons and Priola, 2012), specifically addressed gender issues. Comparing the particular ways in which performance management pressures affect academic practices in different countries allows for a better understanding of the importance of local orders versus global standards (Paradeise and Thoenig, 2013) and the factors at play in shaping identity work of faculty (Kallio et al, 2016). The unequal position of women in academia has been well documented across countries and disciplines (e.g. Duberley and Cohen, 2010; Maranto and Griffin, 2011; O'Hagan et al, 2016; Reilly et al, 2016), and claims for meritocracy, objectivity and fairness of the academic culture and practices have been questioned (Bailyn, 2003; Treviño et al, 2015; Van den Brink. and Benschop, 2011). Previous studies suggested that performance management systems in Higher Education impact more negatively upon women than men (Miller et al, 2011; Richard at al., 2015). Although managerialism and performance management in Business Schools have attracted scholarly attention (Clarke et al, 2012; Hitt and Greer, 2012; Mingers and Willmott, 2013; Rafols et al, 2012) their gendered effects on identity work remain underexplored (Reilly et al, 2016).

By exploring the experiences of members of a historically disadvantaged group facing growing performative pressures, this chapter builds on previous research on gender in academia and professional identity by investigating how female academics respond to the new realities these generate and/or reinforce. It makes three major contributions to the existing literature. First, it explores the identity challenges and opportunities for female academics of performance management (Clarke et al, 2012; Ylijoki and Ursin, 2013). Second, it investigates and theorizes the identity work women may engage with in response to these institutional demands as they navigate their careers in the 'male emporium' (Acker and Dillabough, 2007) under management control systems characterized by 'gender fatigue' (Kellan, 2009; Reilly et al, 2016) and individualizing technologies of power and the self (Clarke and Knights, 2015). Third, it explores the experiences of female faculty as they try to make sense of their position and career prospects and envision their professional future.

Gender is a fundamental organizing principle (Scott, 1986) which arguably impacts on other social identities (van den Brink and Benschop, 2014). Women face unique challenges as they must steer their careers through complex structural barriers and gendered organizational practices (Buzzanell, 1995). In this study I am interested in the place of gender in the new managerialist discourse, policies and practices, and how gender is lived under the constraint of new competitive pressures and enhanced performance measurements. I look into perceptions of gender equality by both male and female faculty in UK and French Business Schools, as well as into identity responses of female academics in the form of strategies they might adopt to 'overcome' their gender identities and re-balance their historical disadvantages. The audit culture in academia in general and in Business Schools in particular has arguably become a widespread phenomenon transcending national borders (Mingers and Willmott, 2013). In order to account for the embeddedness of career experiences in their

national institutional environments (Mayrhofer et al, 2007) I suggest that its impact on academic identities is conditioned by the relevant performance management systems and practices and 'ideal academic' imperatives in different countries (e.g. Cohen and Duberley, 2017), with specific patterns of compliance and resistance (Mangematin and Baden-Fuller, 2008). Gender and the related identity and inequality issues in Business Schools are important because these are the places where future leaders and managers receive unconscious messages about and develop awareness of the roles women and men play in organizations (see Shaw and Cassell, 2007).

The objectives of this chapter are: 1) to explore the power of performance management systems and practices in Business Schools in the UK and France to shape a 'one size fits all' academic ideal and a homogenizing organizational culture which transcend individual and collective identities; 2) to account for the importance of the specific 'performance context' for determining the way audit pressures affect academic identities in the two countries; and 3) to look into responses, strategies and negotiations of female faculty and the potential consequences of these for their careers, identities, and perceptions of self.

Drawing upon identity theories and institutional literature, I introduce the concept of 'convenient identities' as a product of rational choice between the undervalued gender identity of women in academia and the forcefully institutionalized image of the 'ideal academic'. I argue that the choice of the latter, or the 'normative self' (Harding, Ford and Gough, 2010), appears to be for some the 'lesser evil' even if this is notoriously hard to achieve. I suggest that paradoxically, in addition to recognition, prestige, and material rewards, identifying oneself and being identified by others in this category might help to resolve a host of gender-related issues for women in academia, as well as offer meaning to

one's work. I discuss the reasons for occurrence of such identity responses in the two countries and link them to specific context-bound gendering mechanisms of the audit culture.

6.1.1   Power and identity construction

Ituma and Simpson (2009) argue that career management practices reflect and reproduce conventions shaped by the particular institutional environment, which raises the question of which factors influence identities and related behaviours in different institutional contexts.

Identity concerns the sense of self and is loosely positioned between two questions, 'who I am' and 'how I should act?' (Cerulo, 1997). Work plays a major role in the formation of identity of individuals, and gives meaning to experiences and guidelines for action (Gecas, 1982). Social identity theory posits that individuals tend to put themselves into different social categories such as gender and organizational membership (Tajfel and Turner, 1985) which order the social environment and serve to define oneself and others as belonging to a human collective with salient group features (Ashforth and Mael, 1989). Through engagement with 'identity work', individuals actively construct their identity in social context (Ibarra, 1999). The concept "describes the ongoing mental activity that an individual undertakes in constructing an understanding of self that is coherent, distinct and positively valued" (Alvesson et al, 2008: 15). The aim of 'identity work' is to develop an aspired and coherent self-concept through a combination of personal and social identities (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003), and to gain social validation of the views of themselves (Petriglieri and Petriglieri, 2010).

Occupations have become major shapers of identity, and organizations 'a place where the self may become that which it truly is or desires to be' (Grey, 1994: 482). As power is a pervasive feature in organizations, researchers have examined its relationship with identity. Alvesson

and Willmott investigate the dynamics of control and identity construction in organizations, or "how organizational control is accomplished through the self-positioning of employees within managerially inspired discourses about work and organization with which they may become more or less identified and committed" (2002: 620). Identities are thus part of the game of power and the related discourses which can shape the decisions and choices individuals make (Brown, 2006; Coupland and Brown, 2012). It has been argued that some 'meta- narratives' built around gender and ethnicity may seem enduring and are influential on how individuals make sense of their selves (Coupland and Brown, 2012; Essers and Benschop, 2009). However, identities are subjected to multiple and complex influences which can trigger their alteration, such as insecurities induced by feelings of precariousness (Clarke et al, 2012), processes of organizational identification (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002), or pro-active organizational socialization tactics (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979) of 'sensebreaking' of the sense of self, or 'sensegiving' to provide meaning in conformity with the organization's values and image (Pratt, 2000; Pratt, Rockmann and Kaufmann, 2006).

Discourses of power produced and reproduced in organizational processes and practices shape the identities of individuals and play the role of both enablers and constraints in the enactment of these identities. However, individuals develop their socially preferred identities which can be gendered (Trethewey et al, 2006) or, I argue, become homogenized into a higher, seemingly de-gendered ideal which helps individuals to achieve a compromise between individual career aspirations and structural constraints. In many organizations, including academia, there is competition for limited advancement opportunities, which makes accomplishments more prominent than gender (Buunk, Zurriaga, Peiro, Nauta, and Gosalvez, 2005; Gibson and Lawrence, 2010). Further, the uneven gender distribution at senior hierarchical levels might prompt a different questioning of one's career expectations and

goals. As Gibson and Lawrence comment, "For women, this means that they are likely to be more concerned with 'How can I reach higher levels in this organization?' than with 'How does a woman, specifically, succeed in this organization?', although both questions are important" (2010: 1162). Furthermore, gender could matter less in the neo-liberal climate as performative pressures and the audit culture individualize responsibility, success and failure, and thus could potentially undermine the sense of collective gender identity.

6.1.2 The 'ideal academic' imperative: positioning women in the managerialist academia

Recent studies have explored the impact on academic identities of the new pressures to perform (e.g. Clarke, Knights and Jarvis, 2012). Publication targets imposed on faculty members lead to accrued competition to publish in a small number of highly ranked outlets (Keenoy, 2005) and thus allow only a few to succeed (Macdonald and Kam, 2011), as "prestigious journals reject 95% or more of submitted articles" (Gabriel, 2010: 763; see also Mingers and Willmott, 2013; Murphy and Sage, 2014; Sangster, 2015). As discussed in the previous chapter, these requirements provide indications of what it means to be a successful academic through more or less institutionalized and context-bound career scripts. In a context of shifting academic discourse and practices from collegiality to managerialism (Göransson, 2011) and growing focus on competition, external accountability, monitoring and performativity (Knights and Clarke, 2014), building and sustaining academic identity can prove to be more ambivalent and challenging than ever (Kallio et al, 2016). Ylijoki and Ursin (2013) argue that for those who previously saw academia through the idealizing lens of independence, originality and unrestrained critical thinking (Gabriel, 2010), this shift can be overwhelming as it makes academic ideals more difficult to achieve. Clarke et al (2012) suggest that the majority of academics became complicit to and positively embraced the

research and publications audits because they tend to lose sight of the boundary between work and leisure and to perceive their professional activities as a 'labour of love', despite awareness of the negative consequences of enhanced and pervasive quality controls. Such acceptance is arguably rooted in traditional practices and assumptions about the valorisation of the quality of teaching, research and publishing, and how they are created and disseminated (Keenoy, 2003; see also Clarke, Knights and Jarvis, 2012). Other scholars claim that the individualistic pursuit of research excellence promoted by the audits represents a continuity to the way scientific quality as traditionally understood in natural sciences and appears to extend to all academic disciplines to promote 'the excellent scientist as lonely hero at the top far distanced from everyday practices' (Benschop and Brouns, 2003: 194). According to Kallio et al (2016), the new realities can trigger either nostalgia of the past and criticism of managerialism in those who look back at historical notions of academic work (Ylijoki, 2005), or alternatively enthusiasm to embrace metrics to address past inefficiencies (Tienari, 2012), thus affecting academic identities differentially.

Academic socialisation processes impose acceptance and internalization of certain conventions, thus leading to reproduction and strengthening of power structures and hierarchies, and making more difficult any attempts to change the rules of the game supported by powerful individuals who benefit from them (Sliwa and Johansson, 2015). This is particularly relevant to gender relations and (im)balances at the workplace. Studies consistently show that men are still overrepresented in academia at higher hierarchical levels, and the image of the professor relates to men and masculinity as a proven success model (van den Brink and Benschop, 2014) across countries. The 'ideal worker' construct traditionally emphasizes primacy of work over any other aspects of life, and defines how commitment and competence in organizations are measured, thus leading to the othering' of women who are

judged against this norm (Bleijenbergh et al, 2013). In male-dominated environments, such as academia, the historical assumption that faculty have wives to take on the burden of domestic responsibilities appears to persist (McTiernan and Flynn, 2011). Furthermore, female faculty were found to be subjected to greater pressures to prove themselves and to publish from colleagues and line managers, and to avoid creative or non-traditional research topics (Miller et al, 2011).

Studies on career referents and social comparisons suggest that women may have lower career expectations as they compare themselves with other women who tend to be at lower levels than men in their careers, achievements and promotion rates (e.g. Sumner and Brown, 1996; Blau and DeVaro, 2007), but also when they "identify career referents at the same levels as men do" (Gibson and Lawrence, 2010: 1159). Gibson and Lawrence (2010: 1159) argue that the latter "occurs because men's expectations are bolstered by extreme upward comparisons, whereas women's expectations are dampened, perhaps because they see high-achieving others as representing a less probable goal". Notwithstanding such arguments, other studies suggest that individuals make upward social comparisons which help them to assess the range and upper limit of their performance and achievement targets. This is particularly relevant in Higher Education where there is notable lack of strong feminine role models (Lanier et al, 2008; McTiernan and Flynn, 2011; Peterson, 2015). Higher-level comparisons may offer a number of psychological benefits. A precise assessment of the achievability of the desired goals can inspire (Steil and Hay, 1997) and motivate by setting high personal standards for success (Huguet et al., 2001). Such comparisons can also offer guidelines for improvement, and opportunity to join a visible group of esteemed high achievers (Buunk and Ybema, 1997) and to belong to an 'elite' (for a review on career referents, see Gibson and Lawrence, 2010; Grote and Hall, 2013).

6.2 Findings and discussion

I organized the collected data thematically taking into account extant literature on gender in academia, identity work, and the effects of performance management systems on academic institutions and faculty, as well as the themes which emerged over time from the analysis of the interviews. This process allowed me to create first order descriptive themes which I then explored further by adhering 'faithfully to informant terms' (Gioia et al., 2012: 20) and generating second order themes (Gioia et al., 2012) through 'progressive focusing' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995) in order to gain a more conceptual understanding of my findings. I conceptualized as 'Gendered challenges to comply with performance requirements' the difficulties women encountered under enhanced performance management, and as 'Opportunities presented by performance requirements' the 'spaces within which academic women can achieve' opened up by these 'troubling transformations' Harley (2003: 379). I also identified Spillover between work and non-work which affected women's experiences and perceptions. These dimensions shaped the context of female faculty's identity work and thus lead to the identification of 'aggregate dimensions' (Gioia et al., 2012) as shown in Figure 2.

The following sections present my findings, starting with the female and male respondents' perception of the place of gender in their institutions. The participants discussed perceptions of the position and chances of female academics, stereotypes and assumptions, attitudes and discourses, workload, policies and practices, the ideal academic imperative, and personal circumstances, which I present with verbatim quotes. They talked about the challenges and opportunities related to performance requirements as well as how non work affected their professional lives.

Figure 4: The context for identity work in UK and French Business Schools

First order themes	Second order themes	Aggregate dimensions
• Exclusion from sponsorship, mentoring, networking • Expectations to prove one's worth • Gendered power struggles, e.g. for first authorship • Lack of recognition/discounting of challenges for women as a group to comply with performance requirements: 'us' vs 'them' • Low degree of visibility of inequalities • Disregard of EO legislation • Gender stereotypes & assumptions • Unfavorable workload distribution • Strong identification as a group within the institution • Animosity to performance management systems	Gendered challenges to comply with performance requirements	
Personal circumstances	Spillover between work and non-work	Context for female academics' identity work
• Gender inequalities attributed to societal factors/ personal choice/ different inclinations • Flexible workload & performance requirements • High levels of collegiality & incentives to publish • Confidence in the institution • Weak identification as a group within the institution • Acceptance of performance requirements viewed as 'clear' & 'fair' and of competition as 'natural' • Reconsideration of the academic work & priorities	Opportunities to comply with performance requirements	

6.2.1 Gendered challenges to comply with performance requirements

Traditionally, the academic profession has been viewed as one offering high degree of collegiality, autonomy and freedom, little control over the academic work, flexibility, job satisfaction, and prestige (Enders, 2003), as well as fair recognition for individual merit and achievements (Heijstra et al, 2015; Treviño et al, 2015). However, neither female nor male respondents in the UK emphasized job satisfaction or collegiality but instead talked about the REF and the increasing competition and individualization as direct consequences of accountability pressures. The only positive feature from the traditional view of the academic profession which clearly stood out in the interviews was flexibility. Both men and women acknowledged that this was a positive aspect of their work: "The good thing about academic life is that, teaching apart, we are able to choose our own hours" (Male, UK, PM 2); "It is a fantastic and flexible working…" (Female, UK, PM 6). Although academia has always featured a focus on performance (e.g., Bleijenbergh et al, 2013; Smith, 2008), performative pressures have become more specific with the REF, as discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. For example, the REF and the ABS journal ranking it refers to imposes the constraint to publish in particular journals which both limits the choice of research subjects and exacerbates competition:

"Specialist journals are [usually] not highly ranked. But in some fields […] they are the most relevant […]. We are obliged to target more generalist [highly ranked] journals where competition is higher and specialist research is more likely to be rejected." (Male, UK, AFSL 1)

This resonates with what Adler and Harzing (2009) call isomorphic pressures to conform which foster uniformity and standardization of the research output (Paradeise and Thoenig

(2013). It exemplifies the promotion of narrow definitions of quality and merit to judge academic work. However, as Śliwa and Johansson (2013) demonstrate, meritocracy is socially constructed as it "relies on an agreement as to what constitutes merit and how to measure it" (p. 4) produced by "extant power relations [which] always imbue the definitions and application of meritocratic principles" (p. 2) and further exacerbate gender inequalities. Similarly, Allen (2011) highlights the misleading way in which meritocracy is presented as positive, objective, transparent and reflecting societal values of fairness whilst reproducing inequalities through unjust distribution of rewards. Meritocracy focuses on the individual's accomplishments regardless of demographic characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, age, etc. (Deem, 2009) but it is decontextualized from historical structural disadvantages affecting different groups at the workplace. Also, individuals or groups in positions of power can play significant role in the definition and measurement of merit: "the fact that particular individuals have come to occupy high positions can in itself be seen as resulting from particular constellations of power and interests." (Śliwa and Johansson, 2013: 5).

Taking into account the well documented unequal position of women in academia, it can be speculated that women would view negatively the enhanced meritocratic discourse and performance management practices. Several studies report that female faculty in Business Schools felt more pressure to publish, stress, discontent with the publication process, gendered hierarchies and cultures, and fewer opportunities compared to men (Miller et al, 2011; McTiernan and Flynn, 2011; Reilly et al., 2016). Gender inequalities appeared to be invisible to male academics in both countries and the academic culture was viewed as gender-neutral: "Women face the same challenges and have the same chances as men" (UK, PM3), "There are no gender differences in our School" (FR, PMK 2). Some argued that more women are being appointed at senior levels in their institutions and considered this development as a

proof of egalitarian university culture, but also insisted on the meritocratic nature of such appointments: "With the right publications, anyone can advance their career, regardless of gender" (UK, PM 1). Women on the other hand provided more nuanced and often diverging accounts (see first order themes in Figure 4 for a summary of challenges). Whereas gender issues were readily discussed by UK female faculty, they did not feature prominently in the accounts of female respondents in France. Furthermore, UK female faculty expressed divergent voices, and their accounts ranged from second and first hand experiences of gendered stereotypes, policies and practices, to recognition of certain challenges, or denial of their existence. Most were vocal about 'traditional' and 'masculine' attitudes as well as normative and structural constraints which resulted in differential treatment of male and female faculty:

'I think there are gender differences. I've witnessed at [X] the new, young male being appointed to a Lectureship, then immediately senior males saying, oh, we've got to introduce him to him and we've got to take him to that, whereas you know, the women around were looking at this and saying, hang on, that's not happening to us, why is he suddenly being given favours, being sponsored really, mentored by senior males… You could be in all sorts of different networks but if they are not particularly powerful or don't have access to people who make decisions at a particular point in time… they could be supportive in many different ways but in terms of thinking about promotion, then, I think, you need somebody who sort of supports you and helps you and encourages you, puts you forward for, you know, promotion' (UK, SLM 4)

"I've talked about a lot of people, women in different Business Schools and I think, you know, having a sponsorship is the thing [like men have]." (Female, UK, SLM 2)

Academia appears to be still perceived as a 'boys clubs' (Reilly et al, 2016) characterized by a patriarchal support system among male faculty which includes sponsorship, mentoring, networking and provision of information (Bagilhole and Goode, 2001; Van den Brink and Benschop, 2014). Such practices are expressions of persisting masculinities in academia. Masculinities are understood as actions interpreted by actors and observers of gender relations as masculine, and can be performed by individuals ('doing of masculinity') or collectively ('mobilizing masculinities') (Martin, 2001). 'Mobilizing masculinities' has been theorized as "practices wherein two or more men concertedly bring to bear, or bring into play, masculinity/ies" (Martin, 2001: 588), and have a significantly greater impact towards 'othering' women and their contributions in organizations.

UK female faculty also described 'imperceptible' gendered attitudes and practices which, they felt, affected how women are seen and treated:

"It's kind of imperceptible, over time, and you don't realise it's happening at all until something, sort of, has happened… Well, there is, you know, it sounds like a bit of a stereotype but I don't think it is, that women's CVs have to be much stronger than a male's CV… and, you only have to look at, you know, statistics about the number of women who are at Lecturer or Senior Lecturer, and then women Chairs at Business Schools, so… there is a huge drop-off so something's happening there which doesn't seem quite right when I look around… the figures are there to say it takes women longer to get Chairs and to get promoted from Lecturer to Senior Lecturer is also difficult" (Female, UK, SLM 3)

Both males and females in the UK acknowledged the negative effects of individualistic behaviour and the pursuit of status-enhancing activities (Bleijenbergh et al, 2013): "You have to be the first author on your publications which can create tensions with colleagues" (Male,

UK, LMK). UK female faculty however also showed concern about the effects of competition between individuals on the already imbalanced power and gender relationships:

"So now [with the REF] there is the question, who is first author. But what if we contributed equally? […] Well, men are usually in a more powerful position so there is a lot more pressure on us [women]. So you see more men as first authors." (UK, AFP 2)

Some UK male respondents acknowledged that growing performative pressures might be more difficult to meet for women with caring responsibilities:

"As things are now, with the REF and that is getting harder to publish [in top journals], I imagine it must be more difficult for women to keep up with the [required number of] publications if they have family responsibilities" (UK, SLM 1)

UK female faculty on the other hand felt strongly about what they perceived as growing isolation and gendered challenges for women as a group:

"Before, it was already hard for women. But in the last few years… it's just publish, publish, publish, nothing else matters […]. Whatever else happens in your life you keep it for yourself and deal with it, especially as a woman, so that they don't see you as weak… And if you can't [deal with it], if you have to tell them…don't expect understanding" (UK, AFSL 2).

Unlike female faculty in France who referred to themselves as 'we' and 'us' the academics, UK female faculty positioned men and women in 'opposite camps' by making the distinction between 'them' and 'us female academics' burdened by typical gender 'disadvantages', thus showing an overlap between gender and professional identification: "Well, now with the REF and all that craze to publish [in top journals], it's a lot harder, especially for us [women], we have more stuff on our plates but they don't take this into account" (UK, SLMK)

For some UK female faculty this translated into painful experiences even during events supposedly under equal opportunities protection:

"When I was pregnant, it was horrendous… they were awful, […] they were really, truly appalling… I was working, I don't know, a 70 or 80 hour week, so I [got sick], and of course when you are pregnant, they are legally obliged to [review] the working practices. I went and told the Dean, I said look, I need you to reduce my workload, because I can't cope, and he said 'no'. I couldn't believe it […] I got depression largely because of the bullying at work which was pretty horrendous, and I signed off sick… and they carried on sending me work… [even] through [my] maternity leave. They really were absolutely awful." (UK, PM 6)

The non-interventionist stance reportedly taken by the Dean in this example signals what Reilly et al (2016) describe as a post-feminist social climate in which equality is assumed (Gill, 2011), inequalities are 'unspeakable', and the focus is heavily on individual agency for resolving what is considered as personal issues. Gendered practices appear to be obscured by the meritocratic discourse in academia. This resonates with what Kelan (2009) calls 'gender fatigue' which occurs in organizations constructed as gender neutral, and leads to placing the responsibility of dealing with what is viewed as isolated instances on the individual. Furthermore, as Harley (2003: 378) points out, "the 'collegiate' principles which have traditionally organised the academy have largely excluded women" because academia has always supported fundamentally male values and standards such as linear career paths, unquestionable commitment to work and 'a competitive display of masculine skills' (Morgan, 1981, cited in Collinson and Hearn, 1994). Caring responsibilities could jeopardize one's chances to produce the required number of publications between the REF exercises, which could lead to insecurity and precarity as described in Chapter 5.

Several UK female faculty linked these experiences directly to gender stereotypes and assumptions about how academic work should be done, and recalled events they have experienced or witnessed in which female faculty was not seen as fitting in the established masculine norms: "We don't have the networks, we don't get support, and we are certainly scrutinized more… And if something happens [which impacts on our research output], there you go, the stereotype [about women being less good and committed] is confirmed" (UK, SLM 3); "But I think it was bad because I was a Professor, and they simply didn't expect a Professor [to get] pregnant" (Female, UK, PM 6).

Other comments were more ambiguous and would not allow a direct association with gender inequality issues but were nonetheless reported by women:

"I sort of got stuck a bit… because even though I was publishing […] I think it was the [male] Head of Department at that time who for some reason didn't want to put me forward for Senior Lectureship… I think there are certain perceptions of what a Senior Lecturer looks like at [name of the institution] which, for whatever reason they didn't think I fulfilled" (Female, UK, SLM 2)

There was also a perception amongst UK female faculty that the supposedly gender-neutral workload models, together with enduring stereotypes and assumptions, resulted in women being burdened with more non-research duties than men: "The bit that the workload model can't capture is a lot of the extra citizenship… and I would suspect that on average women do more of those than men" (UK, PM 6); "[we are] expected to do a lot of behind the stage work, development of new programs…" (UK, LM 3). Heavy workloads, in particular because of publication requirements, seem to have become a pervasive feature in academia. The other

aspects of the academic profession, teaching and administration, are inherent parts of the job, even if they are not valued in the same way as research output:

"Academics get loaded down with work […] you've got lots of teaching commitments, you've got lots of administrative commitments, you do those first, then you do the research, so whilst you are working on those, you are not doing research, which is the last thing to get attention" (Female, UK, PM 6)

Some male academics in the UK suggested that if women had more teaching, administrative and pastoral duties, it was because they either chose to do so or were better than men in these tasks and therefore it was only 'natural', 'normal' and 'right' for them to do what they were 'good at', especially because women did not seem to mind. Males appeared to assume that women and men can get similar outcomes simply by complaining:

"When I think about it, I know more women doing teaching and student supervision and other stuff… But I think they do a better job than men in these things [laughs]… Now, I have a [female] colleague, she spends much more time with students and on those committees but she never complains. I know I would. So I don't know." (UK, PMK)

However, UK female faculty pointed to the pressures women were subjected to in order to accept what they were given: "You could say no but it would be seen as very uncooperative… I was advised not to do it." (UK, LM 3)

The latter comment illustrates not only the pressures on women to take on additional tasks but also their concern about being seen in a certain light and 'advised' accordingly. O'Loughlin (2015) comments that academia applies double standards when assessing men's and women's competences and behaviours, and from the participants' accounts this also appears to hold

true for work expectations. Academia is a traditionally male environment where male standards are the norm (Wilson, 2005), and men can be themselves without being judged but women need to do more to prove their worth (Treviño et al, 2015). Being seen as 'uncooperative' runs against established stereotypes about females and could prove damaging to one's career. However, conformity with such stereotypes leaves less time for research and diminishes the chances of the female academic to produce the required number of publications to be submitted to the REF without sacrificing time spent with family and other non-work aspects of life. Statistics show that fewer women were chosen for submission to the REF in 2014: "HEFCE analysis of staff selection for the REF showed a marked difference between the rate of selection for men and women. 67% of men were selected, compared with 51% of women" (The Stern report, 2016; see also HEFCE, 2015). Therefore, conforming to gendered stereotypes and assumptions could have self-fulfilling outcomes for women in the form of even more women assigned to teaching roles and even lower female presence amongst top researchers.

Interestingly, the assumption that women chose to engage in certain activities was echoed in the comments of female faculty in France. Whilst acknowledging the imbalanced distribution of male and female academics at upper hierarchical levels, female faculty in France attributed gender inequalities to different characteristics and inclinations of men and women, or to their own choices: "Women are less good at networking, it doesn't come naturally" (FR, APM 2); "I don't think women like to stand out or negotiate as much, especially when it comes to money or promotion" (FR, ASPMK); "I prefer to be more available for my children" (Female, FR, AFASP).

A major difference between the two contexts appeared to lie in the lesser visibility of gender bias in French Business Schools because of discreet individual arrangements and lack of

direct knowledge of who does what, when and how: "We sat down and discussed what I wanted to achieve and how I could achieve it. Everyone does this, so we have our own objectives" (Female, FR, APMK 3). Although open to homosocial bias (Göransson, 2011) enabled by the overrepresentation of men at decision-making levels, the opportunity for faculty to renegotiate tasks and workloads at their initiative without much visibility or without following common rules gave female faculty in France a sense of empowerment, fairness and agency regardless of gender.

An overlapping theme amongst female faculty in the two contexts was the perception that gender inequalities in academia were part of broader gender issues women face in society and employment, i.e. how 'things are' for women 'everywhere':

"I don't think there are any differences [in treatment] between men and women, apart from, you know, the general thing about work, when women have greater responsibilities for childcare, caring, more responsibilities outside work, so that leaves less time, but, you know, that's no different from anywhere else really… when you have greater burdening outside of work as well… it sets additional difficulties for women. But the university system is egalitarian. It's just the society system [that] is not egalitarian." (UK, PM 8)

"Well, yes, there are more men [Professors], numerically speaking… But you see it everywhere, in organizations, in politics… Maybe it's because we [women] arrived later, and things were already set up [for men] [laughs]." (FR, ASPM)

The respondents refer to broader gender issues in society and employment thus externalizing the causes for gender inequality and shifting the blame away from the immediate academic environment. These challenges are labelled as universal and therefore objective and the academic profession merely reflects what is framed as a pervasive and inevitable fate of

working women. Such a perspective has several important implications. It allows the respondents to see academia in a positive light as a place where women are equally valued and rewarded. In the case of UK respondents, such views might also help to deal with potential negative feelings of diminished self-worth due to judgements of failures as an individual in a context where meritocracy and the related centrality of the individual are heavily promoted (Śliwa and Johansson, 2013), whereas female academics in France could rationalize inequalities. Females thus position themselves as part of a segment of the population with salient group features (Ashforth and Mael, 1989) and consider gender inequalities as a shared challenge all women face. Notably, by acknowledging the gendered challenges faced by the group they belong to, they in effect accept the status quo without questioning its legitimacy.

Furthermore, in a context shaped by visibility of success and failure, succeeding in UK academia *despite* their gender and the related disadvantages is an even greater achievement for women, as it allows for identification with those unburdened by the "additional difficulties for women". It could also be argued female academics in the UK who have reached the rank of Professor are already part of an élite group and can afford not to worry about career progression, fairness of current career development discourses, policies and practices, and the growing insecurity of the profession. As discussed in Chapter 5, Professors are also put under pressure to publish in order to help to increase the reputation and the funding of their institution, and are at risk of becoming 'ex-excellent' (Butler and Spoelstra, 2012) if they do not publish at the required rate and in the required journals. However, they are in a more advantageous position than lower ranks as their contracts are more secure and they have accumulated research capital which they can use to negotiate better pay and conditions within their School or, more likely, by moving to another institution. In addition, and similarly to

female respondents' accounts in a study conducted by Reilly et al (2016) who refused gender as an explanatory framework of inequalities in the workplace, as a successful female academic this participant might not have encountered direct performance-related gender bias.

The UK respondents reported greater personal challenges than their counterparts in France stemming from the normative treatment of work and non-work as distinct matters to be dealt with separately by the individual, and from the heavy focus of performance management systems and practices on meritocracy and individual's accomplishments supposedly regardless of demographic characteristics such as gender (Deem, 2009). Both males and females in the UK routinely worked additional hours but the spillover from work to private life was experienced differently. In the male-dominated academic environment, the historical assumption that faculty have wives to take on the burden of domestic responsibilities (McTiernan and Flynn, 2011) appeared to be confirmed in the workload allocation and management which were decontextualized from historical structural disadvantages affecting women: "I often end up working evenings and/ weekends. I am married with 3 kids, but my wife only works part time, so she takes most of the kids duties" (Male, UK, PM 2); "We can work from home but then it's all mixed up, we are given work all the time, so I can't spend the time with my children" (Female, UK, LM 2); "I do two very long days [per week] in which I won't see [my child] even in the evening" (Female, UK, PM 6).

6.2.2   Opportunities to comply with performance requirements

Although female faculty in France indirectly suggested the existence of gendered challenges, for example when it comes to promotion, they were more likely to discuss what I have identified as Opportunities to comply with performance requirements (see Figure 4). In addition to not viewing performance management systems and practices in their institutions as

a threat or an unsurmountable difficulty in their daily lives and work, they appreciated the flexibility offered by the individualised and revisable workload and performance requirements:

"There are some guidelines on what is expected, there is the CNRS list [of journals], I guess there are also expectations for different levels, but then it's all very much about what you had agreed upon […] And if, for some reason, I can't do it, then I'd go and talk to him [my boss], and we can look for solutions" (FR, APMK 4)

Both male and female academics in French institutions were appreciative of the high levels of collegiality and the incentives to publish which enabled and motivated them to achieve their work targets: "We've got more incentives than requirements" (Male, FR, PM 1); "We write with colleagues […]. All co-authors get bonuses for publications. They depend on the type of publication but we share the bonus attached to that [outlet] equally" (Female, FR, PIAPMK). Unlike the competition culture such as first authorship on papers promoted in UK Business Schools which appeared to disadvantage female academics, female faculty in France seemed to enjoy collegiality unburdened by competitiveness and were driven by the belief that "You can contribute to your institution in different ways" (FR, AFASP).

The way academic positions are designed in French Business Schools and the willingness of the institution to encourage and enable academics to publish appeared to result in permeability between academic profiles and a relative ease of movement between teaching only and research and teaching contracts through research collaborations. Female participants in France commented on how collaboration 'makes it easier' to produce the required research:

"If you are on a teaching contract, you can ask a colleague to collaborate on a research project, co-author a paper. The School will allocate you some time for research anyway, they

encourage people to do research, it's good for the institution. Then, with some conferences and publications, you can re-negotiate your contract to include research." (FR, ASPM)

"I'm going to 2 international conferences as a second and third author. Well to be honest, I couldn't do much on one of the papers but [my male colleague] suggested I put my name on it anyway so that I can boost my research. And they [the institution] pay all the expenses, even for third author." (FR, PIASPM)

Although female academics talked about the 'slow down' effects of career breaks on their career development, they also emphasized the positive consideration of such events offered by the School: "I could not do much whilst on maternity leave, but the School was very understanding and I got more time to catch up" (FR, APMK 3). The respondents referred to multiple occasions when their institution has taken into account their circumstances which covered a wide range of work and non-work events: "I had this idea to set up partnerships [with companies] on innovation… So we agreed to put some of the other things on hold" (FR, AFASP); "My partner was away for a few weeks and with the kids and the school on strike I had to miss a few meetings and change some of my teaching time slots… but there was no problem" (FR, APMK 4).   Whereas in the UK the spillover was from work into private life in the form of working evenings and weekends, in France there appeared to be spillover in the opposite direction. All respondents but one already had children, and having children appears to have an observable positive effect on the individual's work arrangements. Both female and male academics with children reported that they were often given priority for choosing teaching time slots, could choose to work from home or not to work at all on days when schools were closed (typically on Wednesdays, or when schools were on strike), and take their children to the office:

"I take my son to my office when the school is closed. He can spend the whole day in my office, drawing, colouring or playing. I sometimes take other children too if their parents are busy. I also take [my son] to some lectures if I teach." (Male, FR, APM 1)

Overall, the accounts of female faculty in France suggested confidence in the institution and active engagement with the institutional demands in a mutually benevolent manner, unlike UK female faculty accounts which revealed an overall animosity to performance management systems and practices and tensions with those who impose them as well as between academics. The openness and flexibility of the French institutions to accommodating personal circumstances together with the absence of a highly visible performance management tool such as the REF contributed to the lack of major disruptions of the academic life.

Not all UK female academics viewed the now well established audits in UK academia negatively. With the intensification of performative pressures and the audit culture, women are presented with what could be considered as a disruption but also as an opportunity to reconsider their traditional place in academia. This was apparent in several accounts which described current performance management practices as 'clear' 'fair', and 'a relief': "I have my publications for the REF, it's a huge relief. Now I can tick those boxes and I'm safe [laughs]" (UK, SLM 2). In the view of some UK female faculty, clear performance requirements could reduce the potential discriminatory bias:

"When I think about it, now at least we know what is expected. It's clear. Not that it's easier but at least it's clear. And it's harder to justify bias, like, you know, if you publish in those journals, there shouldn't be any reason to treat you differently" (UK, AFP 2)

Unlike female academics who did not mention competition between academics, several UK female faculty viewed competition similarly to their male colleagues, as a feature of their

profession: "I think it's quite fair in lots of ways... We are just competing against other people who may be at a similar level… You need the publications but if you've got them, you are like everyone else." (UK, PM 8)

The divergent accounts of the respondents raise the question of the extent to which gender inequalities are visible to all academics in the UK academic context and in particular to those who do not experience them directly. Currently in UK academia discourses of individual merit and excellence are dominant (Śliwa and Johansson, 2013). Referring to Acker's notions of 'visibility of inequality', 'legitimacy of inequality' and 'mechanisms of control and compliance' (Acker, 2006, pp. 452, 454), Reilly et al (2016: 1032) argue that "The lack of visibility of inequality and the perceived legitimacy of inequality are themselves a form of control. If women do not see inequality or see inequalities as legitimate […], they will not take action either individually or collectively to address inequality". The self-positioning of women within discourses promoted by management and their commitment to and identification with such discourses (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002) contribute to the invisibility of gender (and other) inequalities and to the strengthening of existent power relationships. As Reilly et al (2016: 1035) point out, the fact that some respondents found 'women-centred' reasons for gender inequalities shows that "women can be both victims and perpetrators of gender bias."

Furthermore, gendered attitudes and discourses appear to lead to differential treatment of male and female faculty. Similarly to findings from other studies, academics saw research publications as "the most significant badge of 'success'" (Clarke et al, 2012: 8) by which their worth will be measured. It was clear to all respondents that the REF designated the winners and losers of the game. However, as a recent study conducted by Reilly et al (2016) demonstrated, pervasive views held by academics about female faculty preferences, qualities

and behaviours lead to differential expectations and allocation of tasks to men and women. Ivancheva (2015: 42) comments that "Women are particularly exposed to vulnerability with […] more emotional labour and care-giving functions both in and out of the academy." Although some men also felt affected by the differential REF-induced recognition of the academic's worth, as discussed in Chapter 5, they did not bring up everyday inclusion and exclusion issues, as well as power and support imbalances similar to those experienced by women.

It is clear from these accounts that new performance management tools have done little to reduce gender bias and inequalities in any meaningful way. On the contrary, they have exacerbated challenges women have been traditionally facing and increased feelings of powerlessness. Furthermore, although most universities in the UK have written policies and procedures of which respondents were aware and which have as stated aims to promote diversity and fight discrimination, there is no particular reference to redressing any historical disadvantages women (or other groups) are still experiencing in academia. Statements in policy documents on equal opportunities do not detail any explicit and targeted implementation mechanisms (see Reilly et al, 2016): "The University promotes equality for all staff […] irrespective of their protected characteristic by […] ensuring policies and practices support equality of opportunity and the elimination of discrimination" (Policies document on diversity, UK, University F) and "We value diversity, and are determined to ensure that we treat all individuals fairly […] [and] that the opportunities we provide are open to all" (Policy on Equality and Diversity, UK, University C). Diversity policy documents refer to commitments of the institution to comply with the Equality legislation but also emphasize the importance of managing diversity. The emergence of the concept of diversity management in the neo-liberal climate marked a move away from focusing on redressing historical

disadvantages for groups towards promoting the benefits and maximizing the potential of employees as individuals (e.g. Klarsfeld et al, 2012; Özbilgin and Tatli, 2011). However, women in academia find themselves in the position of the 'shackled runner' (Noon, 2010) whereby they had not been treated equally to men before the rise of the audit culture, and now are not being given the fair opportunity in the heavily promoted meritocracy to 'catch up' with men through targeted measures before being judged by universally applicable standards of merit. Regarding the individualization of what is promoted as success or failure, Brennan and Naidoo (2008: 290) observe that "your problems are all your fault… your privileges are all your own achievement".

A different picture emerged in France. From the respondents' accounts it became clear that collegiality appeared to endure, and that female faculty valued it as a sign of egalitarian culture. Performance targets are personalized to an extent, which seems to foster perceptions of fairness amongst both female and male faculty and do not trigger competition and individualistic pursuit of success. As discussed in Chapter 5, reasons for this seem to include the individualization of career paths, as well as the egalitarian approach to recognition of contributions by multiple co-authors and the accompanying generous bonuses given to all co-authors regardless of their position on the paper. Both male and female respondents talked about collaboration with colleagues to help them realize their aspirations and/or achieve their targets. Gender issues did not feature prominently in the accounts, although some women referred to the greater number of senior male academics compared to females, and of somewhat slower progression of women up the hierarchical levels. There was no significant resentment on gender inequality grounds and most women felt confident that their contributions are being acknowledged and rewarded fairly. The legitimacy of disparities between male and female academics was not questioned. Similarly to some comments made

by female faculty in the UK, the respondents 'exempted' the institution from the responsibilities for gender inequalities. However, unlike their counterparts in the UK, women in France were keen on discussing the choices they made themselves between work and family commitments. This is significant as it shows that such choices are viewed as available and do not seem to entail similar negative consequences as in UK academia.

One notable case in France concerns a female academic who, before joining the faculty on a teaching profile, worked as an administrative assistant in the same Business School whilst completing her PhD. She discussed the ongoing difficulties she is encountering in her efforts to be recognised as faculty and how she is being asked continuously to perform administrative tasks other academics did not want to do: "I think they need me to do the admin no one else wants to do… they need me as a pair of experienced [administrative] hands. I know the institution very well. I know what is needed in admin" (FR, PIASPM). Although not specifically linked to her gender, the experience of this academic raises the question of how multiple threats to individual identity are managed in academia, including macro level institutional barriers such as employers (Zikic and Richardson, 2016) or the organizational culture. Statistics reveal that in 2011 in France 76.9% of the administrative assistants in companies and 73.4% in public service organizations were female (Dares Analyses, 2013). A woman having previously worked in a female-dominated administrative function who becomes an academic in the same Business School has to deal with the accumulated disadvantages of her gender and her professional credibility, whilst trying in parallel to enact a professional identity of academic.

Many respondents in France were not aware of any specific written documents detailing what steps the institution was taking take to tackle inequalities and discrimination, but did not explicitly acknowledge the need for them either. A Decree issued on 7th July 2010 in France

requires companies to write an annual report and to establish an action plan to address professional gender equality in order to evaluate gender imbalances and offer transparency to internal and external stakeholders but many academics ignored related measures in their institution. Regarding equality in society and organizations, several similarities can be found between France and the UK in terms of public discourse and policies and practices addressing the place of women in society and at work. There are Diversity officers in academic institutions whose responsibilities include producing statistics and writing reports on gender equality amongst faculty, staff and students. French institutions have successfully obtained certifications which acknowledge engagement with gender equality, such as the French Diversity Label which is externally audited and controlled by several stakeholders including representatives of the State (Djabi, 2011), and resembles diversity and equality accreditations in the UK such as Athena Swan for women scientists. Also similarly to the UK, In some institutions there are frequent events organized to raise awareness of the place and the achievements of women, both staff and students, in Higher Education and how to promote their further inclusion and engagement. Consequently, both in France and the UK there are regulations and awareness raising campaigns but they do not seem to affect significantly the organizational culture or the daily lives of academics in either direction. Equal Opportunity policies and initiatives exist in both countries but gender inequalities persist and are documented both in the UK and French Business Schools, in particular at higher hierarchical levels. Neither in French nor in UK Business Schools gender statistics and written policy systematically led to proactive measures to improve the representation and opportunities of women. As Saunderson (2002: 376) argued 15 years ago in her article on academic women and the new managerialism, "continued valorization of EO policy without its assimilation into the underlying core institutional culture […] [would mean that] the policy, practice and

rhetoric of equal opportunities and equal treatment in UK higher education will remain little more than 'lipstick on the gorilla'." In both the UK and French Business Schools written policy seems to have little effect on the organizational culture and gendered practices. The main differences between the two academic environments appear to lie in the perceptions of inequalities, in the way meritocracy is promoted, and how the spillover between work and non-work is managed. Whereas the UK academia promotes a stereotypically masculine identity where work matters above all else and competition is key, in France work and non-work seem to benefit from circumstantially determined degree of legitimacy and consideration for both task allocation and career development purposes. This appears to lead to a greater awareness of culturally conditioned gender disadvantages for female faculty in the UK, whereas in France family-related flexibility and greater collegiality contribute to attenuating possible resentment by women on gender inequality grounds.

Raddon (2002) argues that pervasive discourses and well-rooted assumptions about how success should be defined in academia assign 'positions' to faculty and create a culture which does not allow for variations. From the analysis of the collected data the ideal academic in the UK appears to be by default male, although, at least in theory, the 'role' is open to both male and female academics based on merit and presumably egalitarian culture, policies and practices. He devotes his time to research and the pursuit of individualistic and status-enhancing activities such as networking and strategic submissions of articles to highly ranked journals, and is likely to have a partner who takes care of a significant part of the domestic responsibilities. He is REF-able and puts the highest priority on publications whilst avoiding, as much as possible, teaching and administrative duties which are expected to be carried out by cooperative female colleagues as extra citizenship, in conformity with what has always been done in academia. He is competitive, assertive, and committed to the gender-blind

meritocratic discourse which confirms his historical dominant position, although the latter is not a consciously pursued goal but rather stems from the ongoing invisibility of the mechanisms perpetuating gender inequalities in academia. He is mobile and can take his accumulated research capital to another institution to boost his career and income. He has the 'badge' for excellence validated by the REF. And even if the audit culture results in growing pressure to publish and to continuously prove one's worth, there is no significant shift from his previous position in academia nor a particular challenge or threat to his long established masculine academic identity.

Female academics in the UK, on the other hand, have seen their situation aggravated further by the growing competitive pressures (e.g. McTiernan and Flynn, 2011; Reilly et al., 2016). As the 'ideal academic' imperative is being institutionalized by the REF, the meritocratic discourse, and the mechanisms of reward and punishment as a response to performative pressures and concerns for funding, female faculty is facing identity challenges and adaptation dilemmas. As Liz Morrish who has resigned from her academic position commented in a recent article in the Times Higher Education (2 March 2017),

"although universities may have policies on diversity and inclusion, these principles have evidently been poorly internalised because we now see an embrace of processes guaranteed to amplify structures of inequality. All researchers are now measured against the most exceptional, often unencumbered, scholars, regardless of individual location or ambition. Academics are required to be productive within the tightly delimited notions invoked by management […]."

Historically academia has lacked senior women who could act as role models (Armenti, 2004a; Göransson, 2011; Lanier et al, 2008) and career referents (Gibson and Lawrence,

2010; Grote and Hall, 2013). With the intensification of performative pressures and the audit culture, women are presented with what could be considered as a disruption but also as an opportunity to reconsider their traditional place in academia. Unlike men who have always represented the standard for an academic, women's historically marginal position means that they cannot relate with nostalgia to the past, before the arrival of the new managerialism. As discussed earlier, women have never particularly benefitted from collegiality, support and sponsorship (Adams, 1983; Bagilhole and Goode, 2001; Harley, 2003; Reilly et al, 2016; Van den Brink and Benschop, 2012, 2014). Research shows that some female academics now consider metrics and meritocracy as a positive development as they offer clear criteria for success in terms of publications (Kallio et al, 2016). The particular way in which performative pressures generate specific performance management systems and practices and validate them through the REF, as discussed in Chapter 5, could present an opportunity for women to break away from their gendered position in academia. The 'new order' "positions women differently in the way it allocates resources in accordance with agreed criteria and formulae and increased attention to efficiency in line with newly imported market philosophies of education" (Harley, 2003: 379). It can be therefore speculated that in the past, whatever achievements women had, stereotypes and assumptions would prevail and these achievements would remain less visible than those of men. The REF on the other hand, offers visibility of the results and recognition. For those women who have always aspired to be high achievers, such recognition would mean continuity of their effort to far more satisfactory results. The intensification of the performative pressures affects all academics and appears to be an inevitable feature of the audit culture. Its disruptive power could mean though that women can attempt to overcome the historical gender bias in academia.

By contrast, in French Business Schools currently there does not seem to be a well-defined and reinforced ideal academic imperative for the faculty to conform with. According to both male and female respondent's accounts, the successful academic is one who contributes to the institution various ways, with research, teaching and administration. The fact that all contributions are currently considered valuable and rewarded, and issues are dealt with discreetly and on the case-by-case basis, seems to result in no significant resentment for gender bias or on other discriminatory grounds by those who are already working in the institution on regular contracts. It can be speculated that several factors contribute to the female respondents' neutral position on gender-related issues. First, there is lesser visibility of gender bias because of discreet individual arrangements and the lack of direct knowledge of who does what, when and how. Another possible factor is the opportunity for faculty to renegotiate tasks and workloads at their initiative which also occurs without much visibility or following of specific rules but can give a sense of empowerment and individual agency regardless of gender. Although open to homosocial bias (Göransson, 2011) enabled by the overrepresentation of men at decision-making levels, this could also give the sense of egalitarianism, equitable meritocracy, fairness and inclusion. Business Schools take into consideration family constraints which could also strengthen the perception that they do not disadvantage women. Furthermore, characteristics considered masculine such as assertiveness and competitiveness are not needed as competition is not promoted and instead collegiality is the norm, which fosters greater willingness of both men and women to engage in collaborations and publish together. Intensifying performative pressures are customized to an extent to the individual School's needs, and appeared to be, at least the time of the interviews, perceived as balanced amongst faculty. The audit culture does not appear to have caused so far a major disruption of the traditional academic profession and culture in the form of

particularly salient career referents (Grote and Hall, 2013), pre-defined and strictly followed career scripts, and validation mechanisms similar to the REF. Meritocracy in France appears to be a more fluid and individualized notion. These factors can also contribute towards the promotion of a genderless 'generic academic' and the perception that individuals can use their agency in their job and for their career development. As a result, female academics do not appear to face, for now, identity challenges and dilemmas similar to their UK counterparts. Importantly, they did not feel that they needed to strictly separate professional from private life at the risk of being considered less committed to their job, which has been found to be a major factor for inclusion and exclusion on gendered grounds in organizations (Armenti, 2004; Hoobler et al., 2011).

However, these findings should be interpreted with caution. As discussed in Chapter 5, French Business Schools seem to be increasingly embracing at least some aspects of the audit culture. Although not explicitly highlighted by the respondents, private and often invisible arrangements covering remuneration and workloads could potentially lead to nepotism and sponsorship benefitting disproportionally men who are still overrepresented at higher hierarchical level in French Business Schools. Also, frequently salaries for advertised positions are not discussed until much later in the recruitment process, sometimes after the Business School has chosen the candidate they want to employ. Then it is down to the individual to negotiate the best deal for themselves with no clear indication other than anecdotal knowledge of what are the usual rates for the level they have applied for, unless they have moved previously between institutions and/or they know precisely how much they would accept. There is currently an increasing prioritization of publications in highly ranked journals which could lead to significant, but unknown to other applicants and the rest of the faculty, disparities in remuneration between new recruits and currently employed academics.

A female respondent who has been in the institution for more than 15 years commented that "the School is a good one but unfortunately salaries don't increase much" (FR, PM 4). However, given the significant individualization and invisibility of job arrangements, it was unclear if this was her individual experience, or a pattern for female academics or for all faculty members. Furthermore, the requirement to have published in highly ranked journals and to have (often significant) teaching experience prior to being offered a job could affect disproportionally women as the years needed to accumulate such career capital could coincide with their reproductive years. As discussed earlier, another issue could be the expectation for the faculty to teach and conduct other academic activities in different campuses around the world on a regular basis. This could put female academics in a situation similar to their male counterparts who reportedly need 'wives' to be able to meet the requirements of the academic job (McTiernan and Flynn, 2011): women would need husbands/partners able and willing to accept a reversal in traditional societal roles and to possibly forsake prioritising their own job and career. Such developments could ultimately trigger new gender identity dilemmas for female faculty in French Business Schools, as well as new challenges to balance motherhood with an academic career. Tensions are likely to be exacerbated by cultural factors such as the traditional importance allocated to family and children reflected in high fertility rates (European Platform for Investing in Children, 2016), but also by the growing rate of separations and divorces which results in one-parent families with mainly women as primary carers (www.insee.fr). These challenges are, of course, not limited to France. However, as confirmed in the accounts of the participants in this study, whereas UK academia promotes primacy of work over other aspects of life, French academics are to an extent culturally conditioned to expect consideration of family issues by the employer, and would possibly struggle even more to accommodate performative and mobility demands should they be

implemented to the level similar to the UK. If publications take precedence in France over the other aspects of the academic profession, this could result over time in the establishment of a masculine 'ideal academic' imperative, with similar consequences to the UK in terms of teaching loads, careers, and work-family conflict, and could ultimately shape precarity in one form or another. Although for the moment this is not the case, international competitive pressures could undermine the traditional academic culture in France as well.

Furthermore, gender biases and inequalities which lead to numerical superiority of male academics at higher hierarchical levels in French Business Schools are not necessarily being addressed as they seem to be less visible and less resented, and the structural, cultural and other reasons for them are not being questioned beyond personal choices and stereotypical gender differences. This could result in a very slow pace of progress in gender equality and a continuous dominance of men at the top, which would sustain the structural and cultural barriers for women in their career development. Also, in a culture of individualization of career paths and salaries, women acting upon their perception of being 'less good' at networking and negotiations could deepen the gender disparities in career advancement and remuneration.

The next section will analyse the identity responses and strategies of female academics in both countries.

6.2.4   Identity responses

Acker and Dillabough (2007) highlight the 'symbolic struggle for legitimacy' of female faculty across disciplines and the dilemmas they face whilst devising responses to their workplace disadvantages (Saunderson, 2002). The data analysis led to the development of four identity responses in UK Business Schools: I can't do it, I won't do it, I will do it, and I

have done it. These responses are neither mutually exclusive nor definite but rather fluid as all female respondents appeared to relate to different extent to one or another as part of their past or current experiences, career stages, or intentions. They are clustered according to the situation of the participants which emerged from their accounts at the time of the interviews, and should be considered as 'snapshots' as identity work is ongoing and influenced by the dynamic and changing context in UK academia and the UK in general, e.g. with regard to Brexit uncertainties and the consequences it could trigger for UK academia (e.g. Times Higher Education, 24 October 2016). I explored the identity responses by focusing on the accounts of four UK female faculty, Jane, Susan, Lisa and Michelle (named with pseudonyms), and complemented them with direct quotes from other participants which indicated similar identity work processes.

Figure 5: Identity work responses of female faculty in the UK and France

First order themes	Second order themes	Aggregate dimensions
UK female faculty • Unable to produce required research • Feelings of marginalisation/rejection • Devaluation on basis of competence & pressures to accept imposed conditions/ teaching roles • Work-non work conciliation issues • Perception of hopelessness re career development • Determination to pursue recognition of achievements • Adoption of 'traditional' masculine behaviours & priorities	Disconfirmed identity & resignation: I can't do it Reassertion of 'chosen' identity: I won't do it Emergence of 'convenient identity': I will do it Confirmation of 'convenient identity': I have done it	Identity questioning & redefinition
Female Faculty in France • Awareness of opportunities to achieve targets through collaboration & negotiation • Active engagement with the institutional demands • Success in meeting requirements through various routes • Mutually beneficial relationship between academics & their institution • Accommodation of work and non-work	Acceptance of gender imbalances: I am treated fairly	Identity continuity/ stability

- Disconfirmed identity and resignation: I can't do it.

Jane (UK, AFSL 2) was, until shortly before the interview, a Senior Lecturer in Accounting and Finance. She had moved several times between institutions on research posts and was publishing until her husband fell ill. She struggled to juggle research and caring responsibilities and was not able to produce the required number of publications for the REF. She reported the unwillingness and even refusal of her institutions to take her personal

circumstances into consideration. This not only exacerbated the psychological pressures she was experiencing but also had a major negative impact on her career:

"My husband was very ill and I had to look after him… so I couldn't do much research during this time […]. They knew it […]. I had to go through intimidating disciplinary procedure… they offered me to leave or accept a teaching contract. I couldn't move [to another institution]… nobody would take me without the publications… maybe on a teaching-only contract, but with the commute and my husband… it wasn't worth it. I had to accept" (Female, UK, AFSL 2)

Jane's case exemplifies the negative effects of the REF and the meritocratic approach it is supposed to entail. She was faced with a choice between leaving, which would make her personal situation worse, or accept a teaching contract which would make her return to research, should she want to do so, significantly more difficult, as discussed in Chapter 5. Although her situation is not exclusively bound to her gender as anyone can face the necessity to care for a family member, the approach taken by her institution would, if applied systematically to any academic unable to produce the required number of REF-able publications, affect more women than men as women still appear to have the burden of responsibility for caring in the family (Deem, 2003; Raddon, 2002; Reilly et al, 2016; Schiebinger and Gilmartin, 2010). Furthermore, intimidating individuals who encounter personal difficulties through disciplinary procedures and forcing them to 'voluntarily' accept a change of contract have important implications for the staff, the fairness of the selection processes for submissions to the REF, and the ultimate result of the assessment. For the academics, disciplinary procedures trigger insecurity, stress, anxiety, and ultimately acceptance of the "institutional bullying" (Morrish, 2014) if their personal circumstances do not allow them to leave the institution. The fairness of the selection process is also at risk, as

reported by the University and College Union (2013) which established that many non-REF-able academics were in a situation similar to Jane's with their contracts being changed, through "capability procedures", to ones with inferior terms and conditions and limited to teaching. Academics with personal circumstances might thus be screened out even before they get the chance to bring their situation to the attention of the selection panel. Therefore, the reported increase of submissions from faculty with individual circumstances that had impacted on their research productivity, from 12 per cent in RAE 2008 to 29 per cent in REF 2014 (Equality and Diversity Advisory Panel, 2015), although undeniably a positive development, might not reflect the full picture.

Non-compliance with the performance requirements, regardless of the particular circumstances in which it occurred, appears to result in non-negotiable consequences on the individual's career. Within a short period of time, Jane saw her position change from a respected researcher passionate about her work ("I was researching really interesting stuff", "I loved my research", "I managed to get funding'), to a teacher which is less positively viewed and limiting in terms of career options, as explained by another UK female faculty: "it is far more unusual [to get a Professorship on a teaching contract]" (AFSL 2). There seems to be a clash between her aspirations and her subjective identity work and the role she was forced to accept (Järventie-Thesleff and Tienari, 2016): "I had no choice". The potential 'sensebreaking' of her sense of self (Pratt et al, 2006) would require working on the construction of a different identity and facing the related trade-offs (Brown, 2015): "Now I have a lot more teaching and supervision… no time for research… I guess I'll have to get used to the idea [that I won't be a researcher anymore]". Other accounts signalled similar challenges and identity work processes if UK female faculty couldn't comply with the performance requirements:

"Depression is not uncommon. One of my colleagues was off sick. Two of her papers got rejected, she knew she wouldn't have the publications [for the REF]... She knew there would be consequences. But there was nothing she could do about it" (PM 6).

"Well, I have a mortgage, so I need my job. So it could be, you know, whatever they decide. That's how it is now." (AFL)

- Reassertion of 'chosen' identity: I won't do it.

Susan, a Lecturer (UK, LM 3), has been working in the same institution for more than a decade but has never been promoted. She attributed this to being too busy creating new courses and programmes and doing a lot of course management and other administrative and pastoral duties:

"I developed Master courses, [...] supervised many students... At the time this looked like the right things to do, [these tasks were] part of the job and I was asked to take on such responsibilities. But I didn't have time to work on my research".

Susan's concerns about what was 'right to do' were echoed in similar questioning of the academic priorities and identities by other female respondents: "It's kind of disheartening really, what's going on now... What about our students? They pay those huge fees, you see, but what do they get? Are we not supposed to teach them, and teach them well?" (AFL); "But it's ridiculous, we are not factory workers who produce articles, we are also here to teach" (SLMK). She said she loved what she was doing and that was for her what academic work was about, but now she was worried about the future as she did not have the required number of REF-able publications: "I don't know what they'll do, [...] I don't know what will happen to me. But I wouldn't have changed anything". She further explained that she did not regret what she had done and was hoping she would not lose her job. Some of her research projects

were close to completion but she did not think they would be ready on time. She was also considering the ongoing developments with regard to teaching, and was hoping to secure her position in that direction. Her reasoning was that 'they' (the institution) needed her as she had a lot of experience, knew the institution well, had contributed in various ways, and would be a valuable asset to the School regardless of the REF: "There are increasing pressures with regard to teaching [because of] the market positioning [of the School]".

Jane and Susan share a resignation to give up on career ambitions as they accommodate different personal needs and commitments. In the case of Jane, she had to care for a sick husband whilst giving up on career development prospects to secure an income. Susan on the other hand did not have family responsibilities but had devoted her time to what she considered to be inherent part of her role - teaching and administration. As Susan struggled to advance her career, she rationalized her situation and found a way of being comfortable to an extent with what she was doing. Her acceptance of her unfavourable situation transpired through her merely stating the facts of her work life, which she saw as inevitable and triggered by external factors such as discourses, attitudes, policies and practices. She aligned with them in terms of career expectations and focused on the positives of being an academic which she saw in the traditional aspects of the profession – teaching and administration, "things one is good at", and trying to maintain integrity and a level of personal satisfaction with the job well done. This resonates with some attitudes described by Clarke, Knights and Jarvis (2012) as "labour of love". By rationalizing her situation, Susan managed to protect herself to an extent from being "subjected to loveless or instrumental demands" (Clarke et al, 2012: 5) stemming from the 'folly' (Tourish and Willmott, 2015) of performative pressures and journal rankings.

A common feature for both academics is the impermeable boundary to individual agency imposed on them by the 'ideal academic' imperative which was out of reach for both of them. However, there was a difference between the approaches their institutions had taken towards managing performance. Whereas Jane's inability to produce the required research output because of overwhelming family commitments was dealt with through disciplinary procedure and forced 'downgrading', Susan was denied promotion despite having been in the institution for many years and heavily involved in different administrative and citizenship activities. In a sense Susan had already positioned herself in the research inactive/non-REF-able category described in Chapter 5 by accepting to take on and dedicating herself to non-research activities. She already occupied the low academic rank of Lecturer and was part of the emerging category of faculty expected to deliver on teaching and administrative tasks required for meeting the needs of growing numbers of students, and in line with a deepening divide between teaching and research oriented faculty (Tourish and Willmott, 2015). Jane, on the other hand, was a Senior Lecturer with publications and career development record. However, the change in her personal circumstances had put her in an insecure situation as it jeopardized her ability to respond to performativity demands which would benefit her institution in the REF exercise. In line with the findings in Chapter 5 on the mechanisms of casualization of academics on permanent contracts, Jane was now a liability rather than an asset for her institution as she was on her way to becoming ex-excellent (Butler and Spoelstra, 2012) in terms of research. The rules of the REF until now required that submissions are made only for staff on contracts which include research (REF 2014). As one respondents commented, "So it's, effectively, I mean, between you and me, a way of cheating, you know, the number of people […] who could be into the REF" (Male, UK, PM 4). Therefore, imposing on Jane a change of contract to a teaching-only contract brings a number of

'benefits' to her institution: she is excluded from REF submissions; she will have to accept a significant increase in her teaching and administrative load and thus, similarly to Susan, help the institution to meet demands generated by growing student numbers; she will be in a position where she would not have the necessary arguments for applying for promotion, unlike her REF-able colleagues; and her personal and professional situation would prevent her from seeking opportunities elsewhere, which would, in effect, result in her having to comply with whatever demand is put on her in order to stabilize her position in her current institution. The combined effect of such 'benefits' for the institution allows it to gain power over the employee through insecurity and feelings of precariousness (Clarke et al, 2012). Faculty in the situation of Jane and are also denied the opportunity to use successful career referents (Grote and Hall, 2013) to uplift their career goals and expectations and follow their aspirations to become what they desire to be (Grey, 1994).

The difficulties these academic women faced are symptomatic of a skewed meritocracy which disenfranchises (often female) academics facing personal difficulties from recognition, career development and promotion, and puts the blame for their failures on them. Whilst performance management measures do not specifically target female faculty, they are likely to end up affecting women more than men, as women are the ones who need to comply with the established male standards (Wilson, 2005). As women stay in or join a presumably de-gendered category of rank and file academics, they find themselves further burdened in a double-bounded contexts where academic institutions encode an organizational career script, and their gender (and the attached outside work responsibilities) encode the specific gender roles female academics should comply with (Afiouni, 2014). The message that academics should not bring their personal issues to work concerns all academics. However, women are implicitly, and in the case of Jane, explicitly targeted more than men appear to be.

- Emergence of 'convenient identity': I will do it

Lisa (UK, PM 8) is a Professor who has moved between institutions for career development purposes. She talked about her own successful strategy for dealing with the growing performative pressures:

"I decided to switch off from work-related matters on Friday evening. I don't take calls, I don't read my work emails and don't respond to anything work-related. […] I also learnt how to say 'no' to requests for extra work, [like] attending committee meetings, doing extra supervision [of students], anything that is not strictly [in my contract], any of those things they ask you to do, you know, the extra work… Many male colleagues say no. They say no and get on with their research. […] Some colleagues think I'm selfish, I'm not being nice. But [this way] I will finish my articles. This is the only way."

Interestingly, some male respondents said openly that they were refusing to take extra work ("I try to avoid anything that would make me waste my time, anything that is not research-related […]", UK, PM 1) but none of them reported having been treated as 'not nice'. Expectations for being nice point to prescriptive gender stereotypes which designate what women and men should be like at the workplace (Heilman, 2012). Heilman (2012) argues that such stereotypes promote gender bias as they emphasize the negative aspects of a presumed poor fit between women's supposed attributes and those which are considered necessary for successful performance in male dominated environments. Lisa's matter-of-factly acceptance of meritocracy and her determination to pursue her research objectives in the way male colleagues do it provides her with several benefits. She can acquire a socially validated identity (Petriglieri and Petriglieri, 2010) as she attempts to move away from stereotypical expectations related to her gender. She is also making her life easier from a practical point of

view as her workload, apart from research, becomes lighter, and she is more likely to produce the required research. Further, she complies with the institution's socialization tactics (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979) of 'sensegiving' as she aligns with the organization's values and image (Pratt, 2000; Pratt, Rockmann and Kaufmann, 2006).

UK female faculty seemed to accept that the other responsibilities such as teaching, administration and pastoral care will have to be given lower priority: "[they] don't count anyway, so what's the point? If that's what they want, I'm going to put the minimum effort, you know… recycle my teaching materials… so that I can focus on my papers" (SLM 4). Despite the displeasure UK female faculty felt about such 'games', they also considered the advantages of adopting behaviours similar to their male colleagues:

"Some [female] colleagues see the REF as good thing. And I guess it is, in a way. If you publish, you can cut yourself some slack on the rest. In the end of the day, you look for the best return on investment so to speak, so you focus on publications in those journals, that's what matters now, this is how you are judged." (SLMK)

However, this individualistic approach, although largely accepted for men without questioning or judgement, could single these women out and put them at odds with gender-related and powerful 'meta- narratives' which shape the way individuals with shared characteristics make sense of their selves (Coupland and Brown, 2012). It also further undermines collegiality. In a work environment where double standards apply to men and women (O'Loughlin, 2015), the choices and trade-offs Lisa and other UK female faculty are making could position them in a 'no man's/no woman's' land in terms of identity, as they do not fully belong to either community and their identity is ambiguous.

- Confirmation of 'convenient identity': I have done it

Michelle (UK, PM 6) is a Professor who has moved extensively between institutions for career development purposes but also because she had encountered, on occasions, significant difficulties and gender bias. She was very vocal about the treatment she had been subjected to and the reasons she believed underpinned it:

"I was getting badly bullied. I think there was a very strong gender thing there… yes I do, I think he probably couldn't bear the fact that a woman was doing decent research"; "the head of research, he couldn't handle it that I was the star researcher you know".

However, her experience of "appalling" treatment during her pregnancy illustrated by earlier quotes did not reduce her determination to pursue her aspirations and career objectives. She has found a way of advancing her career by accepting and accommodating a significant spillover from work into her private life:

"I work every evening after [my child] has gone to bed… so at quarter to 8 or 8 o'clock everything restarts. I don't want to start working at 8 o'clock at night again when [my child] is in bed, but I do…"

Her comments reveal two strikingly different discourses: the extremely negative accounts about the way she was treated in her previous institutions were alternated with her very positive view about the academic profession and her own achievements. Despite her "horrendous" experiences which resulted in her leaving the institutions, she thought that "as long as jobs exist, we have a reasonable amount of job security". Notably, she resented the bad treatment she was subjected to but not the spillover from work into family life as she seemed to have found her balance which allowed her to succeed in her ambitions: "we have the privilege that they assess our output and not when you are putting in the time", "I can

occasionally do drop-off and pick-up [of my child]". She had organised her life around her work:

"I am able to stop for tea, and I work early in the morning but am able to stop for breakfast… so I think academia [allows you to] reconcile work with parenting. And the downside is there is a vast amount of work to do, so it's trying to sort that out".

There was a contrast between the way she viewed academics that treated her badly whilst representing the institution, and academia as some abstract workplace offering security, flexibility and privileges. Determination to deal with the vast amount of work by investing the necessary time to do so regardless of the constraints and the consequences on her work-life balance make her accomplishments even more salient and worthy: "I got where I wanted to be". She focuses on the positives of her job and the end result instead of the difficulties on the way. Other UK female faculty also preferred to focus on the positives and the end result instead of the difficulties on the way: "I'm lucky to have my publications. It was really hard work but it's not impossible. And feels great when you get there" (AFP 2).

Notably, Lisa and Michelle have reached the rank of Professor, whereas Jane and Susan occupied lower positions. They have embraced the managerialist developments in academia and the competition these entail, and have become what Dowd and Kaplan (2005) call 'mavericks' in academia who do not invest themselves in the academic community but instead focus on their personal development and success in a self-contained and entrepreneurial manner (see also Kallio et al, 2016).

The findings suggest that the impact of performativity pressures on academic identities is contingent on the relevant contexts. Their normalization power (Gendron, 2008) produces different effects on female Business School faculty in the UK and France. In the UK, the

academic culture promotes heavily the winners vs losers game as well as the primacy of work over other aspects of life as the route to achieve success, and success is narrowly defined by publication output. For women in UK academia, the consequences of such narrow definition exacerbate gender inequalities. The (in)famous 'publish or perish' rule (Miller et al, 2011), whilst not overtly discriminatory, imposes the 'law of the jungle' where the fittest wins. It contributes to the maintenance of a hegemonic masculinity (Knights and Richards, 2003; Smith, 2008) which promotes ruthless self-interest and discards collegiate and supportive behaviour and activities which are not recognized and valued the same way, such as teaching, administration, and pastoral care (Bleijenbergh et al, 2013). The values and expectations thus generated limit the access of 'deviant' academics to higher ranks and deny them credit for work that does not comply with the established norms.

The continuity and reinforcement of an individualistic approach to performance and the pursuit of narrowly defined objective career success, combined with punishments inflicted for underperformance and manifest disregard for individual circumstances undermine claims that academia is a 'meritocracy' (Scully, 1997), and that merit is judged objectively regardless of demographic characteristics (Bailyn, 2003; van den Brink, 2011). With the audit culture, gender identity and the related stereotypes, work arrangements and career consequences are imposed by the institution through policies and practices, and supported by pervasive masculine organizational culture. They are accepted by some academics under various degrees of constraint, or in the case of others, by attempting to live up to the imposed standards. The REF places the 'burden of proof' for research underperformance on the individual, and thus makes gender even more salient. Stereotypes such as women's alleged inclination to prefer teaching and pastoral care for students and their lesser competitiveness and assertiveness (Bagilhole and Goode, 2001) put them in a position where they are loaded

with more of these activities, and, as Susan commented, are advised against saying no because they would be seen as 'uncooperative'. This results in a gendered environment where male faculty are encouraged and enabled to do what they have always been able to do, namely engage in pursuit of objectively validated success and reputation building, whereas women are pushed further towards what they have always been doing, namely engaging with the other aspects of the academic profession which do not enhance prestige, and juggling with non-work responsibilities. With the reported growing separation between teaching and research (Tourish and Willmott, 2015), women find themselves in a 'self-fulfilling prophecy' (Merton, 1948): they are expected to do the 'unglamorous' teaching and administrative work shunned by (frequently male, but also some women like Lisa) top researchers, which prevents them from producing the required number of publications, which in turn cements their position in teaching and administration. Furthermore, as the respondents' accounts show, perceptions of stereotyping and undermining female academics' still exist in academia. In an environment of limited resources, competition from female colleagues for coveted positions could mean less such opportunities available to men (McTiernan and Flynn, 2011). Harley (2003: 379) argues that "the academy is perhaps best understood as a 'fratriarchy' of relatively powerful and equally determined men bound together by a strong egalitarian ethos and shared culture".

As a result, female academics in the UK appeared to externalize the blame for enduring gender inequality to society and masculine practices and internalize the pursuit of solutions and identity responses as their own responsibility. Women are self-rescuing in various ways in a context of a heavy promotion of meritocracy and arguably egalitarian practices as governing principles in academia. Publicly questioning or rebelling against the system can prove counterproductive and harm further women's chances to succeed in such context.

Personal circumstances are to be dealt with by the individual. Any attempt to object the system would only emphasize their gender in an environment which is known to be gendered for a long time. Under the pressures induced by the REF and the conditional allocation of funding for institutions based upon its outcomes, universities appear to have taken the meritocracy notion to extreme by rejecting any gender-related individual circumstances. The solutions women seem to have come up with is similar to one of the behavioural responses described by Wilson (2005) who argues that women can either strive to adopt similar ambitions, qualities, attitudes and behaviours to men to achieve recognition and acceptance, or alternatively try to preserve their female identity. Some female academics in the UK like Lisa and Michelle appear to rationalize the tensions between the institutionalized audit culture and their own aspirations and constraints by embracing 'convenient' and seemingly de-gendered identities shaped by the 'ideal academic' imperative. This could allow them to avoid gendered categorization and negative consequences on their careers as well as to reap the psychological and material benefits of otherwise unattainable recognition. The options female faculty appears to have are to achieve normalization into a successful, highly productive group of often male 'ideal academics', or otherwise bear the consequences for their failure on their careers and self-esteem. Interestingly, the "feelings of failure and self-doubt (Alvesson, 2010) and a belief that "I am not good enough" (Sennett, 1998: 118) found in the Knights and Clarke's study (2014), produced in some (but not all) of our UK respondents a propensity to engage in agentic behaviour which would allow them to compensate for these pressure-induced effects. Women seem to positively rationalize these constraints and opt for a 'pragmatic complicity' (Clarke et al, 2012) with the performance management system as a means to overcome their gender-related disadvantages as well as reap the benefits of being recognized as members of an exclusive group of high achievers. Such an accomplishment

would allow them to gain what no equal opportunity legislation was ever able to achieve, namely equality based on accomplishments in an extremely competitive process. Consequently, many respondents emphasized the positive outcomes for themselves which took precedence over the negative aspects of the endeavour.

'Convenient identities' represent a compromise between the performativity pressures imposed on academics and their own need for gender-neutral recognition, success, and meaningful work, which act as 'carrots and sticks' in their career experiences. This also results in what Harding et al. (2010: 164) call "managerialisation of the self, in which the self is constantly monitored to ensure it is behaving as an academic seemingly should". I argue that 'convenient identities' are a rationalized and individual-driven product of a 'no choice' situation in a particular professional context, but more interestingly, they appear to be instrumental for resolving gender-related identity dilemmas.

- Acceptance of gender imbalances: I am treated fairly

As shown in Figure 4, overall female academics in France did not question the legitimacy of disparities between male and female academics, and 'exempted' the institution from responsibilities for any imbalance. They talked extensively about the financial incentives which were the same for everyone and the flexible work arrangements and allowed them to leverage their output:

"We get bonuses for writing textbooks, case studies, online teaching materials, and of course, articles. You can even get a teaching award. We also get paid for additional teaching hours and student supervision, the rates are good. So that's motivating." (APMK 2)

Unlike UK female faculty, they did not feel that they needed to strictly separate professional from private life at the risk of being considered less committed to their job, which has been

found to be a major factor for inclusion and exclusion on gendered grounds in organizations (Armenti, 2004; Hoobler et al., 2011), and to deal with the non-work challenges themselves:

"I couldn't commute, we live quite far because of my partner's job, it's quite of a distance, there's also the school [of my kids]. So we have agreed that I'd do block teaching in the second semester, and only come for the department's meeting once a week" (ASPM)

The fact that interviewees felt that all contributions are currently considered valuable and rewarded, and issues are dealt with discreetly and on the case-by-case basis, seemed to result in less resentment for gender bias or on other discriminatory grounds. Meritocracy in France appears to be a more fluid and individualized notion which does not, at least visibly, favour one group at the expense of others (Mijs, 2016). These factors can also contribute towards the promotion of a genderless 'generic academic' and the perception that individuals can use their agency in their job and for their career development:

"If you think that you should get a salary increase or promotion, you can ask. […].You can also ask that your workload is adjusted depending on the projects you are working on. […] Teaching hours can be transferred to the next year". (FR, APM 2)

As a result, female academics do not appear to face, for now, gendered identity challenges and dilemmas similar to their UK counterparts. The spectrum of customized arrangements offered by the French institutions was wide and allowed female academics to maintain identity continuity as academics that enjoyed similar opportunities to their male counterparts. Although gender imbalances were not completely invisible to female academics in France, they were not resented in the same way as in the UK, and were generously counterbalanced by a significant margin for negotiation and adjustment of individual workloads and conditions. For female academics in France incentives, or 'carrots', were the most important

motivator. Women did not appear to question themselves or the system, and did not display insecurities and self-doubt with regard to their academic identity. Respondents' accounts revealed that the traditional view of the academic profession was still prevalent and reflected the way faculty live their working lives in Business Schools. Academics talked about their responsibilities encompassing research, teaching and administration balanced in various but often individualised ways, within the pre-determined academic profiles in each institution. Performative pressures were perceived as much lower and manageable through a combination of incentives, flexible work and workload arrangements, and a more comprehensive view of the academic profession. And although publication output requirements were acknowledged as important, at the time of the interviews they were not perceived as a major constraint likely to shape long term career development. Accountability was not resented to the same extent as in the UK, as there seems to be a significant margin for negotiation and re-negotiation of the individual output based on personal circumstances. Although elements of accountability and negotiation exist in each context, there is more emphasis on the former in the UK and more on the latter in France where negotiation is within the institution unlike in UK academia where it is frequently external. Notably, responses in France did not focus on competition but on collegiality. Female faculty did not tend to make upward comparisons with more successful male colleagues and to strive to reach similar levels of accomplishment to maximize their career opportunities, and to devise strategies for success. Unlike their counterparts in UK Business Schools, female academics in France did not perceive the need to comply with any particular image of the 'ideal academic' as no such concept was put forward or institutionalized in France. The environment was perceived as less gendered and threatening and women did not feel the need to craft 'masculine' identities at the expense of their female identities in order to adjust to performativity demands. And even if some respondents shared

the perception that men still had more networking and career advancement opportunities, and could more easily comply with the publication requirements, there was no significant concern for gender inequality. Women had a greater sense of personal agency as they appeared secure in their belief that their academic contribution would be evaluated comprehensively, and material rewards and promotion negotiated fairly. On the one hand, they internalized the reasons for their slower career progression and smaller numbers at higher hierarchical levels by attributing them to personal choices to have children or spend more time with their family, or to differences between how men and women did networking. On the other hand, they externalized the solution by appreciatively acknowledging the support they received from their institution. It became clear that institutions offered certain consideration for personal circumstances and support to academics on the case-by-case basis through highly individualized and flexible arrangements. However, the underrepresentation of women at higher hierarchical levels could in effect mean that by accepting the status quo women are to an extent complicit and perpetrators of a gender bias (Reilly et al, 2016). Furthermore, as performative pressures show signs of intensification in French Business Schools, female academics might find themselves unprepared to face the new challenges and tensions, in particular between work and non-work. Given the cultural and normative acceptance of a balance between the two and a positive spillover from the latter into the former, it is unclear whether responses and strategies of women in French institutions would resemble the ones adopted by some female academics in the UK. As discussed earlier, further studies would elucidate if there is continuity of positive perceptions and opinions amidst growing importance of publications in highly ranked journals as well as inter-campus mobility increasingly being required as part of the job. Current trends suggest that French Business Schools might be set to experiment with performance measurement tools similar to those

employed in other countries. Such experiments could affect the collegiate culture and gradually create an ideal academic imperative of prioritizing work over family commitments, with greater negative career consequences for women. A change in the balance of collegiality, holistic recognition, bonuses, and work-life balance under international competitive pressures would likely represent significant disruption in Higher Education institutions with distinct features and identity such as the French Business Schools. Possible effect could be a greater ability to attract academics from cultures more accustomed to the audit culture but a decreased attractiveness for entry level academics, in particular women, and a more competitive and gendered environment. Consequently, although there might be a degree of convergence in performance management practices amongst Business Schools in France and the UK, the effects on female academics and the identity responses they are willing and prepared to adopt might diverge.

6.3 Conclusions and contributions

In this chapter I explored the tensions women experience in the now widespread managerialist culture in Business Schools and their identity and behavioural responses. I reflected on what women perceive as achievable in the current climate and how they negotiated and resolved their gender-related dilemmas. Academia still appears to be a gendered environment, therefore exploring the effects of a pervasive, seemingly de-gendered 'ideal academic' imperative provided insights of the various strategies and trade-offs women undertake to deal with the pressures, as well as of the impact on their perceptions of competence and career success and their identities. Faced with the fragility and uncertainties related to their gender identities, female academics in the UK seemed to opt to comply with the 'ideal academic' image promoted by the REF and the School's discourse, policies and procedures, as a 'convenient identity'. This, I argue, allows them to elaborate and consolidate a seemingly de-

gendered identity clearly linked to guaranteed and socially and institutionally validated career success. They gain rewards and prove their worth, or simply avoid gender-related stereotyping, further marginalization, career stagnation, increased teaching and administrative loads, or losing their jobs, all of which were unequivocally emphasized in the respondents' accounts. Through compliance with the performance requirements, women also develop a marketable career identity which can shelter them from precariousness, as inter-organizational mobility appears to be the means to advance one's career, as discussed in Chapter 5. Thus, women craft and modify their selves; if successful, they feel enhanced self-esteem, coherence, and personal agency, and gain social validation (Petriglieri and Petriglieri, 2010). In France, on the other hand, female faculty did not seem to be burdened to the same extent by competitive demands, an ideal academic imperative, and particular academic roles assigned to them because of their gender, as the context in French Business Schools did not appear to be double-bounded (Afiouni, 2014) at the time of the interviews. However, this is a 'snapshot' picture of the situation in France at a particular point in time. There are signs that managerialist developments are accelerating their pace, which could exacerbate further the currently rather invisible gender imbalances and impact on careers and identities of female academics.

By exploring the effects on performance management systems and practices on identity of female academics in Business Schools in two countries, I account both for the power of institutionalized norms and the importance of the national context. Women play an increasingly prominent role in society, and Business Schools are meant to 'produce' future business leaders. Intense audit pressures and the resulting homogeneization of academics into highly productive research machines go against the growing body of research into the benefits of diversity of people and ideas. The findings in this study could prompt future comparative
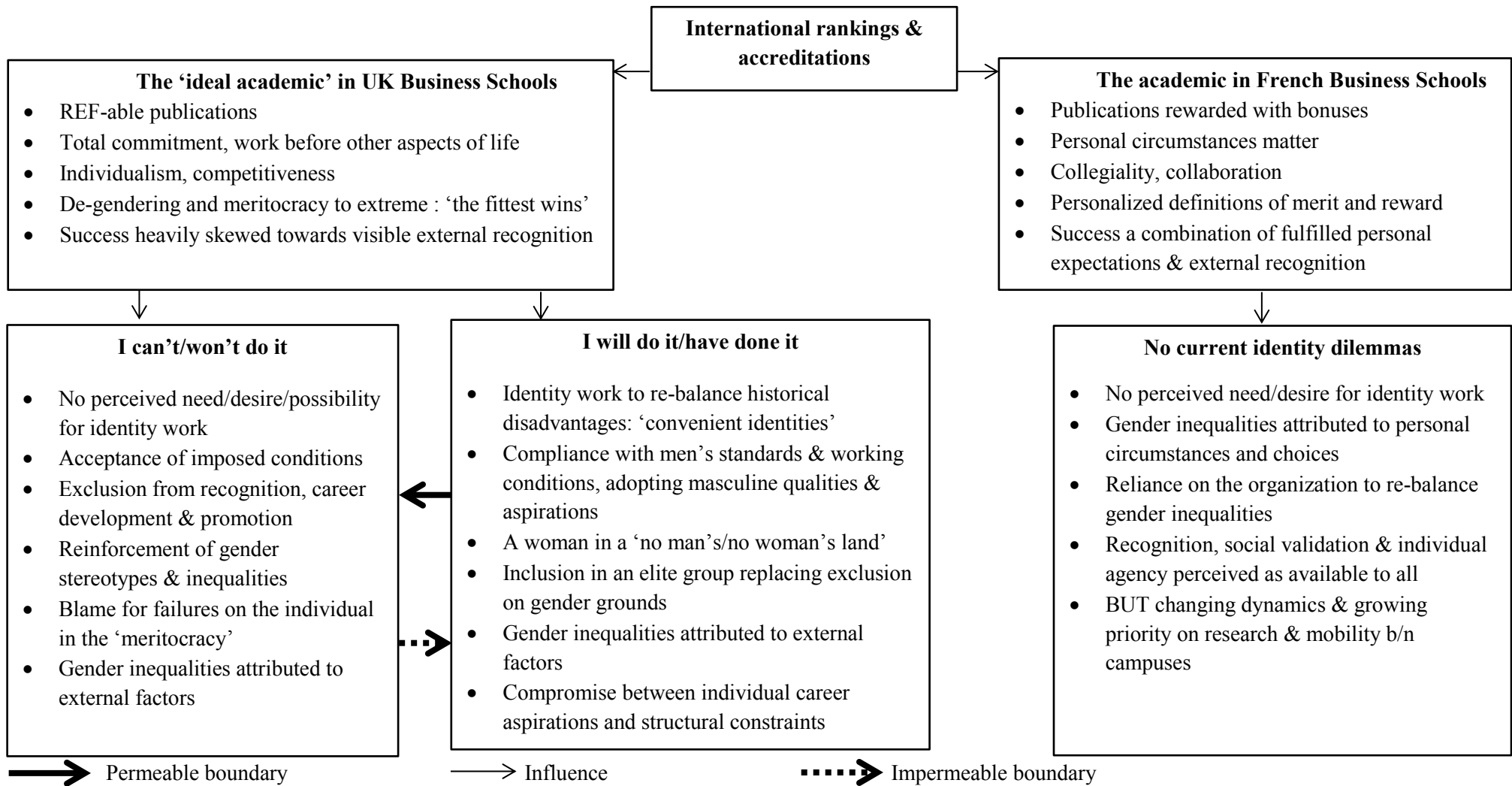
or nation-specific studies on the impact of competitive and accountability pressures on individual identities as well as on organizational and societal outcomes in particular occupational settings. This research contributes to understanding the relationship between context, identities and careers of an understudied group of academics in two national contexts. Business Schools are subject to intensified pressures to compete and perform in the international arena, which challenges the way careers are viewed and evolve in the shadow of a power operating beyond national borders. The findings suggest that in both countries identities and behaviours are affected by international pressures but identity work is contingent on the way these pressures are translated in each institutional and cultural setting.

Figure 6 below illustrates the influences on identity of female academics in UK and French Business Schools. Employing individual agency by female faculty in the UK to cross the boundary from 'I can't do it'/ I 'won't do it' to 'I will do it'/ 'I have done it' is impeded by structural and cultural barriers which make the boundary impermeable. On the other hand, movements in the opposite direction are always possible because of the unstable and insecure position of the female in a 'no man's/no woman's land' in a context where double standards for men's and women's responsibilities, work and performance still apply.

By contrast, in France there appears to be a generic academic identity for academics whose contracts included a research element. Faculty on teaching only contracts whose career aspirations did not include research were not interviewed in this study but their accounts could be useful for exploring further identity differences in Business Schools. The female academic who was formerly in an administrative function was already participating in collaborative research and was planning to renegotiate her contract. It is important to emphasize that the boundary between teaching and research profiles in France is significantly more permeable than in the UK in both directions, and the imperative to comply with

managerially inspired discourses (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002) has not been institutionalized to the extent reached in the UK. The opportunity to move between research and teaching profiles without stigmatization attached suggests that unlike in the UK, teaching faculty are not necessarily 'stuck' in a devaluing profile with negative consequences on their sensemaking and identity. The 'carrot' approach of rewarding publications financially incentivizes academics on any type of contract to conduct research. The extent to which this is feasible for those with high teaching loads and publication ambitions could vary. Similarly to their counterparts in the UK and to other professions, women could find themselves more affected by non-work circumstances and work and non-work reconciliation issues.

Figure 6: Influences on identity of female academics in UK and French Business Schools

International rankings & accreditations

The 'ideal academic' in UK Business Schools
- REF-able publications
- Total commitment, work before other aspects of life
- Individualism, competitiveness
- De-gendering and meritocracy to extreme : 'the fittest wins'
- Success heavily skewed towards visible external recognition

The academic in French Business Schools
- Publications rewarded with bonuses
- Personal circumstances matter
- Collegiality, collaboration
- Personalized definitions of merit and reward
- Success a combination of fulfilled personal expectations & external recognition

I can't/won't do it
- No perceived need/desire/possibility for identity work
- Acceptance of imposed conditions
- Exclusion from recognition, career development & promotion
- Reinforcement of gender stereotypes & inequalities
- Blame for failures on the individual in the 'meritocracy'
- Gender inequalities attributed to external factors

I will do it/have done it
- Identity work to re-balance historical disadvantages: 'convenient identities'
- Compliance with men's standards & working conditions, adopting masculine qualities & aspirations
- A woman in a 'no man's/no woman's land'
- Inclusion in an elite group replacing exclusion on gender grounds
- Gender inequalities attributed to external factors
- Compromise between individual career aspirations and structural constraints

No current identity dilemmas
- No perceived need/desire for identity work
- Gender inequalities attributed to personal circumstances and choices
- Reliance on the organization to re-balance gender inequalities
- Recognition, social validation & individual agency perceived as available to all
- BUT changing dynamics & growing priority on research & mobility b/n campuses

→ Permeable boundary → Influence ┅► Impermeable boundary

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CHAPTER 7

OVERALL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary of the research findings

This research has sought to shed light on the effects of international performative pressures on careers and identities of academics amidst suggestions that Higher Education systems worldwide are set to converge in terms of governance, funding mechanisms and priorities, performance measurement mechanisms and academic careers. I explored both objective and subjective impacts of internationals competition and their practical implications. Analysis of the collected data revealed that despite similarities between UK and French Business Schools in their presence in international ranking tables such as Financial Times, and in obtaining prestigious international accreditations, at the time the interviews were conducted there were significant differences between institutions and academic career paths. The next paragraphs will summarize the findings.

Respondents' accounts showed divergences in the areas investigated, such as perceived pressures and career prospects, work priorities, mobility, collegiality, organizational culture, gender issues, and work-life balance. Also, examination of secondary data pointed to differences in structure, governance and functioning of the institutions, visibility and substance of their strategic goals, as well as in their visions of the future. Although UK and French Business Schools exhibit similarities in their image of success to the world, they achieve such success following distinct, context-bound routes shaped by the cultural, institutional and normative particularities in each country and its Higher Education system. Regarding academic careers, differences emerged in the manner and the extent to which academics can use agency for career development both within the institution and by moving

between Business Schools. In the UK competition between individuals and institutions is widely praised, encouraged and enabled, whereas in France Business Schools discourage competition. UK faculty with the right publications used inter-organizational mobility to boost their careers, whereas in French institutions cultural norms, family concerns, and geographic distribution of Schools affected the perception of viability and desirability of such moves. Instead, academics in France used individual agency within their institution to negotiate better career development conditions and workloads. In both countries internal transitions from a research to a teaching role were mostly initiated by the institution. However, whilst in the UK this was done through coercive and stigmatizing disciplinary measures, and perceived as a one-way street which would end one's research career, in France moves between profiles were not stigmatizing and the boundary was permeable in both directions, from research to teaching and from teaching to research. Business Schools appeared to enable moves from teaching to research even at the academic's initiative, and a common route was through collaboration with colleagues on research projects. Whereas UK Business Schools used incentives and punishments differentially depending on whether the academic was considered top researcher, rank-and-file, or 'liability', in France incentives were perceived to overweigh punishments by far. The modus operandi in UK Business Schools appeared to be cemented by legible career script, strong validation mechanisms, external accountability, and visibility of success and failure, whereas in French institutions invisible and flexible arrangements were enabled by weak script with individualized variations, weak validation mechanisms, and internal accountability. Both systems had inherent weaknesses and negative outcomes, and in both women were visibly, invisibly or potentially disadvantaged, albeit in different ways.

The organizational culture was more clearly perceived as masculine by female faculty in the UK. However, the institutions' commitment to meritocracy based on competition and masculine values, and the ensuing 'ideal academic' imperative had some unanticipated positive outcomes for some female faculty as they engaged in identity work towards 'convenient identities' in order to overcome their historical gendered disadvantages. By contrast, in France there was no institutionalized 'ideal academic' imperative. Gender imbalances in Business Schools appeared to be rather invisible despite the unequal representation of female academics at higher hierarchical levels. Women attributed such imbalances to their own family-related choices and gender differences, thus contributing to the persistence of the status quo. They did not perceive the organizational culture as masculine and their lower representation up the hierarchical ladder as a threat, and did not engage in gender identity work.

These results show some commonalities between Business Schools in the two countries but mostly several differences, thus defying suggestions that Higher Education systems, academic institutions and careers are set on a convergence path (e.g Durand and Dameron, 2011). A key to estimating long-term convergence or divergence prospects of Higher Education in different countries could be a combination of factors including government involvement, funding mechanisms, the degree of advancement of audit culture in each of them, and the maturity they have reached in their evaluation and re-evaluation of their Performance Management tools. Indeed, for example the stage of progression in the methods of assessment of academic quality appeared to be a major differentiating factor when analysing the data. Thus, whilst the UK has been formally and externally assessing research output of universities since the 1980s, with the government as a major stakeholder actively involved in the process, in France mangerialist pressures and experiments have only entered the public discourse and the

regulatory domain in the 2000s, and only concerned public universities. French Business Schools, on the other hand, have traditionally relied more on their national prestige as elitist Grandes Écoles whose mission was to educate the future French political and business leaders. The race to compete on the international educational arena for prestige and for attracting talented students and renowned academics publishing in top journals is relatively recent compared to the UK, and has accelerated with growing globalization and international mobility. Also, it became apparent that at the time of the interviews respondents in French institutions were only starting to see signs of formalization of assessment of their research output, which points to a gap of more than two-and-a-half decades between formalization endeavours in the UK and France. Although research output has been important and valued for much longer, and the CNRS journal list has been traditionally used as reference, according to the respondents' accounts there have not been striking prioritization of specific journals or significant threats on the stability and security of the academic career. Furthermore, in the UK the government is heavily invested in the design and the promotion of the REF, and makes its funding decisions based on the results of the exercise. In France, by contrast, Business Schools enjoy autonomous decision-making and independence from direct government involvement and funding. Thus, performance managements systems in UK and French Business Schools appear to be influenced by contextual factors and positioned at different stages of their experimentation with the audit culture, which could help to explain divergences found in this research and their implications, as well as to speculate about potential future developments.

7.2 Positioning of UK and French Business Schools in the life-cycle of performance management and its implications

A useful framework to explore these differences is the life-cycle model of performance management proposed by Jan van Helden, Johnsen and Vakkuri (2012). It builds on two constructs: the product life-cycle model and policy making theory. The former contains the stages market introduction, growth, maturation and decline, and the latter the stages of agenda setting, policy formation, decision, implementation and evaluation (Jan van Helden et al, 2012). Drawing from these constructs, Jan van Helden et al (2012) identify four stages in their model of performance management life cycle: design, implementation, use and assessment. They also consider the impacts of performance-management systems such as behavioural consequences and organizational effectiveness, as well as the embeddedness of these systems in their institutional environment. Figure 7 below illustrates their life-cycle model of performance management in the public sector.
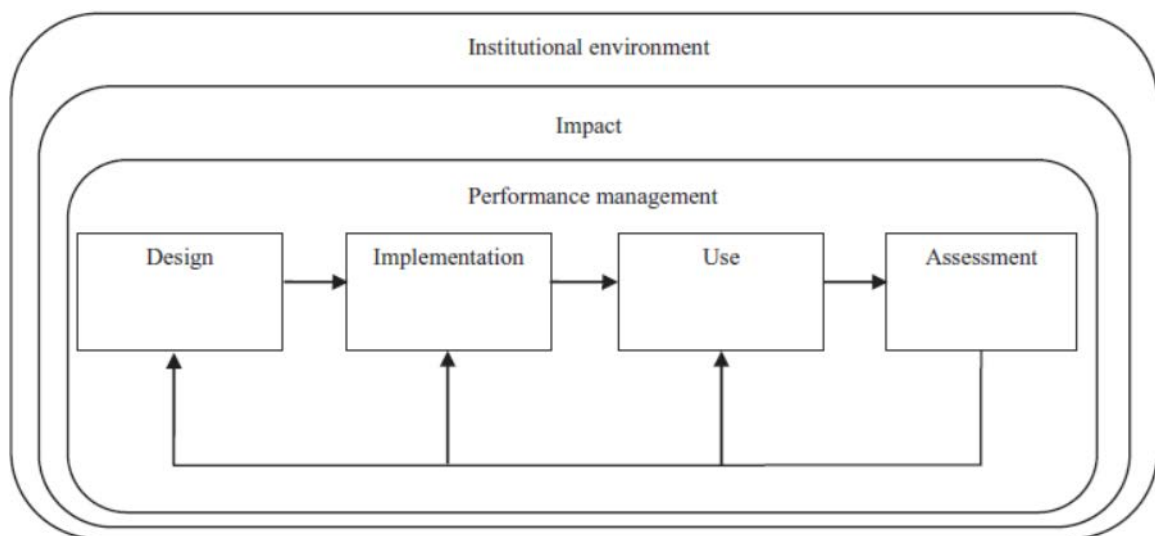

Figure 7: The performance-management life cycle (Jan van Helden et al, 2012)

Jan van Helden et al (2012) defines design as the construction of types of indicators and their relation with goals. Implementation pertains to introduction and testing of performance-management systems in organization, use refers to different objectives, styles of adoption, and

their effects on individuals, organizations, services, etc., and assessment refers to evaluation and possible redesign (Jan van Helden et al, 2012). The authors further classify impacts of performance-management systems as intended and unintended, and functional and dysfunctional, and suggest considering the importance of institutional factors. They also acknowledge that the performance management life-cycle is not linear, as learning from the process may influence each stage.

This framework is useful for the present study as it allows for positioning of performance management approaches adopted in UK and French Business schools in the performance management life cycle and within their institutional context. It is important to clarify that the aim of my research is not to find the best model to help practitioners to devise, implement, use, and evaluate successful performance management systems. The HRM literature is replete with performance management models, many of which are elaborate and complex. They present practitioners with tools they can adapt to their organizational needs but are too technical for the purpose of this research. My aim is to explore how the positioning of Business Schools at a particular stage of the performance management life cycle and at a point of time within a particular context shapes the characteristics and the outcomes of the performance management system. This would also allow me to speculate on potential developments in France should Business Schools follow the path through to elaborating an audit system similar to the one already in use in the UK. I use the life cycle model to highlight the contrast between the maturity of the UK performance management system and the early implementation endeavours in the French system. As suggested in the previous chapters, French Business Schools might be set to catching up on audit and performance management but it is unclear how contextual factors will affect this drive and to what consequences on careers.

The analysis of the collected data lead to clustering of the impacts of performance-management into the following groups: Intended & Functional, Unintended & Dysfunctional, Unintended & Functional, and Intended & Dysfunctional. It is important to emphasize that this was the situation at the time of the interviews. Potential impacts which could result from ongoing developments and new dynamics will be speculated upon further in the discussion.

Table 7 below summarizes the identified impacts of current performance management systems in UK and French Business Schools.

Table 7: Impacts of performance-management systems in UK and French Business Schools

Impacts	UK	France
Intended & functional	• publications in highly ranked international journals & more citations • individual & institutional prestige • funding for the institution	• publications in national & international journals • institutional prestige • motivation of faculty through incentives
Unintended & dysfunctional	***For faculty*** • segregation, stigmatization, differential empowerment/disempowerment, precarity, stress & anxiety, diminishing academic freedom ***For the institution*** • 'gaming' the system for recognition • decline of ideas & innovation	***For faculty & the institution*** • potential nepotism • invisibility and perpetration of gender inequalities • attribution of career development inequalities to personal choices & gender differences
Unintended & functional	• 'ideal academic': clear guidelines for success • identity work to overcome gendered disadvantages: 'convenient identities'	• stability & security of careers • loyalty & commitment by staff • perceptions of egalitarianism • perceptions of work-life balance
Intended & dysfunctional	• separation of teaching and research • competition • students as customers	• individualized negotiation leading to financial & career development disparities

Following the performance-management life cycle model to map the analysed data, UK Business Schools appear to be positioned in the assessment stage of the life-cycle which is related to appraisal and refining or redesigning of the performance management in place following feedback. The UK has been reviewing the quality assessment exercises in academia after each round, fine-tuning its metrics, broadening its coverage and making changes in the particulars of the assessments in terms of who can submit, under what conditions, and to what outcome for the institutions. Multiplication of feedback from diverse sources such as the academic community and the trade union in academic journals, in Times Higher Education, and in press (e.g. Butler and Spoelstra; Cohen and Duberley, 2017; Jump, 2015; Morrish, 2017; Spooner, 2015; Tourish and Willmott, 2015; UCU, 2013; Wells, 2013), as well as commissioned reports and other evaluation of the REF (Equality and Diversity Advisory Panel, 2015; HEFCE, 2015; The Stern Review, 2016) have prompted significant debate, and "may help avoiding overly simple feedback mechanisms in which responsible persons listen to what only external evaluators have to say" (Jan van Helden et al, 2012, p. 171). Nevertheless, the REF appears to be set to endure, but will possibly go through further modifications and re-design of its features following emergence of unintended but potentially damaging effects to the purpose and the outcomes of the exercise. I identified all four types of impact in the UK performance management system: Intended & Functional, Unintended & Dysfunctional, Unintended & Functional, and Intended & Dysfunctional.

Intended and functional impacts include more publications in highly ranked journals, more citations, individual and institutional prestige, and funding for the institution. The objectives of the UK performance management system in academia are therefore being met. However, when looking into the way this is achieved, there appear to be a number of unintended and dysfunctional consequences both for the faculty and the Business Schools. My results suggest

that compliance with the publication requirements imposed by the REF is largely due to imbalances between incentives and punishments and affects academics differentially through overt and institutionalized segregation and stigmatization. Whilst for some the motivator appeared to be the accumulation of research capital for the purpose of increasing employability and being able to engage in inter-organizational mobility to boost one's career, for others it is the fear of losing one's job. The approach taken by universities thus leads to differential empowerment and disempowerment of their faculty and precarity, with some accumulating REF-determined research capital whilst others having to accept contracts and conditions imposed by the institution. The latter, but also the former to an extent, as acknowledged by the respondents, reported increased levels of stress and anxiety to meet the research targets. Compliance with targets is also associated with diminishing academic freedom (Shore, 2016) to pursue one's research interests. There are also dysfunctional outcomes for the institutions as academics learn to 'game' the system (e.g. Adler and Harzing, 2009; Butler and Spoelstra, 2012) with publications which are produced to meet targets at the expense of fresh ideas and innovation. Several studies have also pointed to the secondary importance allocated to ideas and innovation:

"Just as Soviet planners had to decide how to measure the output of factories, how to develop indices of plan fulfillment, so now universities have to develop elaborate measures of output, KPIs (key performance indicators), reducing research to publications, and to publications to refereed journals, and referred journals to impact factors. Just as Soviet planning produced absurd distortions […], now the monitoring of higher education is replete with distortions that obstruct production (research) and dissemination (publication) and even transmission (teaching) of knowledge […], making the university a tool rather than a motor of the knowledge economy" (Burawoy, 2012, p. 8).

[The outcome is a] "wider debasement of academic culture whereby business schools and academics are encouraged to over-focus on issues of status and league table positioning for their own sake, rather than address important issues of concern to our wider society" (Tourish and Willmott, 2015).

Indeed, for several respondents in this study the overwhelming concern was about whether their research was judged 'excellent' by the REF-established standards rather than whether it was viewed as excellent by themselves and by peers. Jan van Helden et al (2012) point out that "the design of performance-management systems continues to be biased toward measuring costs and efficiency at the expense of issues of equity and user satisfaction", and Wells (2013) deplores that "Publication becomes the primary end, not knowledge creation or intrinsic interest in the subject" (Wells, 2013). All of these dysfunctional outcomes impact on motivation, commitment, loyalty, as well as on the attractiveness of the academic profession (Wells, 2013). As Jan van Helden et al (2012, p. 168) observe, "In performance measurement, the cure may sometimes become worse than the disease", which undermines the aim of performance management to bring about improvements and positive impact (Boyne, Meier, O'Toole, and Walker, 2006). Richard, Plimmer, Fam and Campbell (2015, p. 138) argue that "Indeed, the existing carrot or stick approach is harmful to academic staff, arguably their families, and are unfair to women", and that "There are personal costs, in the form of health concerns and work–family conflict, associated with academic success, more so for women than men." (Richard et al, 2015, p.23)

However, I also found an unintended and functional impact of the UK performance management system: some female faculty engaged in identity work towards constructing 'convenient identities' positioned within managerial discourses and expectations for performance. Whilst complying with a set of masculine expectations and an 'ideal academic' imperative constructed as meritocracy by and for male academics, women were building their own, seemingly de-gendered identities and saw the managerialist drive as an opportunity to overcome their historical gender-related disadvantages. As discussed in Chapter 6,

meritocracy, metrics and quantifiable targets offer clarity in the assessment process and thus, paradoxically, weaken the otherwise powerful gendered practices in academia.

I also found intended and dysfunctional impacts, for example the separation of teaching and research (e.g. Tourish and Willmott, 2015) which could jeopardize innovation and transmission of knowledge to students, and the openly encouraged competition between academics and academic institutions which is likely to diminish collaboration to generate innovative ideas. A further problem could stem from treating students as customers which could result in a skewed understanding of education as a product/item students can purchase without putting an intellectual effort into the process.

By contrast, at the time of the interviews, French Business Schools appeared to be at the 'use' stage of their traditional performance management model but moving towards the implementation of 'borrowed' methods of assessment which were tried in other contexts such as the UK. As reported by the participants, many of the traditional workload and career arrangements were still in place,. Performance management tools had been designed to align with contextual factors such as language (the CNRS list of ranked journals also contains French language outlets) and accommodation of family circumstances for those who have children. Bonuses for publications are a unique and enduring feature in these institutions.

Whereas in the UK revisions of the performance management system has been conducted regularly and pressed for by the government, in France no external assessment common to all Business Schools of the performance management in use has ever been carried out. The primary motivation for moving towards more accountability and performance management seems to come from a drive to compete on the international educational arena and not from any political or other institutional push. Analysis of the data showed that performance and

career management also generated all four impacts. Intended and functional impacts included, similarly to the UK, more publications in national and international journals and institutional prestige. Unlike in the UK, this is achieved with bonuses as incentives which are the highest for publications in top journals, and encouragement for collaboration, thus increasing the motivation of faculty. However, there appear also to be unintended and dysfunctional effects both for faculty and the institution, such as potential nepotism, invisibility of gender inequalities, and attribution of imbalances in career development opportunities to personal choices and gender differences. This could mean that the best talents are not always the ones who are recognised and rewarded, and that gender inequalities are not addressed. Further dysfunctional impacts similar to those in the UK could be triggered if French Business Schools decide to follow the UK path.

There are also a number of unintended and functional impacts. Stability and security of academic careers, as well as loyalty and commitment of staff, are strengthened both by the way performance management is conducted and designed, and the cultural and normative traditions in the country. In particular, individualized career negotiations and paths seemed to increase perceptions of egalitarian treatment, and the positive spillover effect from non-work into work was greatly appreciated. However, individualized negotiation appeared to result in financial and career development disparities, and therefore emerged as intended but dysfunctional arrangements.

Jan van Helden et al (2012) suggest that the life-cycle model of performance management could help to anticipate and solve problems which might be encountered at different stages, "to recognize either positive or negative unintended side effects of the programmes" (p. 171). As demonstrated in this discussion, this model could be particularly useful for comparative

research in order to examine the justification for convergence between systems and its potential pitfalls.

7.3 Conclusions, contributions, limitations and avenues for future research

This thesis has investigated the significance of institutional factors and their interplay for the construction of performance management systems in UK and French Business Schools and their influence on careers and identities of academics. I provided empirical evidence of how particular performance contexts are built and how they influence career behaviours through scripts of varying deterministic power. I also explored and theorized the identity work female academics engaged in whilst navigating their respective performance contexts.
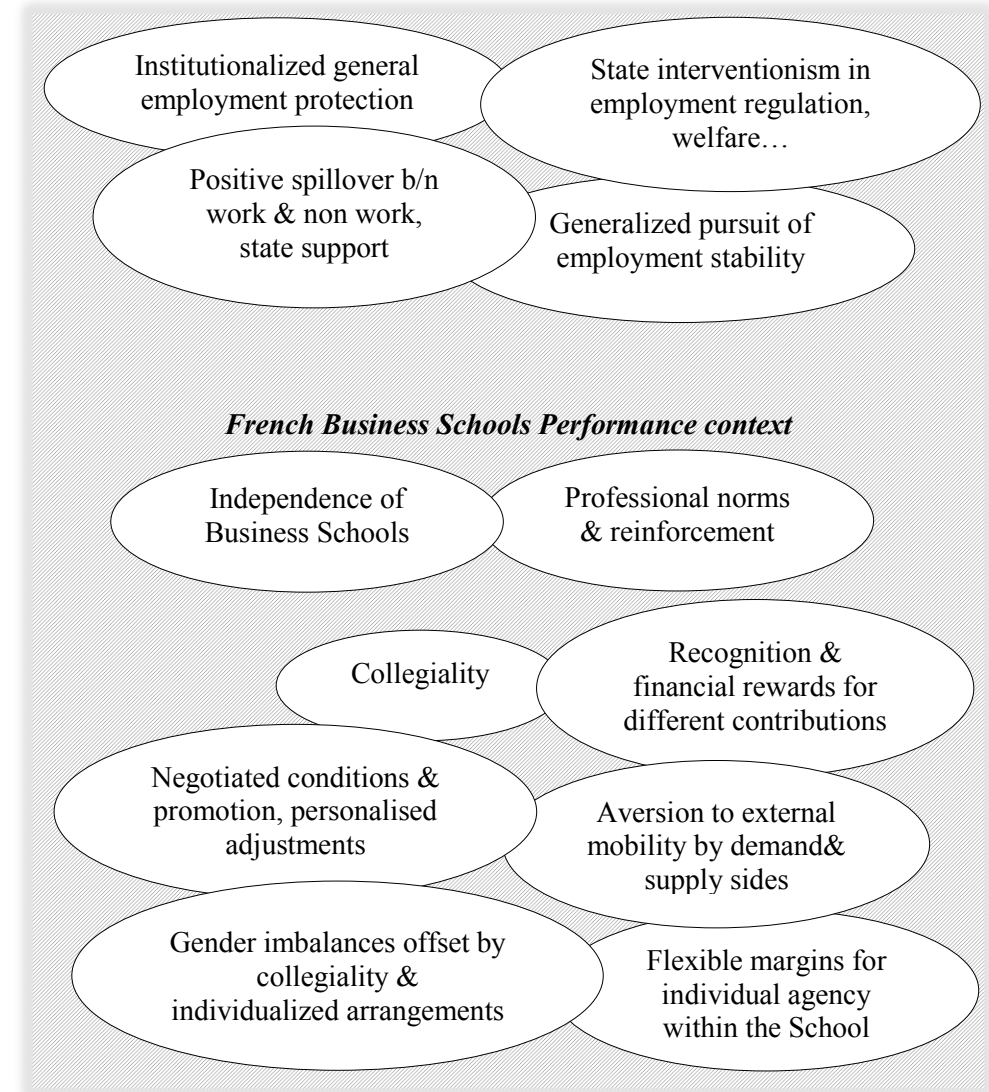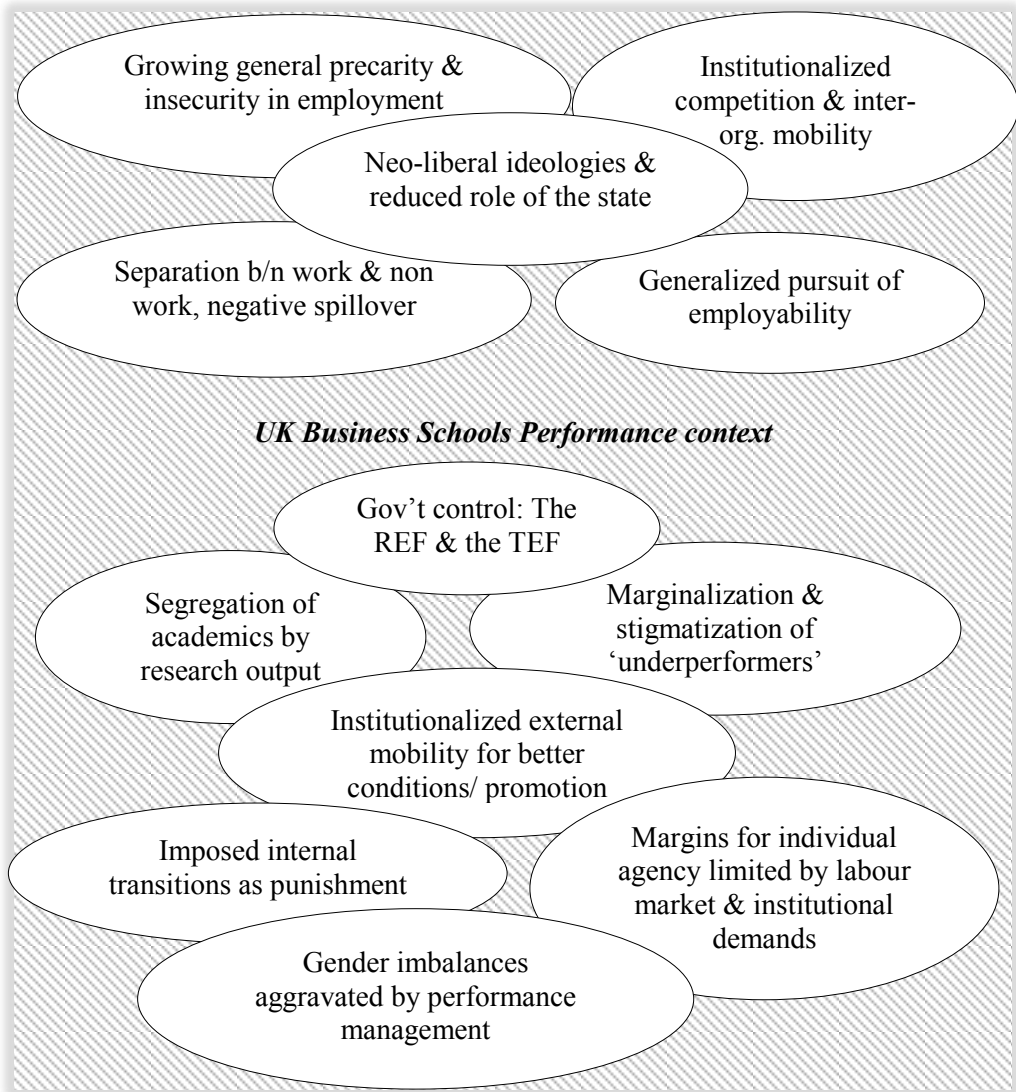
In the UK, career scripts were directly influenced by the government-controlled national institutions, the REF and the newly devised TEF which follows the same logic of enhanced control and accountability of academics. Academic careers thus evolved under strong regulatory and institutional imperatives characterized by centralized power and reliance predominantly on research output credentials, and in the near future on teaching quality assessments. The broader cultural, normative and regulatory environment shaped by neo-liberal ideologies of self-reliance and the now well-established performance management culture in UK academia resulted in widespread and institutionalized competition which triggered individualistic career strategies and identity work. These were carried out within the boundaries and opportunities clearly defined by the heavily regulated career scripts for different categories of academics. The opportunities for academics to employ individual agency in their career decisions depended on the accumulation of REF-defined career capital and the related assignment of the academic into a specific category of staff. Thus, the shared understanding of what constitutes performance in UK Business Schools was constructed

under the influence of a number of contextual institutional factors and articulated through strong career scripts and an 'ideal academic' imperative.

Academics in French Business Schools also encountered career scripts but these were weak, flexible and highly individualized. A balance of overall contributions to the School was accorded more value than publications alone, and the academics were encouraged and given the opportunity to build their careers within the institution. Incentives and rewards for both individual and team efforts allowed for aligning individual aspirations for success with the success of the School as a collective of collaborating members. Whereas UK academics were enabled to focus on their individual achievements and use them for career purposes, Business School academics in France showed commitment to contribute to achieving the School's objectives such as quality and reputation. Furthermore, the positive spillover between work and non work in French Business Schools set against a broader cultural, normative and regulatory environment of reliance on state support for general employment protection and welfare matters created favorable conditions for meeting personal, professional and institutional goals without having to decide between competing priorities. Permeability in both directions between research and teaching positions without stigma, supported both by the School and colleagues, allowed for proactive use of individual agency for interpreting, negotiating and acting upon career scripts. All of these factors, together with the professional norms established and reinforced by the Conférence des Grandes Écoles, and the independence of the Schools from direct government intervention, contributed to the construction of a distinct performance context for academics and their Business Schools in France shaped by context-specific institutions.

Figure 8 illustrates the influences on each performance context.

Figure 8: The Performance context for UK and French Business Schools

UK Business Schools Performance context:
- Growing general precarity & insecurity in employment
- Institutionalized competition & inter-org. mobility
- Neo-liberal ideologies & reduced role of the state
- Separation b/n work & non work, negative spillover
- Generalized pursuit of employability
- Gov't control: The REF & the TEF
- Segregation of academics by research output
- Marginalization & stigmatization of 'underperformers'
- Institutionalized external mobility for better conditions/ promotion
- Imposed internal transitions as punishment
- Margins for individual agency limited by labour market & institutional demands
- Gender imbalances aggravated by performance management

French Business Schools Performance context:
- Institutionalized general employment protection
- State interventionism in employment regulation, welfare…
- Positive spillover b/n work & non work, state support
- Generalized pursuit of employment stability
- Independence of Business Schools
- Professional norms & reinforcement
- Collegiality
- Recognition & financial rewards for different contributions
- Negotiated conditions & promotion, personalised adjustments
- Aversion to external mobility by demand& supply sides
- Gender imbalances offset by collegiality & individualized arrangements
- Flexible margins for individual agency within the School

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These findings provide important insights into the significance of institutional influences for creating specific performance management contexts for Business School academics in the UK and France. They extend the existing scholarship on both career scripts and identity by providing a cross-cultural and nuanced comparison of faculty experiences under different performance management systems and practices. This research is novel in that it demonstrates how gendered academic cultures and practices, as well as casualization and precarity on the one hand, and employment stability on the other, are embedded in the characteristics of particular performance contexts and shape the conditions for individual agency and identity work. It thus demonstrates that academic careers should not be conceptualized generically (Harley et al, 2004) but studied in context. Further, this study contributes to the growing debate over the effectiveness and justification of marketization and enhanced auditing of academic institutions and their consequences for motivation, innovation, scholarship, academic freedom, knowledge production, relevance and dissemination, students and the broader society, among others. An interesting finding is that although metrics and the enhanced accountability are mostly perceived as a source of limitations and therefore detrimental in academia, the 'convenient identity' work of some female faculty in the UK shows that they can also offer some unforeseen opportunities. The findings could prove relevant for other professionals, in particular knowledge workers, whose careers evolve within particular management contexts.

My findings show that at the time when the interviews took place, UK and French Business Schools were at different stages of their performance management life-cycle. To use Richard et al's (2015) words, French institutions were focusing mostly on positive incentives and academics reported perceived organisational support, whereas UK institutions mostly employed the 'publish or perish' negative incentives.

However, both French and UK Business Schools appear to be undergoing changes which could affect the makeup of their performance management systems. As discussed in Chapter 6, there are signs that French Business Schools are moving towards a more enhanced performance management system where the greatest priority are publications in highly ranked international journals. Contextual influences appear to be important for the moment but their role might be diminishing in favour of more internationally validated and used metrics. As French institutions are competing with other institutions globally, the only current basis for comparison which is quick and easy to use appear to be publications in listed journals (Adler and Harzing, 2009; Clarke and Knights, 2015; Durand and Dameron, 2011), and any attempts to exit the system (Whitley, 2011) would put institutions at disadvantage in their pursuit for international recognition (Paradeise and Thoenig, 2013). Amongst unintended but potentially dysfunctional consequences could be the faculty engaging in 'gaming' the system for the financial reward (bonuses), and, similarly to reports about other countries with advanced audit systems such as the UK, publish for the sake of publishing (and receiving the bonus). This could lead to a decline of ideas and innovation. Therefore, although at the time when the interviews were conducted the UK and French Business Schools performance management systems appeared to differ, in the long term more convergence in both design and consequences of such systems might be expected. However, as Jan van Helden et al (2012, p. 170) point out, "a more in-depth analysis of the institutional and organizational contingencies of performance-management design, implementation, use and assessment may show inconsistencies. For example, what works (or not) in one setting in an Anglo-American public management culture may not work in another setting." In the absence of pressing financial issues and government direct and decisive intervention, institutions seem to voluntarily pursue international success by embracing ready-made metrics and journal rankings. It is unclear for

the moment to what extent French institutions would adopt the UK version of the academic audit culture, within what timeframe, and what would be the role of contextual factors such as culture, norms, institutional environment, and regulations. In the UK, the effects of the introduction of much higher tuition fees in 2012 are still to be explored. A recent study (Tomlinson, 2015) on student choice of university for their studies points to the importance of the reputation and high status of institutions which are based to some extent on research output acknowledged by league tables. Consequently, higher fees might enhance the importance of research output as universities are keen to increase their reputation and attract more students and thus more money from fees. Furthermore, although the potential impact on academia and academic careers of the tensed political climate surrounding Brexit is not clear for the moment, there are some worrying signs. Brexit could pose significant challenges for attracting and retaining talented academics and students from other countries, and maintaining the levels of funding needed to pursue quality research. The recent redundancies at Heriot-Watt University were claimed to be linked directly to Brexit (Times Higher Education, 2017).

This investigation is limited to research-intensive Schools which experience more pressure to publish (Miller et al, 2011) for reputation validated by international benchmarking institutions. Future research could focus on other institutions such as the more teaching-oriented former Polytechnics in the UK or the Management departments (IAEs) in French universities. As integral part of public universities, the latter are likely to be subjected to growing pressures under expanding new public management regulations and measures to strengthen accountability and enhance control over budgets and academic output. Studying institutions which have traditionally been less focused on research output could shed light on other influences on academic careers and identities. Findings can also stimulate future comparative or nation-specific studies on careers in particular occupational settings,

especially those more easily seen as having a potential to exemplify research concepts on the 'new career', such as knowledge workers, in order to explore mechanisms for precarity and identity responses under competitive pressures.

This is a 'snapshot' cross-sectional study in times of prolonged economic crisis and significant changes in Higher Education. Careers literature would benefit from longitudinal studies to explore the long-term effects of these changes on academic careers and the threat of precarity and identity sense-breaking. Also, my research does not investigate in depth any personal contingencies which could play a mediating role and have an impact on transitions and identities in Business Schools. In my French sample, most female and male academics had children, compared to the UK sample in which many male and female academics did not have children. This may open other avenues to explore the significance of personal contingencies for intra- and inter-organizational transitions, for particular identity work such as 'convenient identities', or for performance management system design, implementation, use and assessment in countries with generous and less generous welfare. Further investigation of contexts in which academic careers develop could thus provide insights on wider environmental phenomena shaping career constraints and individual career choices.

The study relies on a small sample of PhD holders and excluding staff on teaching contracts, with the exception of a pilot interview in France and a female respondent in the UK who was forced to accept a teaching-only contract after a successful research career. Further research could address the impact of performative pressures on teaching faculty. This would indeed by relevant in the UK which expands assessment of academics through the TEF, or in France where there are signs of growing separation between teaching and research faculty, and job announcements on websites such as AKADEUS and FNEGE frequently require teaching evaluations by students from potential candidates.

CHAPTER 8

APPENDICES

8.1 Questionnaire

Careers of academics in Business Schools: a comparative study

1. Please tell me about your career to date.

2. Please tell me about the development and promotion opportunities at your workplace.

   - What is your previous experience of such opportunities?

   - What do you think of the current opportunities?

   - What are your views on the availability of such opportunities in general and for women in particular in the Business School?

3. How is performance assessed in the Business School?

   - What are the publication output requirements for career progression in the Business School?

   - How teaching is assessed? Are the results taken into account for career progression and if yes, how?

   - What are your administration duties if any? Are they taken into account in the performance evaluation process? Are they important for progression?

   - How important is networking for career progression?

   - How important is mobility for career progression?

4. What do you think of your previous and current workload?

   - What is the workload distribution between research, teaching and administration?

5. What is your view on the reward levels at your workplace?

6. What is your view on job security in the Business School?

7. Please comment on any equal opportunity and family-friendly policies, procedures and their implementation.

   - Have you ever used these policies? How and to what result?

8. Do you have family responsibilities?

9. (If the respondent has family responsibilities) Please comment on how you reconcile work and family life.

   - Further probe on any conflict and tensions and how they manage it.

8.2 Ethics form

Interview information and consent form

<u>About this study</u>

This interview is part of a study about career trajectories in Business Schools. I am interested to find out about how career is constructed and evolves, as well as what factors have an impact on career development and how. I am interviewing a number of academics in Business Schools in the United Kingdom and France.

This sheet is for you to keep and tells you more about the study and what it involves.

- The study is part of my PhD project conducted at Birmingham Business School, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom.

- I am going to interview around twenty men and women individually in each country.

- All the interviews will be face to face, Skype, or phone discussions, of approximately one hour.

- With your permission, I shall digitally record your interview, and then it will be written out so that we have a record of what was said in the interview.

- When I write up the interviews I shall change organisations and people's names to protect the identities of everyone who has taken part.

- If you agree to take part in this interview, but feel at any stage that you would like to stop, you are free to do so at any time, and your data will be destroyed.

- The collected data will be analysed in 2013. Any publication is likely to be between 2014 and 2017.

- You can withdraw from the study at any point of time, before and during the interview, as well as up to three months after the interview takes place. If you choose to withdraw, your data will be destroyed. If you wish to withdraw, please contact Professor Joanne Duberley (contact details below).

- If after the interview has taken place you decide you do not want your comments used in the study, you are free to do so and your data will be destroyed.

- If you have any questions about this study, feel free to contact me or Professor Duberley.

Maria Gribling

Birmingham Business School, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, B15 2TT, UK

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Supervisor: Professor Joanne Duberley

Birmingham Business School

Tel: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮, email ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

Independent contact at Birmingham Business School:

Professor Helen Rainbird

Director of Doctoral Programmes

Tel: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮, email: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

Careers of academics in Business Schools: a comparative study

(Researcher keeps this section)

I agree to take part in this interview under the conditions explained to me above:

Signed.. Date........................

Age: ....

Job title: ....

I accept the digital recording of the interview:

YES   NO

Are you interested in receiving a report based on this research when the study is complete?

YES   NO

Contact details:

Phone number............................

Email.......................................

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