

**Curtin Business School
School of Management**

**In Search of Authenticity: Identity Work Processes among Women
Academics in Indonesian Public Universities**

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**This thesis is presented for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
of
Curtin University**

August 2016

Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university

The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007) – updated March 2014. The proposed research study received human research ethics approval from the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (EC00262), Approval Number SOM-02-14.

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Date: 19 August 2016

Abstract

This research seeks to explore identity work among female academics in relation to the problem of their underrepresentation in senior university positions in Indonesian public universities. This study has two main aims. The first is to explore and understand how identity work processes among female academics are connected to their career trajectories. The second is to examine these identity work processes using concepts proposed by Deleuze and Guattari, which are: the concepts of rhizome, major and minor discourses, and deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation.

A qualitative, interpretative phenomenological approach was employed to study identity work processes by collecting data from in-depth interviews with 23 female academics in Indonesian public universities to understand what it means to be a woman academic, their academic identity construction and their career trajectories.

In this research, Watson's three-step model (2008) was developed using Deleuze and Guattari's concepts of rhizomes, minor discourse and major discourse, and deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation. This theoretical model shows how the different career flows experienced by female academics are the result of their identity work process in the Indonesian public universities. In addition, this research reveals identity work process as a rhizomatic movement and how the major and minor discourses are reterritorialised. This eventually generates tensions, as after being reterritorialised, they deterritorialise each other. The rhizomatic movement in identity work generated multiple career trajectories among female academics and also explained the underrepresentation problem in a university's key positions. According to the findings, it was the desire of the younger academics to escape the status quo, which led them to resist the hegemony. Their desires for authenticity are the impetus for the identity work to deterritorialise the dominant discourses territory.

While this research is limited by the generalisability of its findings, it stimulates some interesting questions worthy of further investigation in a broader context. For example, the implications of identity work process as a rhizomatic movement. Additionally, a comparative research in a similar setting that focusses on male academics is needed to enhance our understanding of the bigger picture of the Indonesian higher education system comprehensively.

In the Name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my parents. No matter what, I will not be able to repay for their unconditional love and endless prayer. Also, this research is also dedicated to my grandparents who taught me the wisdom and the values of humanity. This work is also dedicated to my wife and my daughter for their love, patience, and support. In addition, this dissertation is dedicated to the women who are struggling for better future. The final dedication is for my principal supervisor from whom I have learnt the true meaning of as an academic.

Acknowledgments

Firstly, allow me to express my humble gratefulness to God almighty for giving me the courage and strength to complete my PhD journey.

I want to acknowledge my dedication and my humble gratitude to my principal supervisor, Assoc. Prof. Dr. David Pick. His continuous and persistent guidance, compassion, and encouragement helped me a lot in continuous improvement of my work throughout the course. This thesis would not be possible without his constructive knowledge and the motivation he provided for me.

I also would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Htwe Htwe Thein, for her valuable feedbacks, suggestions, and insights she provided me which helped to improve my thesis.

I wish to extend my thanks to Indonesian Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education for awarding me DIKTI scholarships. Not to forget my appreciation to Curtin University Postgraduate Student Association (CUPSA) for the Data Collection Grant year 2014. Without their support, this thesis would never have been possible.

My sincere thankfulness goes to my big family in Indonesia, also my family and friends in Australia.

Last but not least, I want to thank all of the women academics who were willing to participate in the interview sessions and openly shared their valuable experiences with me. It was an honour for giving me such opportunity to understand academic life of Indonesian women.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 General overview

This research seeks to explore identity work among female academics in relation to their career trajectories, to have a better understanding of the problem of underrepresentation of female academics in senior university positions in Indonesian public universities. This study has two main aims. The first is to explore and understand the connection between identity work processes among female academics and their careers. The second is to examine these identity work processes using concepts proposed by Deleuze and Guattari, namely: the concept of rhizome, major and minor discourses and deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation. In conducting this research, it is anticipated that new theoretical and practical insights about identity work will be illuminated which will provide information to the debate about identity work in general and improve the understanding about academic identity work, specifically in the context of higher education.

In pursuit of these aims, this research employs qualitative methods, which involve interviewing 23 purposefully selected female academics working in Indonesian public universities. This focus is not without reason. Indonesian women in the higher education work setting provide an example of how identity work processes are being shaped by increasing pressures of performativity in the context of higher education in a developing country. At the same time, it offers opportunities for uncovering the influence of socio-cultural factors on identity work process among women in the academic field in relation to their career trajectories and consequently their underrepresentation in senior academic positions.

One particular concern expressed in the existing research is that there is lack of studies on female academics in the developing nations, particularly in Asia. This research addresses this problem by examining the situation in Indonesia. Like many other nations, Indonesian women are generally confronted with continuous demands of responsibility at work while at the same time being expected to abide by their traditional roles at home (Lindawati & Smark, 2015; Rosen & Jerdee, 1974). In academia, the situation is no different. Here too, women are expected to be responsive to childrearing and housework while at the same time they have to deal

with the pressures of work (Currie, Harris, & Thiele 2000; Jacobs & Winslow, 2004; Ylijoki, 2011).

Gendered practices compound to this problem of underrepresentation of female academics in senior academic positions. Working mothers are seen as less competent and lacking work commitment than women who do not have children, single women and their male counterparts (Valcour & Ladge, 2008). As a result, working mothers get less recommendation for promotion in their career trajectories (Stamarski & Hing, 2015). In addition, Fotaki (2013) argues that organisational culture in universities is based on masculine values and becomes a territory in which male hegemony presides. This condition puts women in a complicated situation. Do they passively accept their social identity as a woman which focusses on domestic matters? Or do they reject the gender stereotyping of woman and pursue their career aspirations by accepting the masculine, performative definition of success?

In addition, individuals who are perceived as the members of minority groups are more likely to encounter complicated situations which force them to decide whether to behave in a manner that aligns with the authentic sense of self or to behave in the manner prescribed by the dominant and powerful pressures, such as society and its norms and culture (Erickson, 1995). According to Deleuze and Guattari (1987), a minority does not refer to a particular quantity or numerical in a particular group as described in common language. The hegemony of masculinity illustrates how the concept of 'minority' is used, despite there being greater number of women than men. Men still constitute the majority as they remain unchallenged in every single aspect of social life. The case of higher education is no different. Higher education institutions are depicted as masculine territories and a representation of hegemonic masculinity, as has been stated earlier.

Female academics may experience inauthenticity in constructing their academic identity because the values, the norms and the definition of success are based on masculine standards. This becomes an impetus to identity work process among female academics which influences their motivation and commitment towards their career. Identity work is defined as "mutually constitutive processes whereby people strive to shape a relatively coherent and distinctive notion of personal self-identity and struggle to come to terms with and, within limits, to influence the various social-

identities which pertain to them in the various milieu in which they live their lives” (Watson, 2008, p. 129) where the processes involve activities, such as “claiming, affirming, accepting, complying, resisting, separating, joining, defining, limiting, bounding, stabilising, sensemaking, reconciling, stabilising and restructuring” (Brown, 2014, p. 5).

To best understand identity work, a subjectivist stance is adopted in this study because it allows us to capture the ways in which female academics differ in how they interpret and interact with their environment and form their identities (Brown, 2014; Lindgren & Packendorff, 2008; Valcour & Ladge, 2008; Ybema et al., 2009). More specifically, a phenomenological approach is employed to collect and analyse data to provide an effective way of describing the ways in which the participants make sense of their world and how identity is socially constructed (Saunders et al., 2012). To collect data and develop a composite description of the essence of the experience of identity work among female academics, it is necessary to find out ‘what’ is experienced and ‘how’ it is experienced (Creswell, 2013; Moustakas, 1994). The phenomenological approach allows us an understanding that helps us fulfil the aims and objectives of this research.

This chapter consists of nine major parts, which begin with a general overview and is followed by a background to the research. The following section is a description of the Indonesian context. Additionally, a rationale for the research as well as the research aims and objectives are presented. Following this, there is an outline of the significances and contributions this study makes to theory and practice. This chapter concludes with a brief explanation of the limitations of this research, an outline of the thesis and chapter conclusion.

1.2 Background to the research

During the last three decades, rapid changes have occurred in the arena of higher education worldwide. These changes not only bring opportunities, such as rising enrolment, quality assurance, professionalisation of services, establishment of research network, development of new courses and intensified utilisation of new technology (Taylor, 2010), but also challenges. In general, these challenges can be categorised into two main challenges. Firstly is the challenges as the outcomes from the globalisation which is generating social, political and economic pressures

(Alexiadou & van de Bunt-Kokhuis, 2013; Courtney, 2013; Welch, 2011). In this context, massification (marketisation), universalism, new public management and performativity brought by globalisation pressures intensify competition among the higher education institutions at the local, national, regional and international scale (Altbach, 2012; Henkel, 2010; Marginson & Considine, 2000; Marginson, Kaur & Sawir, 2011; Shin & Harman, 2009; Welch, 2011). Higher education institutions are required to implement market/ context-driven research, applied problem solving and interdisciplinary approaches as ways to produce knowledge in order to improve their reputation and brand image in the global competitive environment that is reflected in the league tables and comparative measures of institutional performance (Churchman & King, 2009; Gordon, 2010; Harris, 2005).

Secondly, challenges related to the financing problems which mostly brought due to the falling government funding (Altbach, 2012). This compels higher education institutions to become more entrepreneurial as they search for new funding sources (Marginson & Considine, 2000). To achieve this, public higher education institutions are demanded to operate with more private enterprise based practices, e.g. managerialism (Pick, Teo & Yeung, 2012) and strategies based on profit generation (Welch, 2011). It is argued that in an entrepreneurial university managerialism and its associated concepts have transformed the nature of public universities by becoming producers of commodities that students as consumers of the service may choose to demand depending on their competing preferences and the institution's perceived brand image (Winter, 2009).

These changes in global higher education institutions are driving the emergence of 'supercomplex' universities (Barnett, 2000; Fanghanel, 2012), where new values brought about by massification, internationalisation, new managerialism, marketisation and global competition pressures are combining to create new, intensified institutional forms. This then generates conflicts between traditional academic identities and contemporary managerial identities. In addition, Winter (2009) suggests that "traditional academic values of professional autonomy and collective ideals are squeezed out and marginalised in favour of a managerial identity that is governed by values of economic rationality, the primacy of profit, and the minimisation of cost" (p. 123). As revealed by Archer (2008), tension arises between

success values defined by managerialist assumptions and personal constructions of authenticity and success as an academic. Archer's work (2008) proposes that "the authentic and successful academic is a desired yet refused identity for many younger academics, who must negotiate on a daily basis not only their attempts at becoming but also the threat of unbecoming" (p. 387). In a measured and controlled culture such as performativity, academics may experience the "risk of loss of authenticity in adopting values hitherto alien to the academy, suggesting that new kinds of professionals are fashioned and new roles endorsed (as champions of performance), which may represent inauthentic commitment" (Fanghanel, 2012, p. 28).

In terms of academic identity, traditional and managerial (contemporary) values are important influencing factors. Winter (2009) argues that "as academics enact their professional roles, they are influenced by academic (traditional) and managerial (contemporary) identities and the contradictions and conflicts that arise from these competing identity claims" (p.122). Even though academics may have dual identities, managerialism is perceived as bringing its own values-based environments, which could force an academic to negotiate between traditional and performative values. This is important because the processes of values alignment (values congruence) and values separation (values incongruence) are considered as essential to academic identity formation (Winter, 2009). As a result, Trede, Macklin and Bridges (2012) suggest further research is needed to better understand the tensions between personal and performative values and between structural and power influences. Similarly, we still need to answer to "the questions of what it means to be an academic" (Courtney, 2013, p. 49). All this should be seen against a backdrop of the threats to academic identities (Clegg, 2008), which are unstable and fragile academic identities (Guzmán-Valenzuela & Barnett, 2013) and academic insecurities (Knights & Clarke, 2014). In addition, Archer (2008) argues that academic identity and the definition of success among younger academics tend to be exacerbated due to several factors, one of them being the academic's gender.

The definition of success, leadership and key organisational positions are strongly associated with masculinity and the main problem for women who are seeking a leadership position has always been hindered by normative masculinity which represents the image of a good leader (Binns & Kerfoot 2011). Careerist women are

regarded as masculine as men and more masculine than women in lower levels of position in an organisation (Ledet & Henley, 2000) and working mothers are perceived as less competent and committed to work than women who are not mothers and their male counterparts (Valcour & Ladge, 2008). Moreover, as masculine culture is strongly embedded within any organisation's practices, it will "provoke a resistance to change practices that historically placed men in leadership position" (Toh & Leonardelli, 2012, p. 604). This reinforces a situation where the hegemony of masculine values (Martin & Barnard, 2013) is accepted as a common-sense, taken-for-granted male domination (Humphreys & Brown, 2002b).

In addition, internal barriers also significantly contribute to women's career aspirations. Women with low self-confidence tend to have a stagnated career as she might not be able to accept professional challenges (Cubillo & Brown, 2003). In terms of career, women are hesitant to advance into the more competitive male roles because of their own negative self-perceptions and incompetence (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2013). To some extent, women opt for a softer role whilst remaining in male-dominated environments. A potential explanation is the possible environments in which women have been raised and conditioned based on their gender identity (Kottke & Agars, 2005). Women tend to be modest – by not promoting their achievements in front of the others – as a result of the fear of being criticised as unfeminine and being socially punished (Berg, Stephan & Dodson, 1981; Chamorro-Premuzic, 2013; Daubman & Sigall, 1997; Luke, 2000). Altogether, these factors eventually contribute to the global problem of underrepresentation of women in the strategic positions in organisations.

Women in higher education institutions are no different. In terms of career advancement, women remain underrepresented in senior university academic positions worldwide. According to the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE)' report (2012), academic employment and key academic positions in universities are dominated by men (57%). This confines women to occupying less senior roles (Morley, 2013a). In addition, Morley (2013b) claims that though there has been an increase in the participation of women in higher education institutions, it is not reflected proportionally in academic key positions, such as Head of Institution and Professor. Additionally, she claimed that among 27 countries in EU, only 13% of

all institutions in the HE sector and 9% of universities awarding PhD degrees were headed by women (Morley, 2013b). In the USA, only 23% women are university presidents (Baltodano et al., 2012), whereas in the UK, female academics are outnumbered by their men counterparts by a margin of four to one in senior academic positions (Fotaki, 2013). The gender gap in the professoriate positions widens significantly, especially in Science and Technology faculties (Howe-Walsh & Turnbull, 2016; Zalieniene et al., 2016).

Previous researches (Eveline, 2005; Fotaki, 2013) suggest that organisational culture in universities is based on masculine values and is a territory where the male hegemony is preserved. When women try to achieve their career aspirations, one is often forced to behave in accordance with the taken-for-granted masculine norms (Fotaki, 2013). This may be understandable as the concept of success in academia is predominantly based on masculine and performative values (Archer, 2008; Chasserio, Pailot & Poroli, 2014; Fotaki, 2013; Van Den Brink & Stobbe, 2009). As a result, women are often perceived as not being feminine enough in the workplace and tend to be subjected to negative treatments, not only from the male academics but also from fellow female academics (Buchanan et al., 2012; Ely, 1994; Eveline, 2005; Koenig et al., 2011).

In terms of career, the masculine, meritocratic system means that career trajectories and rewards are merely influenced by academic merit. Nonetheless, “one’s academic career and success are affected by more than just one’s individual achievements, as there are many forms of support, such as peers, colleagues, superiors, supervisors, mentoring, networks and so on” (Nikunen, 2012, p. 715). Academics are not only expected to connect more effectively and technologically to a wider range of students than what has been traditionally taught in higher education (Rhoades, 2010), but also to be more productive and to sell their idea or research in order to maintain (or advance) their careers by securing research funding (Smith, 2012). Consequently, increasing performativity pressures generate insecurities in the identity work process among academics (Fanghanel, 2012; Smith, 2010). Additionally, Guzmán-Valenzuela and Barnett (2013) argue that due to the marketised higher education system, academics are currently dealing with academic proletarianisation, which is characterised by poor salaries (compensation), poor conditions of work and a weak

position in regard to the termination of their employment. Thus, this adds to the complexity of identity work process among academics.

In terms of academic proletarianisation, Currie, Harris and Thiele (2000) argue that, in particular, female academics frequently sacrifice some of their values because they are trapped in ‘greedy institutions’. The ‘greedy work’ – a term to describe the nature of the work that consists of time-consuming activities and require fulltime devotion to work – also results in an imbalance in roles in the work-life sphere (Barret & Barret, 2010; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Hayness & Fearfull, 2008; McBrier, 2003; Morley, 2013a), where women often miss opportunities in networking and bonding activities, like golfing, meeting mentors or participating in formal academic events, such as conferences, seminars, symposiums and colloquiums that are important factors in advancing careers (Creamer, 2012). Moreover, recent evidence suggests that career of female academics may suffer due to heavy workloads resulting from the competitive environment of higher education (Barret & Barret, 2010; Currie, Harris & Thiele, 2000; Murniati, 2012; Ylijoki, 2011).

1.3 Indonesian context

In terms of socio-cultural characteristics, Indonesians can be categorised in the collectivist, high power distance, short term orientation, low uncertainty avoidance, restrain tendency and masculine culture categories (Hofstede Centre, 2015). This socio-cultural combination type preserves weak, long term societal ties among organisation members and works towards harmonious relationships. This type of company puts group interest above individual interest (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). To establish a stable, secure and harmonious national life, the New Order government consistently indoctrinated Indonesian people through the *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity) credo for 32 years (1966–1998). The authoritarian government created an image of the ideal Indonesian woman within a social-cultural identity framework called *State Ibuism* which every Indonesian woman must adhere to. In 1998, the New Order government under Soeharto’s presidency was overthrown following the financial crisis of 1997 to 1998. In this period, democratic reformation movements emerged along with social unrest including massive students’ demonstrations and anti-Chinese riots in the major cities.

The anti-Chinese riots in Indonesia were primarily triggered by resentment of *Pribumi* (indigenous Indonesian) and *Warga Negara Indonesia Keturunan (WNI Keturunan)*/ Chinese Indonesians (Muntholib, 2008; Suryadinata, 2003). The social unrests culminated in May 1998, where many of the *WNI Keturunan* became victims during the chaotic situations. This forced many of *WNI Keturunan* to flee abroad (Zha, 2000). During the New Order regime, Indonesians of Chinese descent were discriminated and marginalised against in all social spheres: culture, language, politics, they had limited access to study materials in the public universities, in public services and public employment (Koh, 2008). This is because Chinese is strongly associated with communism and the New Order government's main agenda is to eliminate PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia / Indonesian Communist Party*) (Purdey, 2003). Though the authoritarian government of the New Order era ended 18 years ago, the values of the New Order and its discourses provide contextual backgrounds as they remain embedded in every dimension of the Indonesian people's lives (Suryakusuma, 2012) and also in the institutional system such as the higher education system (Welch, 2012).

The Indonesian higher education system is administered by the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education under the authority of *Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi (DIKTI/ Directorate General of Higher Education)*. The Ministry is linked to other ministries such as the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) and the Ministry of Finance (MOF) in managing higher education in Indonesia, especially in the interest of national higher education funding and curriculum. In 2014, Joko Widodo was elected as President, the former Directorate General of Higher Education (DGHE/ *DIKTI*) who previously governed under the Ministry of National Education and Culture, was incorporated into the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education (Kopertis, 2014).

In 2014, The Indonesian government announced that by the year 2025, its higher education quality will improve significantly in order to contribute and improve the nation's competitiveness at the international level by improving both higher education institutions and the human resources (Welch, 2007). This vision was then shared with and imposed on all Indonesian universities as a main guide to formulate the vision of the universities (DIKTI, 2015a). Quality standard measurements

implemented in higher education institutions determine an institution's accreditation and national ranking. In terms of quality improvement in human resources, Indonesian academics are expected by DIKTI to perform the *Tri-Dharma Perguruan Tinggi* (the three duties in higher education), which consists of teaching, researching and community service. In order to achieve better education quality, academics are required to improve the quality of their research and publications by fulfilling their workload target, publishing marketable research solutions and gaining PhD qualification (DIKTI, 2015).

In terms of the underrepresentation of female academics in senior academic positions, the situation in Indonesia is similar to many other nations. The Indonesian academics career system consists of two paths: academic-functional career and structural-managerial career. However, according to DIKTI (2016) only 23% of the professors are women (905 out of 4769 academics). According to DIKTI (2016), women comprise only 30% of the academics in public universities and around 40% in private universities. In terms of academic position, women are outnumbered by their male counterparts. As seen in Table 1.1, the number of female academics in each level decreases as the level of seniority increases.

Table 1.1 Number of academics in academic career (DIKTI, 2016)

Academic Position	Women	Men
Professor	905	3,864
Associate Professor	10,451	20,038
Assistant Professor	19,835	29,523
Lecturer	20,930	25,908

At the same time, Murniati (2012) provides evidence about key structural-managerial positions in Indonesian universities. On the national scale, only 9% of the Rector

positions (Chancellor) and around 15% of the Vice Rector positions are held by women in public universities. This is reflected by White, Bagilhole and Riordan (2012) who claim that the problem of underrepresentation of female academics in higher education starts at the level of senior lecturer (associate professor) and becomes more prominent at the professorial level (MacFarlane, 2012). In addition, Rice (2012) claims that 88% of the female PhD students are not interested in pursuing academic careers in universities. It raises an intriguing question – are academic careers becoming unattractive for women? Based on the above mentioned evidence, then it is fair to claim that we need to explain the reason behind this stagnated career trajectories and in particular the problem of underrepresentation by exploring the deeper and fundamental processes as this is a global problem and at the same time explore the reason why academic career seems unattractive to women.

Turning back to academic identity, it seems that it is a significant factor to an academic's career success. Numerous scholars argue that academic identity is central in motivating, helping individuals decide effective career-related choices, commitment, planning the future life and guiding the appropriate behaviour to pursue career goals and experience career success (Adams & Crafford, 2012; Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010; Kroeger, 2007; Oyserman & James, 2011; Valcour & Ladge, 2008; Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx, 2011; Waterman, 2011). As identities are socially connected to normative beliefs for displaying proper role behaviour, identities influence individuals' behavioural and psychological engagement in the roles they inhabit and determine their sense of successful role performance (Valcour & Ladge, 2008).

On the basis of the evidence currently available, it seems fair to claim that to deal with the rapid changes and emerging supercomplexity in higher education, female academics are constantly engaged in a process of “academic identity work” (Pick, Symons & Teo, 2015, p. 2). To support this view, it can be argued that academic identity work is performed in challenging circumstances or at times of significant transition and liminality (Aschraft, 2012; Beech, 2010; Ladge, Clair & Greenberg, 2012; Lok, 2010; Petriglieri, 2011), within socially formed discourses (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Clarke, Brown & Hope-Hailey, 2009; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003), demanding nature of professional career (Kreiner, Hollensbe & Sheep, 2006)

and during rapid change in culture and values of higher education (Kosmala & Herrbach, 2006; Ravasi & Schultz, 2006).

1.4 Rationale for the research

While current literature on identity work abounds with examples on how organisations influence and regulate individuals' work-related identities (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Dutton, Dukerich & Harquail, 1994; Kunda 1992; Pratt, 2000), little is known about the “processes, specifically how an individual negotiates his or her identity in a work context” (Empson, 2012, p. 231). In completing a comprehensive understanding of identity, there is a need to capture the dynamic process of academic identity formation (Gioia & Patvardhan, 2012).

There are several possible fruitful directions regarding identity work research. Brown (2014) argues that we lack understanding of how particular organisational and socio-cultural contexts influence identity and identity work because identity work “may occur differently in cultures that vary on indexes, such as individualism/collectivism, power distance and masculinity/femininity” (Brown, 2014, p. 12). Moreover, gender is thought to be a significant factor in identity work because “the task of identity formation is more complex for females than for males” (Brown, 2014, p. 12).

Identity work among female academics may be significant in determining their own motivation, self-efficacy, commitment, goals, priorities, hope, fears, values, beliefs and norms (Winter & O'Donohue, 2012). Therefore, the identity work process may influence one's career trajectories because the identity work process not only addresses the “who am I question” (Brown, 2014, p. 4) but also seeks the answer to the question about ‘who I want to become’ (Ashforth et al., 2008; Clarke, Hyde & Drennan, 2013; Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010).

The extant literature on the influence of the changing higher education environment on academic identity mainly focusses on the state of affairs in the Western or developed nations, such as the UK (Archer, 2008; Clarke, Knight & Davis, 2012; Henkel, 2005; Whitchurch, 2012), Australia (Churchman & King, 2009; Trede, Macklin & Bridges, 2012; Winter, 2009), the USA (Rhoades, 2007), Finland (Nikunen, 2012; Ylijoki & Ursin, 2013), Sweden (Hallonsten, 2012; Peterson, 2015), New Zealand (Billot, 2010), Ireland (Fitzmaurice, 2011) and Chile (Guzmán-

Valenzuela & Barnett, 2013). However, developing nations, particularly in Asia, are yet to receive equivalent research attention (Azman, 2012). Focus on developing nations may offer a rich context for further investigations. For instance, academics in developing countries are still struggling with “their own set of national and regional forces that impact upon their institutional structures and procedures” (Azman, 2012, p. 389). As a result, higher education institutions in these countries still have to deal with reconceptualisation, restructuring and realigning within the system. Moreover, Azman (2012) asserts that “this strongly suggests the need for more thinking and discussion on the academic identities in the context of the developing countries” (p. 389), especially the struggle among female academics in their identity formation. At the same time Morley (2013a) encourages a need to collect global data on the underrepresentation of female academics in senior academic positions “which would inform analysis of the barriers which have been encountered by those women who have attained leadership positions as well as the ‘structures of inequality’ which militate against the entry of larger numbers of women into these roles” (2013a, p. 1).

Till date, there has been limited research on career trajectories of women in the higher education context in the South East Asian countries. Exception includes Luke (2000), who conducted her study in four countries (Singapore, Hong Kong, Thailand and Malaysia). Her study findings reveal that ethnic identity affects one’s career trajectories. In addition, an attempt has been made by Murniati (2012), which focusses on women’s progression in higher education institutions in Java, Indonesia. Murniati (2012) argues that family and spouse’s support are significant in managing tensions between work and life demands; heavy workload is impeding the aspirations of women to reach top positions; organisational policies prefer men over women in the case of promotion; women have to work harder to reach the top positions; culture and religious factors also assist or hinder these academics in advancing their career. However, Murniati’s study does not seem to incorporate cultural diversity. Therefore, a nationwide investigation is needed to include the cultural diversity as the diversity may reap different perspectives on identity work processes among female academics.

Consideration of diversity is important because Indonesia is a multi-cultural developing country. It has seven major islands (Sumatera, Java, Bali, Kalimantan,

Sulawesi, Maluku and Papua) with almost more than 10,000 inhabited small islands containing more than 1,000 ethnicities and sub-ethnicities (Hasbullah, 2012). Moreover, the strong discourses in higher education added with socio-cultural based discourses provide a context for identity work process in academia. Female academics in public universities, compared to women in small or private universities, are most likely to encounter more challenges when progressing their career trajectories as the strategic positions in public universities are more prestigious, more demanding and more competitive (Murniati, 2012). Based on the above arguments, an investigation of how identity work process functions among female academics in Indonesian public universities is needed.

Currently, one of the major challenges is to find ways of conceptualising and analysing academic identity work as being complex, rich, holistic and situated in nature (Pick, Symons & Teo, 2015). In addition, Alvesson and Sandberg (2011; 2013) argue that there is a need to challenge the assumptions that support current organisational theories, in order to initiate new ways to producing “frame-bending theories” through problematisation by adopting an extensive span of perspectives from a variety of disciplines. In investigating how identity work processes among female academics connect to their career trajectories and underrepresentation in the key positions at Indonesian public universities, this research employs literary theory, Deleuze and Guattari’s concept of rhizome, major and minor discourses and deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation. Pick, Symons and Teo’s work (2015) confirms the usefulness of employing literary theory in explaining and “exploring the more intimate details of academic identity work” (p. 17); however their study needs to be applied empirically.

In organisational research, literary theory has caught viable attention and can be seen as a potential tool in generating new theoretical and practical perspectives (De Cock & Land, 2005). One of the prominent literary concepts is from Gilles Deleuze (often in co-authorship with Felix Guattari). In terms of identity, Deleuze argues that identity always comes after process, whereas identity as stable being and identity as completed achievements are merely illusions. This is in line with the concept of academic identity work. As argued by Pick (2015), Deleuze and Guattari’s concepts

may offer opportunities for scholars to stimulate debate about new directions for theorising about organisation as encouraged by Alvesson and Sandberg (2011, 2013).

To summarise, there are worldwide problems of performativity and the underrepresentation of women in senior academic positions that female academics must deal with. The Indonesian socio-cultural context may provide a distinct case for identity work process among female academics. This research emphasises on the identity work process of female academics as this is the novelty and the contribution of this research to the extant theories. Further research is needed to explain how particular organisational and socio-cultural contexts are influencing individuals' identities and identity work. It is important because identity work "may occur differently in cultures that vary on indexes, such as individualism/collectivism, power distance and masculinity/femininity" (Brown, 2014, p. 12) and "strong discourses" (Brown, 2014, p. 12) may be significant in determining their decision towards their career (Winter & O'Donohue, 2012). Therefore, this research builds a conceptual model that depicts the continuous process of identity work and its connection to career trajectories and at the same time, also examines the importance of particular contexts as they saturate all areas of social life (Brown & Humphreys, 2006), especially those inhabited by academics (Alexiadou & van de Bunt-Kokhuis, 2013).

On the basis of the evidence currently available, it is fair to claim that there is a need to achieve a greater understanding of identity work processes among female academics in relation to their career trajectories and eventually to the problem of underrepresentation of women in senior academic positions in Indonesian public universities. For that reason, the aims and objectives of this research are designed to investigate whether identity work processes among female academics contribute to their underrepresentation in senior university positions and at the same time applies the usefulness of Deleuze and Guattari's concepts in examining the identity work process among female academics.

1.5 Research aims and objectives

The main question in this research asks:

- How does identity work of female academics connect to their underrepresentation in the key position at Indonesian public universities?

The aim of the research is to examine and understand the identity work process among female academics and its connection to the career trajectories and the problem of underrepresentation in senior academic positions at Indonesian public universities, by using concepts proposed by Deleuze and Guattari. In addressing the main research question, the objective of this research is to thoroughly examine specific sub questions, which are as follows:

- What does it mean to become a woman academic in Indonesia?
- What shapes identity work process among female academics?
- How are identity work processes of female academics explained by using a conceptual tool from the literary concepts proposed by Deleuze and Guattari?
- What are the effects of identity work process on career trajectories?

In order to answer the main research question and the sub-questions, this research employs qualitative methods with interpretivist stance. Primary data for this research is collected by interviewing participants from Indonesian public universities. The researcher employs in-depth, open-ended and semi-structured interviews in order to capture the participants' identity work process and also their career trajectories' narratives. According to Myers (2009, p. 124), "semi-structured interviews involve the use of some pre-formulated questions, but there is no strict adherence to them. New questions might emerge during the conversation, and such improvisation is encouraged". Moreover, semi-structured interviews include an element of storytelling, whereby participants are asked to describe some specific moments in their academic and personal experiences. A qualitative technique of phenomenological analysis was employed in the data analysis. Analysis of the data seeks to uncover the influence of the increasing pressures of performativity and socio-cultural factors on identity work process among female academics in relation to their career trajectories and consequently their underrepresentation in senior university positions. On completing this research, there were two expected

significances, namely theoretical and practical significances. These significances are presented in the following section.

1.6 Significance of the research

1.6.1 Theoretical significance

This research can be considered to be one of a few systematic investigations of academic identity work and its connection to the academic career trajectories in a developing nation. Thus, the findings of this research contributes to the literature theoretically in terms of giving an insight on how identity work processes are being shaped by increasing pressures of performativity in the context of a developing country. At the same time, it offers the opportunities of uncovering the influence of socio-cultural factors on identity work process among women in the academic field in relation to their career trajectories and consequently their underrepresentation in senior university positions.

In addition, by using concepts proposed by Deleuze and Guattari to examine the identity work processes, it is expected that the findings of this research could provide empirical evidence on how the deeper social, cultural, political and economic aspects are interwoven in identity work process and how they connect to the career trajectories and their contribution towards the female academics' underrepresentation problem. The research findings could also provide an alternative view of identity work as a continuous project of becoming, which may incorporate non linearity, flow, movement, multitude, difference and potentialities (Linstead & Thanem, 2007).

Based on the findings of this research, a conceptual model of the identity work process is developed in Chapter 6 using Deleuze and Guattari's concepts of rhizome, major and minor discourses, deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation. This conceptual model depicts the continuous process of identity work and also examines the importance of particular contexts as they saturate all areas of social life (Brown & Humphreys, 2006), especially those inhabited by academics (Alexiadou & van de Bunt-Kokhuis, 2013).

1.6.2 Practical significance of the research

The findings of the research makes practical recommendations for bridging any gaps that are identified between relevant policies (gender equality and fairness policies, academic career promotion policies and academic compensation system) and human resources functions and practices in Indonesian public universities. If it is possible, a review on current relevant policies is needed, which will assist the policy makers to understand identity work process among female academics and the influencing factors in regards to their career trajectories. An advanced level of equality and transparency regarding HR policies in recruitment, selection, performance assessment, training and development will support the practices of fair merit-based compensation and promotion system (Ambrose & Schminke, 2009; Bowen & Ostroff, 2004; Lavelle et al., 2009; Lehmann-Willenbrock et al., 2012). Not only those, it is also needed to ensure the implementation and the control of the policy itself. Higher education institutions must encourage initiatives that assist in generating and sustaining positive attitudes towards female academics. Instead of women being treated as second class citizens, women would then be valued and treated as important as their male counterparts at their workplaces. Even though culture is difficult to change (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005), it is important that female academics be given fair opportunities and encouraged to take part in decision-making and the relationship among academics be based on professionalism and mutual respect, regardless of their gender, culture, race and seniority (age).

1.7 Limitations of the research

Several limitations to this research need to be acknowledged. Firstly, there is a geographic issue in it. It is difficult to undertake a comprehensive nationwide study because Indonesia is a multi-cultural country that is dispersed across a large archipelago. This research was conducted in 19 public universities in major Indonesian cities where 23 participants were interviewed. While data saturation was reached, 23 academics cannot be seen to represent Indonesia as a whole. As a consequence, the degree to which research findings can be generalised to all female academics is limited. Any generalisation of the findings in other contexts should be accompanied by detailed research.

Next, this research involves sensitive issues. Two academics withdrew their participation as they felt nervous and afraid. It should be highlighted that for some Indonesians, mentioning the New Order era is a taboo. This is understandable because during the 32 years of Soeharto's authoritarian government, mentioning the New Order or discussing it affected one's safety and life. Hence, an appropriate approach is needed to be employed in future researches when exploring similar sensitive topics. However, a successful approach was employed to this research. Interviews did not intentionally encourage participants to discuss the New Order; instead the interview session was allowed to flow naturally. If the participants voluntarily mentioned statements related to the New Order, then the researcher probed them by asking relevant questions carefully and at the same time the researcher ensured of the participants' comfort about anonymity.

1.8 An overview of the following chapters

The thesis consists of seven chapters. The content of each can be summarised as follows:

The current chapter has introduced the background of the research by providing an overview of the thesis and the research problem and questions. The rationale for the research, research aims and objectives of the research, significances of the research and research limitations have been outlined.

Chapter 2 provides a review of Indonesian culture and philosophies, Indonesian higher education, statistics, changes and socio-cultural challenges which provide a different context in which to explore and understand the identity work process among female academics and the connection to their career trajectories and the problem of underrepresentation.

Chapter 3 presents the literature review, conceptual and theoretical issues related to identity, identity work and debates around the topic, gender and career in supercomplex higher education environment. Chapter 3 also identifies specific gaps in the existing literatures in order to answer the research questions. In particular, the literature review explores: (i) identity in the organisation; (ii) identity work and debates concerning the field; (iii) gender identity from different perspectives and also relation between gender and identity work; (iv) review of identity, gender and

careers; which is followed by (v) discussion on women's global underrepresentation problems and career trajectories in university; (vi) how supercomplexity in higher education context influences academic identity work, particularly on female academics; and (vii) develops the rationale for the research.

Chapter 4 outlines the methodological approach that has been employed in order to seek the meaning of female academics' experiences, especially during their identity work process and their professional career journey. This chapter consists of seven major sections. The first section offers justification for employing qualitative methodology and the second section discusses the research methods, which include setting and participants, the preliminary study, instruments and interview protocols. The third section discusses data collection, followed by the data analysis procedures section. The trustworthiness of the study is the fifth section in this chapter and the sixth section talks about ethical concerns. Lastly, it presents the conclusion section.

Chapter 5 presents the major themes in findings based on analysis from interview data. Links between major themes and the theories employed are integrated into a conceptual model. The chapter depicts and focusses on individual perspectives and experiences of identity work process of female academics in Indonesian public universities. In addition, this chapter also explains the different flow among different level of academics (early/young, mid-career and late/senior academics) and employs Deleuze and Guattari's concepts of rhizome, major and minor discourses and deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation in explaining identity work process among female academics.

Next, Chapter 6 presents discussion of the research findings in relation to the research context and the literatures reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3. This chapter offers a developed Watson's three-step model of identity work process (2008). In addition, policy and practical implications are also acknowledged. Furthermore, the limitations of this research and stimulating questions for future avenues of investigation are addressed consecutively. Lastly, Chapter 7 as the final chapter provides a conclusion to this thesis by revisiting the research questions and addressing research sub-questions. Final remarks on the research conclude this thesis.

2 CONTEXT

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the institutional and contextual background of this study. This is important because identity work is influenced by contextual factors. This means that as the context changes, the perception of what it means to be a female academic also changes. Therefore, it is essential to acknowledge those contextual and institutional factors that shape female academics' identity and their career trajectories.

Context is defined by Johns (2006, p. 386) as “situational opportunities and constraints that affect the occurrence and meaning of organisational behavior as well as functional relationships between variables”. In other words, context refers to the location, situation, setting or environment within which a particular phenomenon is embedded, which influences the cause and depiction of that particular quality along with how it is understood. Moreover, Rousseau and Fried (2001, p. 1) argue that “contextualisation entails linking observations to a set of relevant facts, events or points of view that make possible research and theory that form part of a larger whole”.

This chapter aims to outline the Indonesian context in general and the Indonesian higher education system specifically. This includes a social overview, a summary of Indonesian philosophies, Indonesian academic career, regulations, statistics, changes and socio-cultural challenges.

2.2 Indonesia: A general overview

Indonesia is a major country in South-East Asia with a total population of over 250 million people, as recorded in July 2013. It is spread across an archipelago of 17,504 islands. Of these, approximately 7,870 are occupied (Indonesian National Resilience Board, 2014). Indonesia is the 15th largest country in the world in terms of land area at 1,922,570 square kilometers (Indonesian National Resilience Board, 2014). Administratively, the Republic consists of 34 provinces and Jakarta is the capital city, which is located on the island of Java.

The political system of Indonesia is a republic with a presidential system of governance. The President of Republic of Indonesia acts as the head of government

and head of state (Bourchier & Hadiz, 2014). Moreover, Indonesia has two houses of parliament, MPR and DPR. *Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (MPR)* or People's Consultative Assembly has a right to amend and set the constitution, to inaugurate the elected president and vice president, whereas *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR)* or People's Representative Council has three main duties, which are legislating function, budgeting function and overseeing function. MPR consists of senators from DPR and *Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (DPD)*/ Regional Representative Council (Bourchier & Hadiz, 2014).

As an archipelago, Indonesia has more than 1000 ethnicities and sub-ethnicities (Hasbullah, 2012), but the Javanese are the majority in the country and are "considered to be culturally and politically dominant" (Irawanto, Ramsey & Ryan, 2011, p. 126). Moreover, Javanese cultural values are "especially evident in the Indonesian public sector organisation as they operated in the Javanese style" (Irawanto, Ramsey & Ryan, 2011, p. 126). The government officially acknowledges six religions and faith; Islam, Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism (Atkinson, 1983). Islam holds the majority in the country, which consists of 87.18% of the total population (BPS, 2014). This makes Indonesia the world's largest Muslim country by population (DeSilver, 2013).

In 1998, The New Order government under Soeharto's presidency was overthrown following the Asian financial crisis of 1997. This was followed by massive student demonstrations and anti-Chinese riots in the major cities in Indonesia on May 1998. Anti-Chinese riots in Indonesia were dominantly triggered by the socio-economic gap between *Pribumi* (indigenous Indonesians) and *Warga Negara Indonesia Keturunan (WNI Keturunan)*/ Indonesians of Chinese descent (Muntholib, 2008; Suryadinata, 2003), which forced many of *WNI keturunan* to flee abroad. During Soeharto's New Order period, the ethnic Chinese Indonesians were discriminated and marginalised against in all social spheres: culture, language, politics, they had limited access to study materials in the state-owned universities, in public services and public employment (Koh, 2008). Moreover, as the New Order government's main agenda was to eliminate the PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia* / Indonesian Communist Party), communism and its associates from the root level, every Chinese identity, symbol and culture were abolished (Purdey, 2003). This intentional official

discrimination against the Chinese continuously reproduced their marginalised identities and put them in a precarious position vis-à-vis the *Pribumi*.

2.3 Indonesian national values

Indonesia's national principles are based on *Pancasila* or the five principles as a way of life for its people. The word is originally derived from Sanskrit (*Panca*: five and *Sila*: principles). The five principles are (1) believe in the divinity of God(s), (2) just and civilised humanity, (3) unity of Indonesia (nationalism and unity among its diverse ethnicities), (4) democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives and (5) social justice for all the people of Indonesia (Irawanto, Ramsey & Ryan, 2011). *Pancasila* was first coined by Soekarno's political party, *Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI)* or Indonesian National Party in 1945.

Indonesia's traditional values are linked with Hinduism. Not only seen in the *Pancasila* as the national guiding principles, the country also adapted its national emblem (*Garuda Pancasila*) from the Hindu mythological bird creature, Garuda, as depicted in the great epic of Ramayana and Mahabharata. In the eighth to tenth centuries, there were two dominant monarchies in the Island of Java and these monarchies held local values. The rise of Hinduism meant that these Javanese values amalgamated with Hindu values, which were brought by merchants and priests from India. From the 15th century, Islam influenced the Javanese civilisation in the 15th century contributing to a mixed culture that exists even today (Irawanto, Ramsey & Ryan, 2011). According to Irawanto, Ramsey and Ryan (2011), Javanese values mainly represent obedience to the king/leader (*Kawulo Gusti*), humbleness (*Ojo Dumeh*) and acceptance (*Nrimo*).

Out of this mix of Javanese, Hindu and Islam influences, *Bapakism*, which translates as "Fatherism", is raised as one of the guiding principles for interpersonal relationships within a family context. The Fatherism principle is manifested as strong obedience for the charismatic father figure. It strengthens patriarchal values, which permeates not only the family, but also the society. The notion of "Fatherism" was strongly glorified by the New Order government in order to create a sense of togetherness, a harmonious nation and create respect towards the great "Father" figure of the nation (Soeharto). In the larger social and organisational context, it can

be seen in respect of the contextually appropriate authoritative “father figure”, who could be a teacher in the classroom, a manager in an organisation, or a leader in a family. Essentially, this principle is a form of Javanese paternalism and patronage that expects compliance and respect within Javanese society. The values of *Bapakism*, which reflect the patronage relationship beyond family relationships, are embodied within the values of *Hormat* (respect). Geertz (1961) describes *Hormat* as a Javanese term which interprets as the respect for superior ranks that is carried out as a proper practice of etiquette.

Till now, *Pancasila* is taught in every level of education in Indonesia and Indonesian people are required to obey and implement the values of *Pancasila* in their daily life in order to live together harmoniously, avoid potential conflicts, and to reach agreement through consensus (*musyawarah untuk mufakat*) by prioritise social obligations more than personal rights (Tjarsono, 2013). As a result, Javanese philosophies of life become a “central power in the formal life of Javanese organisations in the country’s bureaucracy and in the national identity” (Irawanto, Ramsey & Ryan, 2011, p. 133). It is not surprising then that Indonesian academics have been nurtured and reinforced with *Pancasila* values since their childhood to present days. As a result, this national value forms a significant part of their academic identity work and career.

2.4 The New Order values (State Ibuism) and women in Indonesia

Compared to women in other Muslim countries or cultures, Indonesian women appear to have succeeded in a moderate way in improving their social status. In Indonesian history, there were several heroines from the vast Indonesian archipelago, from Sumatra Island to Papua Island; e.g. Cut Nyak Dien, Maria Maramis, Emmy Saellan, Christina Tiahahu, Rasuna Said, R.A. Kartini, Malahayati, Nyai Ahmad Dahlan and Dewi Sartika. These women were acknowledged as the pioneers in their struggle during the era of wars for independence and national women movements in Asia (Martyn, 2004).

Moreover, R.A. Kartini’s birth date, April 21, is celebrated as the day of Kartini, to represent the emancipation of Indonesian women. Arguably, it is merely an annual ceremony without actual substance as Indonesian women are still limited in their personal and social movements, let alone hold strategic positions in organisations

(Susanti, 2011; Woodward, 2015). Till present, Kartini figure as the symbol of empowerment for Indonesian women frequently invites criticism because Kartini strongly supported polygamous practices, which contradicts the notion of women empowerment itself. In contemporary Indonesian society, many women still have double responsibilities or duties: earning a living from work and fulfilling their traditional roles as a mother and a wife at home (Ridho & Al Rasyid, 2010; Yusriante, 2008). However, Indonesian women have not yet been separated from the strong influence of Islamic values and the national culture that was predominantly formulated during the New Order era.

During his 32 years' presidency (1966–1998), Soeharto and his government played an important role in defining a single identity for Indonesian women according to Javanese tradition. In order to preserve their power, the New Order government spread their ideology and values through public organisations and state-owned media. During the era, there were only a limited number of privately owned media. The media could not contradict the government because there were stringent rules and regulations (Sen & Hill, 2006).

According to the ideologies and values of the New Order, the social roles of women were based on their biological aspect, which is known as the *Kodrat Wanita* (women's inherent nature). Oey-Gardiner (2002) argues that the New Order government recreated the whole culture and values regarding *kodrat wanita*, to put emphasis on their domestic duties (2002). Moreover, Sullivan (1994) argues that *kodrat wanita* encompasses both the ideal of *Ibu* (symbolic or actual mother) and *peran ganda wanita* (the dual role of women, as a mother of a family and mother of the nation), which “implicitly limit the employment and career options of Indonesian women” (Nilan & Utari, 2008, p. 137) because then women would belong inside the domain of their homes.

The uniformity of gender identities was an integral part of Soeharto's New Order regime dubbed as 'State Ibuism' (Blackburn, Smith & Syamsiyatun, 2008; Robinson & Bessel, 2002; Suryakusuma, 2012), which was characterised by tight control of and exercising power over the creation of an ideal figure of an Indonesian woman that all should aspire to. State Ibuism decreed that women are appendages and companions of their husbands, procreators of the nation, mothers and educators of

children, housekeepers, and members of Indonesian society (Suryakusuma, 2012). While men were placed in the public sphere, women were placed in the domestic sphere. In the New Order era, women were more focussed on how to be seen as a good woman in her appearances and behaviour to avoid the social pressures within this panoptical environment (Siahaan, 2003).

The liberation of Indonesian women was promoted during the New Order era. However, it was not based on a feminist perspective but instead created by Soeharto's ideology (Lindawati & Smark, 2015). It partially focussed on achieving women's rights in education, whereas in the social, economic and political domains, the gender gaps were still preserved. The New Order government established *Dharma Wanita* (women duties), a women's organisation whose members were dominated by the wives of civil servants and the wives of members of the Indonesian Armed Forces. Its membership was compulsory, whereas the hierarchy of this organisation reflected the women's husbands' ranks in public bureaucracy, such that the wives of the bosses of the civil servant units were the heads of the *Dharma Wanita* (Siahaan, 2003).

The role of state in defining women's identity and interests is central in explaining the persistent differentiation between women's and men's roles in pursuing economic growth, social and political interests in Indonesia. The New Order regime skilfully controlled and mobilised women by redefining women's primarily role of reproductive activities while men's roles were located in productive activities. According to Sullivan (1994), the ideal and authentic Indonesian woman, according to the New Order government was "the modern development oriented Indonesian housewives primarily defined in terms of her commitment to follow her husband's lead and limit her reproduction capacity to the ideal older son-younger daughter" (p. 133). Indonesian women have been disadvantaged due to these embedded gendered practices.

In spite of democratic reform efforts since 1998 and the appointment of Megawati Sukarnoputri as the first Indonesian woman president in 2001, gender inequality has remained entrenched. Indonesian women are still not fully acknowledged or allowed to fully participate in the public domain, especially in the workplace (Blackburn, 2004; Blackburn, Smith & Syamsiyatun, 2008; Ford & Parker, 2008). Moreover,

though the authoritarian government of Soeharto ended 18 years ago, the values and discourses of the New Order provide contextual backgrounds as they may remain embedded in every dimension of the Indonesian people's lives (Suryakusuma, 2012) as well as in the institutional systems such as the higher education system (Welch, 2012).

2.5 Indonesian higher education system

The Indonesian higher education system has dual paths, academic and vocational. Academic programmes consists of a four-year undergraduate degree (Bachelor or Strata 1), a two-year master's degree (Strata 2) and a three-year doctorate programme (Strata 3), while vocational education offers training programmes with a duration of study from one to four years (Wicaksono & Friawan, 2011). Currently, there are around 86 public and 2200 private higher education institutions in Indonesia (Puruhito, 2006; Wicaksono & Friawan, 2011). The provision of higher education is governed by the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education and linked to other ministries, such as the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) and the Ministry of Finance (MOF). Under Joko Widodo's presidency, the former Directorate General of Higher Education (DGHE/ DIKTI) which previously governed under the Ministry of National Education and Culture, was merged into the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education (Kopertis, 2014). On the other hand, though private universities are also governed by the DIKTI and KOPERTIS (Kordinator Perguruan Tinggi Swasta – Private Higher Education Insitutions Coordination), they have their own internal rules and regulation, including quality standardisation and accreditation.

Indonesian higher education, while being quantitatively large, its quality remains marginalised. In 2014, The Indonesian government officially decreed a vision which stated that by the year 2025, its higher education quality will improve significantly in order to contribute and improve the nation's competitiveness at the international level. This vision was then shared with and imposed on all Indonesian universities as a main guide to formulate their own visions (DIKTI, 2015a). However, Altbach (2010) argues that the vision seems a far cry from reality, as higher education institutions in Asian countries, particularly Indonesia, still have a very long way to go and have to face many obstacles to achieve world class status. In spite of being obliged by the constitutions that the government must spend at least 20% of the

national budget in the education sector (Hill & Wie, 2012) in order to enhance the quality of their education system, Indonesia's best university is placed at number 763 on the list of world ranking universities (Webometrics, 2015) and placed at 73 in the Asian university ranking list (QS World University Rankings, 2015). A study confirmed that almost 75% universities in Indonesia are not capable of competing in a high-quality research and scholarly-conducive environment (Hill & Wie, 2013).

Currently in Indonesia, out of the Webometrics' top 10 ranks, 9 are public universities (Webometrics, 2015). Public universities are preferred due to the low tuition fee (subsidised by the Indonesian government) and also for the prestige that they embody. However, because the national selection to enter public universities is competitive, most students apply to and join the private universities, which explains why the number of the private universities is higher than the public and also have the greater number of the students (Welch, 2007). This compounds the quality problems in the higher education sector as argued by Idrus (1999).

As the government subsidies in public universities are decreased, public universities are allowed to attract more students as their strategy is to generate income. For those who do not pass the national selection tests, public universities are allowed to hold an internal selection process in order to accept potential students into non-subsidised programmes called *Jalur Khusus* (special passage), where in every department it usually accommodate students in two classes with a parallel class mode (around 50 students per class). However, these special programmes have been criticised by scholars because they jeopardise the education quality, as these programmes are offering similar degrees with much lower entry requirements (Welch, 2012). This eventually leads Indonesian public universities to contribute to the continuing growth of a high number of low quality higher education programmes (Efendi, 2005).

The problem of quality education in Indonesia is a complicated problem with multidimensional factors. These factors involve the inadequate academic qualifications which are not only held by teachers in the primary education institutions, but also by lecturers in the higher education institutions and other insufficient educational facilities and infrastructures (e.g. up-to-date library books, sophisticated laboratories), which will lead to lower levels achievement among students. Unsatisfactory financial rewards of teachers and lecturers, low English

language proficiency and increasing tuition fees are also counted as factors contributing to the quality problem (Altbach, 2010; Hill & Wie, 2013; Ramadhan, 2013). Regarding financial rewards, it is argued that there is no financial security for academics in Indonesian universities. This also contributes to the problem that university lecturing positions are unattractive to the country's best and brightest (Rakhman, 2013). In addition, the Indonesian education quality problem is furthered worsened by the lower rate of degrees held by the Indonesian academics, which include 11% of them with a doctoral qualification, 57% with a master's degree and around 24% of academics hold a bachelor's degree as their highest qualification (DIKTI, 2015b).

Along similar lines, the problem is added by research publication records of Indonesian academics. For example, in social science research publication (year 1956 to 2011), Indonesian academics accounted for 12% of the total. This is the lowest percentage as compared to other developing countries – such as India (25%) and China (21%) (Hill & Wie, 2012). The contributing factors to this problem include the lack of funding for research (Lisnayetti, 2006), low English proficiency level (Subekti, 2015) and excessive time spent on teaching activities (Sidik, 2011).

Currently, the Indonesian government is trying to improve not only their higher education infrastructure but also the quality of academics. Indonesian academics are now encouraged by the government to improve national education quality by performing *Tri-Dharma Perguruan Tinggi* (the three duties of higher education). This consists of teaching, researching and community service. In order to achieve better education quality, academics are required to improve the quality of their publications, publish marketable research solutions and continue their study up to the doctoral level (DIKTI, 2011). Universities in Indonesia are required to develop their qualities and the most important thing is to carry out significant reformations in the education system, which includes funding, regulations and implementation of activities, proper institutional and human resources quality and access in pursuance of a better position in the regional and global competition (Hill & Wie, 2013). However, these demands of performativity and skill improvement are not followed by improved academic environment and facilities. As a result, there are serious pressures on and insecurity among Indonesian academics (Altbach, 2010; Hill & Wie, 2013; Idrus, 1999; Welch, 2012).

In 1978, the New Order government imposed *Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus – NKK* (Campus Life Normalisation) policy to every university in Indonesia. This policy forced students to focus only on their academic activities and at the same time suppressed students' political activism because student movements were perceived as a threat to the regime (Hasan, 2009). This influences contemporary academics, as the NKK policy remains embedded within the universities. In addition, academics are still required to obey Indonesia's national philosophy of *Pancasila*. The long-ruling New Order government consistently educated people through the *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity) credo. However, this credo encouraged the multicultural people of Indonesia to be united in one national culture and promote illusive harmony in daily living. This added to the pressures on academics on their identity work. It means that they had to prioritise their obligations more than their rights (Giblin, 2003; Undang-Undang Pendidikan Tinggi Republik Indonesia, 2012). Considering the apparent implications placed on these requirements, Indonesia offers a very rich context in which to explore the identity work process for the academics.

Despite the Indonesian government, through its Directorate General of Higher Education (DIKTI), has tried to improve the quality of higher education system, the problems concerning it still persist. To improve its human resources' competence, especially the academics, DGHE instructs all academics to continue their studies and provides scholarship awards to those who are selected. This programme aims to increase the number of academics with a doctoral degree and to improve the number of the Indonesian academic's publications, which eventually will contribute to the nation's competitiveness at the international level. In order to improve the quality of its human resources, in 2008 the Indonesian government, through DIKTI, commenced the scholarships programme to fund academics to study not only in Indonesian universities but also in universities in foreign countries. Up to the year 2014, approximately 4200 academics have studied to obtain a master's and a doctorate degree in 30 countries worldwide (DIKTI, 2015a).

Secondly, DIKTI imposes academic competence standards through the Academic Certification Programme (*Sertifikasi Dosen*), which aims to improve the quality of the academics and also their wellbeing. In this programme, those academics that pass the selection are given twice of their monthly salary. However, there are concerns around this program. For example, there is a temptation for many academics to

manipulate their documents, including involvement in plagiarism in order to be perceived as a productive academic. DIKTI reported that there were around 400 plagiarism cases during 2012–2013 that happened in both public and private universities (Kompas, 2013). DIKTI itself had imposed sanctions on those who were found guilty by revoking the professorial title and its honorary allowances and terminating their tenures (OkeZone, 2014).

Academics in Indonesian public universities have traditionally not been well paid and have to take on extra work to supplement their incomes (Clarke, 2014; Welch, 2007). In spite of the *Sertifikasi Dosen* programme, numerous Indonesian scholars have moved to other countries like Malaysia and Japan because of unequal compensation structure and unsupportive working atmosphere (Kompas, 2011). These countries, on the other hand, offer better facilities and benefits to attract Indonesian academics (Clarke, 2014). Moreover, the Indonesian Presidential Decree number 88 in the year 2013 declared that the academics who worked under the Ministry of Education and Culture were excluded from the performance allowance programme. This decree was perceived as discriminatory by academics because according to the requirements of the country, academics needed to be more productive in order to achieve the year 2025 vision. Consequently, the Indonesian Academic Group, a non-official group that consists of 13,634 Indonesian academics, voiced its concern about inequality experienced by Indonesian academics (Fadil, 2014).

Poor remuneration means that many academics will allocate most of their energy and time to work outside the campus, by working as a project consultant or by being involved in trading businesses or by working in a management or teaching at a private higher education institutions (Ramadhan, 2013; Setiawati, 2009; Welch, 2012). Once again, the situation in the private sector, with lower proportions of qualified and full-time staff, is “even worse” (Buchori & Malik, 2004, p. 261). These factors seems to be compromising the quality not only in the public universities – which will lose the productivity of their human resources – but also in the private institutions, where these self-same individuals work on a part-time, or even full-time contract basis. Undeniably, many private higher education institutions in Indonesia would not be able to survive without help and services from public universities’ academics (World Bank, 1996).

Female academics in public universities, compared to women in small or private universities likely encounter many challenges in their career as senior academic positions are more prestigious, more demanding and more competitive in public universities. Consequently, only limited academics can achieve these senior positions. Based on this, it would then be fair to argue that in order to collect samples, public universities are the best focus in this research. Murniati (2012) provides evidence that only one-third of academics in public universities and around 40% in private universities are women. At the national scale, as the percentage of women who hold the Rector position is only accounted for no more than 9%, women on the Vice Rector position are 15% in public universities.

2.6 Indonesian academic career advancement

Compared to the mechanisms in the Western universities, Indonesian public universities do not hire people from outside the organisation for leadership positions. Once a person is hired as a permanent academic in a public university, then his/her status is as a government employee and it is a common practice that a government employee will spend their entire career in that one organisation. As government employees, academics are required to obey the Indonesian government rules including their employment contracts, career path, salary and allowance.

Moreover, academic career promotion is central because it not only defines the level of the salary but also the extent of the one's authority and autonomy as an academic. For example, as a junior academic, one can only work as a teaching assistant in comparison to mid-level and senior academics. Also, a junior academic cannot be the principal supervisor to students' research and cannot be a project leader for research and community service programmes.

Indonesian academics as government employees have a career path, which consists of multiple position, ranks and levels during their tenure as academics. The academics career generally starts at level 3 B (master's degree graduates) whereas the top level is the level 4 E (DIKTI, 2015c). The functional rank of *Asisten Ahli* in Indonesia is equal to the rank of an Instructor in the Western context, whereas *Lektor* equals to Assistant Professor; *Lektor Kepala* equals to Associate Professor; and *Guru Besar* equals to Full Professor (Institut Teknologi Bandung, 2015). The following Table 2.1 shows the levels of an Indonesian academic's career path.

Table 2.1 Functional position and rank of Indonesian academics (Adapted from DIKTI, 2015c)

No	Functional Position (<i>Jabatan Fungsional</i>)	Rank (<i>Pangkat</i>)	Level (<i>Golongan</i>)	Cumulative Credit Points (<i>Angka Kredit Kumulatif</i>)
1	Instructor (<i>Asisten Ahli</i>)	First Rank Junior Superintendent (<i>Penata Muda Tingkat 1</i>)	Level 3 B	150
2	Assistant Professor (<i>Lektor</i>)	Superintendent (<i>Penata</i>)	Level 3 C	200
3	Assistant Professor (<i>Lektor</i>)	First Rank Superintendent (<i>Penata Tingkat 1</i>)	Level 3 D	300
4	Associate Professor (<i>Lektor Kepala</i>)	Administrator (<i>Pembina</i>)	Level 4 A	400
5	Associate Professor (<i>Lektor Kepala</i>)	First Rank Administrator (<i>Pembina Tingkat 1</i>)	Level 4 B	550
6	Associate Professor (<i>Lektor Kepala</i>)	Junior Administrator (<i>Pembina Utama Muda</i>)	Level 4 C	700
7	Full Professor (<i>Guru Besar</i>)	Middle Administrator (<i>Pembina Utama Madya</i>)	Level 4 D	850
8	Full Professor (<i>Guru Besar</i>)	Senior Administrator (<i>Pembina Utama</i>)	Level 4 E	1050

According to the Minister of State Apparatus and Bureaucratic Reform regulation number 17 in the year 2013 on academic career (2013), normally Indonesian academics take four to six years to advance their career upward. However, in this practice, sometimes it takes longer. At the same time, Indonesian academics are allowed to advance in every two years as long as they obtain the required credit points (DIKTI, 2014). These credit points are obtained by accomplishing the *Tri Dharma* activities. They are teaching, research and publication, and community service. If an academic fails to fulfil one of the elements, then there is a delay in their career advancement. In order to progress their career, academics must not only collect the required credit points but they also need to have an annual assessment from their superior in the form of a report or a *Daftar Penilaian Pelaksanaan Pekerjaan* (DP3). A government employee's DP3 form assesses the dimensions of the following: loyalty, work performance, responsibility, compliance, honesty, cooperation, initiatives and leadership. The degree of the DP3 ranges from 91–100 as excellent, 76–90 as good, 61–76 as regular, 51–60 as poor to under 50 as very poor (Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia no. 46, 2011).

For career advancement in the Instructor and Assistant professor level, the assessment process is conducted at the faculty and the university level, whereas for career advancement in the Associate Professor and Full Professor level, the assessment process is conducted in the faculty, the university and the Ministry of Education (Kozok, 2015). For example, an academic as an Assistant Professor with 3 D level (300 cumulative credit points) wants to advance his/her career to the Full Professor rank (4 D Level/ 850 cumulative credit points), then he/she must obtain at least 550 credit points ($850 - 300 = 550$).

In order to reach the Full Professor rank, an academic also needs to have a doctoral degree and at least three publications in reputable international journals as the first author. DIKTI defines a reputable international journal publisher in a journal that has: “1) Scimago Journal Rank or Thomson Reuters impact factor; 2) an ISSN; 3) online access; 4) an editorial board with members from at least four countries; 5) presence on international databases such as Web of Science, Scopus or Microsoft Academic Search; and 6) the article must be written in one of the six official languages of the United Nations (Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian,

Spanish) – notably, not a native Indonesian language such as *Bahasa*” (Kozok, 2015).

The number of publications is also limited by DIKTI. For a text book, it is limited to only one title per year; for paper in a reputable international journal, it is at the most one title per semester; paper in a DIKTI accredited national journal is limited to one title per semester; paper in an unaccredited national journal is limited to two titles per semester; paper in an international scale seminar (conference, workshop, symposium) is limited to one paper per semester; paper in a national scale seminar (conference, workshop, symposium) is limited to two papers per semester (DIKTI, 2015c).

As an Indonesian academic, one not only can have a career in the functional hierarchy, but also in the administrative, structural and managerial positions. These positions consist of Head of Department, Head of Laboratory, Vice Dean, Dean, Head of Research Centre, Vice Rectors and Rectors (Kopertis, 2013). The criteria for selecting and appointing to managerial positions, particularly for Rectors and Vice Rectors, often depends on previous managerial experiences and academic achievements, but sometimes involves practical politics, such as lobbying and forming coalitions (Setyawanta, 2014). Moreover, university senates appoint the Rector and Vice Rector candidates as university senators have 65% of the voting rights. However, the senate has to seek endorsement from the Minister of Research, Technology and Higher Education, as the Minister has 35% of the voting rights. This system has been criticised because it favours candidates who are close to the Minister (Setyawanta, 2014). Moreover, as most Indonesian university leaders “are senior faculty members who have more academic and administrative experience than other faculty, then only faculty members working in a particular institution can hold academic administrative and structural positions in that institution” (Murniati, 2012, p. 61).

The information provided in this section suggests that Indonesian academics work in significantly constrained circumstances. However, the changing external environment forces Indonesian academics to strive and be able to participate at the global level. The performativity pressures are likely to contribute to the identity work process among Indonesian female academics. By understanding their identity work

process, this research offers adequate insight in the government context, especially in the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education.

2.7 University system changes

As part of a raft of economic reforms, the Indonesian government sought to liberalise the national economy between the mid-1980s to 1990s. However, it was the financial crisis in 1997 that forced the Indonesian government to further delegate and liberalise the national economy, including attempts to widely privatise universities (Mallarangeng, 2002; Tambunan, 1998). Moreover, following a US\$42 billion bailout by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), pressure was brought upon the Indonesian government to implement such changes based on a Memorandum of Economic and Financial Policies (MEFP) signed on October 31, 1997 between the Indonesian government and the IMF (Djiwandono, 2000; Lau & McInish, 2003). It was believed that privatisation would improve the efficiency and productivity of the university sector, reduce subsidies from government and generate tax revenues for the government. With the implementation of privatisation, the government commenced changes in higher education, such as privatising public universities in 1999, changed the status of Public Universities (PU) to State-owned Legal Entities (Wicaksono & Friawan, 2011) and converting 12 institutes of Teacher Training and Education into state-owned (public) universities in 1999–2000. By implementing these changes, it was expected that the State-owned Legal Entities and State-owned Public Universities (SHE-PU) would be able to attract more students by offering much more study options and courses, able to be more autonomous in their infrastructure management, financial management, human resource recruitment and decision-making (Yulida, 2010). However, by becoming state-owned legal entities, these public universities were forced to seek alternative financial sources to fund their own operational expenditures as their subsidies from the government were reduced. Consequently, tuition fees at SHE-PU were increased and became more expensive than any other Indonesian private universities (Susanti, 2011; Wicaksono & Friawan, 2011).

Due to public protest and criticism by students, their parents, educational practitioners, and experts, the nationally implemented SHEs were cancelled in March 31, 2010 by the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia after conducting a judicial review on the policy (Tarigan, 2013). At the time, only seven public

universities had reformed under the SHE system: the University of Indonesia (UI), the University of Gajah Mada (UGM), Bandung Technology Institute (IPB), Bogor Agricultural Institute (IPB), the University of North Sumatera (USU), the Indonesian Education University (UPI) and the University of Airlangga (UNAIR) (Tarigan, 2013). Precisely, The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia identified that the policy on SHE contradicted the Article 31 of the 1945 Constitution or *Undang-Undang Dasar* (UUD) 1945, which asserts that every citizen of Indonesia has equal rights to access education, and has to be educated regardless of their backgrounds, and the government must allocate at least 20% of its national budget in the education sector (Ramadhan, 2013). Consequently, the regulation of the public universities' daily operation and management was returned back to follow the government's rule numbers 17 and 66 of 2010. These rules obliged all public universities to distribute 20% of their total new student places for potential students, who would not normally be able to afford to attend a university. Also, the Indonesian central government and local government financed a certain percentage of the public universities' expenditures (Susanti, 2011).

On July 13, 2012, following significant parliamentary debates, the Indonesian government officially determined a new law or *Undang-Undang* (UU) number 12 of 2012 for higher education in Indonesia and the status of public universities became General Service Entities or *Badan Layanan Umum* (BLU) (DIKTI, 2012b; Tarigan, 2013). According to the Minister of Education and Culture, this rule required the Indonesian government along with local government to finance public universities. Therefore, public universities were not commercialised and students' parents paid their children's tuition fees based on their financial capability (DIKTI, 2012a, 2012b).

Considering the matters above, this is somewhat a dynamic time to study Indonesian universities and Indonesian academics as the government, institutions and individuals deal with change or the prospect of it. The latter perhaps reflects the reality because only few universities have taken up this change till date. In addition, organisational change and change in general is often perceived by academics as threatening conditions due to their feelings of vulnerability and fear of losing security. Thus, there is a potential importance of this research in assessing academic identity work as the process most probably occurred during this time. This would

address the research questions, as it aims to explore how various contexts in the Indonesian setting affect the Indonesian academics' identity work process.

2.8 Conclusion

Indonesians are guided by the principle pillars of *Pancasila* with the intention that Indonesians must be aligned with the nation's values, norms and religion to reach an agreement through consensus and prioritise social obligations more than personal rights in order to establish a harmonious and peaceful environment within the nation. The *Pancasila* philosophy is a Javanese cultural element that applied in both the regional and the national level and thus plays an important role in the everyday life of Indonesians. Its philosophy reflects traditional customs; most Indonesian children are raised and educated to listen to and to abide by their elders' commands and requests, to respect them and are not permitted to express their ideas that may contradict their parents' ideas. Given the explicit meaning placed on these obligations and religious beliefs in the cultural and social context, Indonesia provides a different setting in which to explore and understand the identity work process in female academics.

Within the education sector, Indonesian universities do not rank well by international standards. The causes of this poor quality of university education are complex. The Indonesian government has consistently made an effort by calling on Indonesian academics to improve the quality of teaching, researching and serving their society, improve their verbal and non-verbal communication skills, develop better ICT skills, publish more articles, develop wider networking and to gain a more broader outlook. These demands for skill development in a poor-resource work environment places significant pressure on Indonesian academics.

In order to progress, an Indonesian academic must fulfil numerous requirements from DIKTI, such as research and publication, teaching loads and community services. Not only must he/she fulfil those, an academic is also required to have a good assessment from their superior in the form of DP3 as the annual performance report.

Indonesian universities have also previously experienced several changes as part of privatisation attempts. These policy changes have resulted in significant uncertainty in the environment and management of universities (Tarigan, 2013). Institutional

instability is claimed as a factor that would give immense impetus for identity work among academics (Brown, 2014; Knights & Clarke, 2014; Smith, 2010). Therefore, Indonesian universities provide a good context in which we can explore the process of academic identity work to contribute to the extant Western based literatures on academic identity work. By exploring the identity work process among Indonesian female academics, this research offers a useful way for university leaders and decision makers to understand and manage the impacts of the changes and potentially create better workplace relations (Morley, 2013a). The following chapter presents the literature review which covers the identity, identity work, gender and career identity in a higher education setting and rationale for the research.

3 LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

Extant research on identity and identity work in organisations reveals several theoretical and conceptual problems and questions that are to be solved (Brown, 2014). In particular, the processes of identity work needs to be investigated, because “the process by which identity evolves remains under explained” (Ibarra, 1999, p, 765). This research emphasises on women as academics as gender may play a significant role in the process of identity work (Brown, 2014). Brown is not alone in this view. Waterman claims that the female’ identity formation is more complex compared to their male counterparts (as cited in Cote and Levine, 2002). Moreover, numerous studies provide evidence about how women encounter barriers in their career trajectories, such as glass ceiling, glass cliff and glass slipper (Ashcraft, 2012), particularly in the higher education sector (Currie, Harris & Thiele 2000; Jacobs & Winslow, 2004; Ylijoki, 2011).

The main purpose of this chapter is to review theories and literatures that can be employed as a foundation to understand the identity work process among female academics and its connection to their career trajectories and their underrepresentation problem. It is based on a rigorous examination of extant literature in the identity and identity work in general and specifically on female academics in the public university context and their career trajectories. Furthermore, the chapter identifies specific problems in the existing literatures in order to answer the research questions.

This chapter begins with a review of the literature on identity in organisations. Then, it focusses on the identity work. The chapter moves on to review the research into identity, gender and careers. The next section in this chapter emphasis on women’s global underrepresentation problems in top positions and the final section will highlight the implications from the literature and develops the rationale for the study.

3.2 Identity in organisations

Identity in organisations is hailed as one of the most popular topics in social sciences, especially in management and organisation studies (Alvesson, Ashcraft & Thomas, 2008; Brown, 2001; Brown, 2014; Cote, 2006; Haslam & Reicher, 2006; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003; Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx, 2011). As far as the

term is documented, the concept of identity originated in ancient Greece and China through Plato's *Phaedo* and Confucius's *Analects*, which addresses many questions of the form of 'self'. Furthermore, in Western philosophy, the 'problem of self' can be traced back to Rene Descartes' proposition that the individual's existence is a result of a thinking process/*Cogito ergo sum* (Malcolm, 1965; Schickel, 2011; Young, 2012) and John Locke's theory on identity which connected it to an individual's consciousness and memory (Kihlstrom, Beer & Klein, 2003). In non-Western philosophy, the matter of self or identity is discussed in Avicenna's proposition that the core of identity is in one's soul, which is frequently regarded as foundation to the Cartesian cogito (Black, 2008). In addition, in modern scholarship, the identity concept was coined by Erik Erikson (1956). This generated scholarly interest "in the use of the concept in social scientific analyses by providing a reasonably value-neutral and interdisciplinary term" (Cote, 2006, p. 4).

According to the consensus view of its definition, identity not only refers to "the meanings that individuals attach reflexively to themselves, and developed and sustained through processes of social interaction as they seek to address 'who am I' question" (Brown, 2014, p. 4), but also to seek the answer of who I want to become question (Ashforth et al., 2008; Clarke, Hyde & Drennan, 2013; Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010). Therefore, on the basis of the current available evidence, it seems fair to claim that identity is more about 'becoming' than 'being', which constitutes ongoing lifelong struggle (Giddens, 1991; McLure, 2003). Next, these attached meanings in the definition above are yielded from "available discourses and as taking the form of narratives, dialogues or other symbolic or dramaturgical performances" (Brown, 2014, p. 4).

Not only are there variations in the backgrounds of the various disciplines and the schools of thought in identity scholarship, there are also differences in methodologies. So far, identity has been variously defined in the literature, because it has been explored in many disciplines, such as philosophy, psychology, education, linguistics, sociology, political science, anthropology, family studies, arts and humanities and also public health (Brown, 2014; Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx, 2011). Therefore, it can be examined from different perspectives. Identity, in the psychological term, refers to personal identity, or the distinctive personal aspects that make an individual person unique (Cote & Levine, 2002), at the same time

sociologists often employ the term to explain social identity or the collection of group memberships that define the individual (Lawler, 2014).

In addition, identity in anthropology refers to characteristics based on the distinctiveness and uniqueness that makes an individual different from others, which firstly focussed on non-Westerners ethnicity as objects of the study (Carsten, 2004) and social movements (Polletta & Jasper, 2001; Stryker, Owens & White, 2000). There are two approaches to identity research in anthropology. One is the primordial approach in which identity is pre-determined by a collective group factors such as common indigenous origins and biological characteristics (Pembecioglu, 2014). The other is based on social constructionist theory in which it is recognised that identity is dynamically constructed from a combination of individual choices and the social and cultural environment (Pembecioglu, 2014). The constructionist approach provides a way of understanding the complicating roles of nationality, gender, race and ethnicity. Constructivism requires a multidisciplinary perspective so that efforts to conceptualise and problematise identity are not exclusively sealed within a particular discipline, allowing combinations of concepts when researching identity and identity work. Along similar lines, Alvesson and Sandberg (2011, 2013) encourage organisation and management scholars to adopt alternative methodologies in generating new theories by challenging the assumptions which underpin current theories through problematisation, “by actively questioning and critically scrutinising established knowledge at various levels, including root metaphor, ideology, and paradigm “ (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011, p. 267).

Till date, strands of identity research in management and organisation studies are predominantly concerned with technical cognitive interest (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Haslam 2004; Haslam & Reicher, 2006), symbolic interactionism (Brown, 2014; Burke & Stets, 2009; Stryker, 1980), Foucauldian power and self-surveillance (Alvesson, 1998; Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Collinson, 1992) and the work of Freud and Lacan (Harding, 2007; Petriglieri & Stein, 2012), whereas social identity theory “has been the most influential, or certainly the most prominent, theoretical stream in organisational studies of identity” (Alvesson, Ashcraft & Thomas, 2008, p. 12).

In regard to methodologies employed in the study of identity, there are differences which not only range from quantitative or qualitative, but also present within each of these comprehensive methods. For instance, several scholars employ quantitative methods which frequently focused on controlled experimentation, whereas other scholars put more attention on correlational and naturalistic (Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx, 2011). On the other hand, identities are also studied using qualitative methods because the subjective nature of identity is best studied using phenomenological approaches that capture a person's private, individual and idiosyncratic experiences of their identity (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2012). As a consequence, available evidence seems to suggest that the identity fields are not entirely sealed (Brown, 2014) and consequently offer fruitful areas to be investigated (Alvesson, Ashcraft & Thomas, 2008).

Identity has become a substantive construct in the field of organisation studies (Albert, Ashforth & Dutton, 2000; Ashforth, Harrison & Corley, 2008). Identity itself can be employed as a concept to recognise or as a representation of an individual which shows unique characteristics in the wider environment, such as society, community, nation, gender and profession (Brown, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Identity is also a central factor in motivation, commitment, loyalty, group and inter-group relations, influencing decision-making, planning the future life and guiding behaviour (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010; Kroeger, 2007; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003).

Moreover, identity is a multiple concept (Erikson, 1956; Sedikides & Brewer, 2001); firstly, it can be distinguished between individuals who recognise uniqueness among themselves (Waterman, 2011). Secondly, it can be a relational concept. Relational identity not only related to particular roles, but also how individuals are defined and interpreted by other individuals who assume them (Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx, 2011). And lastly, it can be a bonding concept that ties individuals who share similar qualities, personal identification as a member in the social environment or in this case, is collective identity, including ethnicity, families, work groups, nationality, religion and gender (Ramarajan & Reid, 2013; Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx, 2011).

The nature of identity is debatable. Albert and Whetten (1985) argue that organisation identity is bound up with its distinctive, central and enduring features. This creates a sense of stability in identity (Brown, 2001; Pratt, 2012). Furthermore, this concept has become a stepping stone for further research that has studied identity as processes and socially dynamic, which is shaped through interactions, conversations and associations (Alvesson, Ashcraft & Thomas, 2008; Clegg, Rhodes & Kornberger, 2007; Gioia, Schultz & Corley, 2000; Hatch & Schultz, 2002; McInnes et al., 2006) and growing focus on the “need to develop our understanding of the flow of time in identity and ask how past, present, and future are connected in identity formation” (Schultz et al., 2012, p. 5).

These theoretical developments have been connected with the changes in the social world realities. Numerous scholars have claimed that questions of identity have become more complex within the last 50 years (Bauman, 2004; Lawler, 2014). For instance, Bauman (2004) and Baumeister (1986) argue that with the downfall of seemingly stable identities around gender, religious affiliation, nation, social rank, there is more of a social fluidity – and insecurity – around identity, which is ‘providing people with more scope for identity choices that are often problematic’ (Brown, 2014, p. 3) for sense of authenticity in their personal and social identities.

As a social being, an individual possesses both personal identity and social identity. Personal identity comprises characteristics that make us distinct from other people in social groups to which we are related (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Kreiner, Hollensbe & Sheep, 2006). At the same time, an individual is also a social creature. Social identity theory advocates that individuals refer to themselves with values, characteristics, categories and groups as reflexive mediums (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Individuals are often categorised by general characteristics abstracted from other members of the social groups to which they belong (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). By being a part of bigger groups and environments, individuals see themselves and perform activities, such as claim, accept, negotiate, affirm, maintain, reproduce, challenge, disrupt, reject and repair in the process of identity formation (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Brown, 2014; Schultz, Maguire, Langley & Tsoukas, 2012; Watson, 2008). In this process of construction, identity is seen as a continuous project, which is “open to contestations and as productive of fragmented, fluid selves characterised by multiple, contradictory narratives as of convergent, stable ones” (Schultz, Maguire, Langley &

Tsoukas, 2012, p. 3). People try to balance their personal and social identities, but the priority for authenticity and distinctiveness (personal identities) versus relatedness (social identities) varies from one individual to another. People with socially defined self-concepts tend to accept the social norms, rules and values; not to mention the peer pressure. On the other hand, those who put more effort into personal identities tend to go against the majority and are less motivated to conform to a group's ideals (McShane, Olekalns & Travaglione, 2013).

Work is a crucial social context and as a consequence, it is a major resource in the identity formation process. Organisations are melting pots of multiple narratives which not only include the dominant public stories, but also reach to the stories of personal identity. Organisational members can employ these narratives to assist them in understanding their role in an institutional context (Churchman & King, 2009). According to Brown's definition above, identities are the results of interaction between individuals in their social environments – as individuals are essentially social creatures who have a sense of belonging to something broader than themselves (Kreiner, Hollensbe & Sheep, 2006) – that are continuously constructed, reconstructed and negotiated during an individual's lifetime, which is also according to a particular time, space and context (Lorino & Tricard, 2012; Pick, Symons & Teo, 2014, 2015), consequently we need to consider how an individual's identity deals with those around them in an intersubjective manner. In addition, to capture the process in identity construction, we not only need to understand how an individual's identity is shaped at present times, but also to understand the past of the individual and the particular contexts which envelope the times and their contributions to one's identity construction.

In addition, organisations are also performing stages where individuals struggle to construct and deconstruct their identities within “organisationally based discursive regimes” (Clarke, Brown & Hope-Hailey, 2009, p. 325). Inside the organisation, individuals are required to employ resources from available discourses (Kuhn, 2009; Watson, 2008), which not only reinforce, but sometimes conflict with each other. The influences of the available discourses coupled with complexity of the contemporary work nature generate insecurity among individuals in organisations. Individuals just cannot be themselves in their work environment, as they are the representation of the organisation's image. As a consequence, individuals “must be

seen as knowledgeable, authoritative and, above all, ‘in control’... Yet, at the same time, they must present themselves to others as credible human individuals” (Watson, 2008, p. 122). Consequently, individuals must work on their identity because identity work is not only a medium, but also the outcome of insecurity, self-doubt and uncertainty (Knights & Clarke, 2014). Furthermore, this aspect is something that is frequently dismissed in the literature which discuss the context of “insecure, critical or self-depreciative identity talk” (Ybema et al., 2009, p. 312).

To capture the dynamic aspect of identity formation, McLure (2003, p. 19) argues that “identity is complex, confusing and, above all, an ongoing struggle. Although subjectivities are formed within discourses, people are not simply passive recipients of ‘their identity papers’”. In addition, identity is a constant process of becoming – an endlessly revised accomplishment that depends on very subtle interactional judgements and is always risky. Identity in management and organisation studies is debated much in terms of identity processes emphasising construction and the performing actor in these processes. It has been shown that as social creatures, individuals need to be engaged in identity work process which involves “forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening or revising the constructions that are productive of a sense of coherence and distinctiveness” (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003, p. 1165) and there is a continual need to understand the identity work process because the more we understand the identity work process at organisational and social contexts, the better we understand and explain not only the micro-level of individuals but also the macro-level organisational phenomena and how it affects those interacting in it.

3.3 Identity Work

Historically, the concept of identity work was first coined by Snow and Anderson (1987) to define the identity construction process among the homeless in the context of the USA. Till date, Watson’s (2008) definition on identity work as “the mutually constitutive processes whereby people strive to shape a relatively coherent and distinctive notion of personal self-identity and struggle to come to terms with and within limits, to influence the various social-identities which pertain them in the various milieu in which they live their lives” (p. 129) is one of the most prominent definition on the identity work literature. Watson’s work (2008) on identity work

acknowledges the agentic activity and the notion of choice which addresses its external factors as a significant aspect.

In the last 20 years, identity work research has provided ample efforts for the right assertion of term in describing the generic processes involved in this identity work (Brown, 2014). However, terms such as “claiming, affirming, accepting, complying, resisting, separating, joining, defining, limiting, bounding, stabilising, sensemaking, reconciling, stabilising and restructuring” (Brown, 2014, p. 5) are understood as the performed activities within the processes, whereas the ultimate goals in identity work processes are not only to produce an authentic, coherent and idiosyncratic identity (Watson, 2008), but also to answer where the ‘me’ narration is among the ‘we’ by managing the boundaries between personal and social identities (Kreiner, Hollensbe & Sheep, 2006).

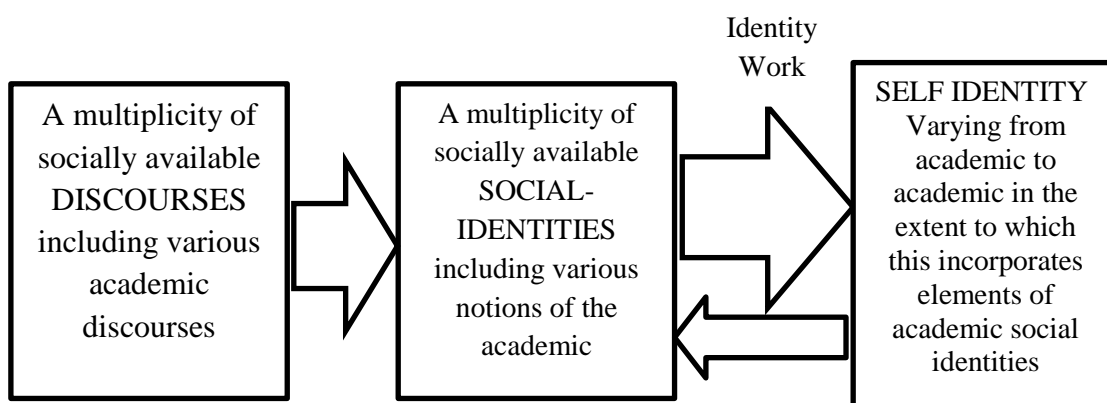
From a narrative researcher’s point of view, narratives are one of the different forms of identity work in organisations because humans are the storytellers. By answering of what narration or story-(ies) do one finds her/himself a part (MacIntyre, 1984), an individual crafts her/his identity existence within the broader society (Wertsch, 2012). In addition, narrative is another significant source of information on work identities because narrative itself is an identity work application in organisations (Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010) along with autobiography, storytelling and daily interactions as discursive forms (Ybema et al., 2009). In its application, individuals employ narratives to construct their professional identities (Pratt, Rockmann & Kaufmann, 2006), to resolve the identity conflict among personal and institutional identities (Creed, DeJordy & Lok, 2010), as the narrative “stories told us are similarly attempts to make sense of their past, as well as wishful thinking about the future” (Brown et al., 2010, p. 532). However, other scholars argue that identity work processes are not only about the talk but also about how to walk the talk, which includes activities such as “work on physical appearance and the selective association with other individuals and groups and mounting of credible dramaturgical performances” (Brown, 2014, p. 5).

Till now, identity scholars have researched on the strategies and tactics of identity work related to various groups of people in several professions. For example, flight attendants in a Scandinavian airline firm (Dahler-Larsen, 1997), accountants

(Covaleski et al., 1998), professionals (Ibarra, 1999), priests (Creed, DeJordy & Lok, 2010; Kreiner, Hollensbe & Sheep, 2006), toy car designers (Elsbach, 2009), elite military unit members and ex-members (Thornborrow & Brown, 2009), correctional officers (Tracy, 2004), medical residents (Pratt et al., 2006), managers (Lok, 2010), architects (Brown et al., 2010), lawyers (Brown & Lewis, 2011), sellers on eBay (Curchod, Patriotta & Neysen, 2014), opera company employees (Beech, Gilmore, Cochran & Greig, 2012), academics (Humphreys & Brown, 2002a; Knights & Clarke, 2014; Learmonth & Humphreys, 2012); and in particular settings, ranging from how to construct identity profiles through office interior decoration (Elsbach, 2004), the fashion as a form of identity work in the cultural and religious context (Humphreys & Brown, 2002b), identity work from the homeless (Snow & Anderson, 2007), adults' responses towards bullying at work context (Lutgen-Sandvik, 2008), identity work process in igniting patriotism among Russians and Estonians (Wertsch, 2012), to the middle class housewives in a Japanese social enterprise (Leung, Zietsma & Peredo, 2013) and the role of courageous response in managing identity tensions at the workplace (Koerner, 2014).

One of the prominent accomplishments on identity work is from Watson (2008). Watson provides a conceptual model of identity work that consists of a three-step model (Figure 3.1), as a conceptual tool which can help in the analysis of empirical materials (Watson, 2008). Moreover, Watson's three-step model of identity works incorporates how the seemed external factors of discourses regulate the social-identities influence and eventually influence the self-identities. The usefulness of this model is that it shows identity work as a process in which an individual must deal with the present and dominant subjectivities and discourses (Watson, 2008) that they negotiate, reject, manage and accept. Though every individual engages in identity work, differences will arise depending on the relative degree of external and internal influences. Another usefulness of this model is that it examines how people's identity work bridges self-identities and wider discourses.

Figure 3.1 Identity work three-step model (adapted from Watson, 2008)



According to Watson, social identities are perceived as “cultural phenomena, external to selves... cultural, discursive or institutional notions of who or what any individual might be” (2008, p. 131). Moreover, these social identities represent the various social categories which exist societally and essentially become such rich resources, repertoires and references for self-identities (which is facilitated by identity work), instead of elements of self-identities as such. Moreover, Watson argues that in order to assist in analysing the particular setting in which individuals engage with social-identities in framing their self-identities, he classifies them into five categories (Watson, 2008, p. 131). They are as follows:

1. *Social-category* social-identities: class, gender, nationality, ethnicity, etc. (upper class, female, Asian, Hindu, Scottish);
2. *Formal-role* social-identities: occupation, rank, citizenship, etc. (manager, cleaner, captain, an Italian citizen);
3. *Local-organisational* social-identities: an old-style Nottingham professor, a Boots pharmacist, a GPT operations manager (there will be other versions of this: a *local-community* social-identity, e.g. Ryland estate youths);
4. *Local-personal* social identities: characterisations which others make of an individual, in the context of specific situations or events (life and soul of the purchasing office, a good Co-op customer, the Beeston branch clown);
5. *Cultural-stereotype* social-identities: a garrulous Frenchman, a boring accountant, a devoted mother.

As a social group member, individuals engage in identity work in order to manage and balance the boundaries between their personal and social identities in their efforts to create coherent and authentic identities. The needs to create coherent and authentic identities are growing as modern people are now overwhelmed by various social categories, such as work organisation, religious affiliation, a supporter of a particular football club which requests their members to accept, obey, and succumb to the rules, requirements, standards, or identities of the collectives (Kreiner, Hollensbe & Sheep, 2006).

Specifically identity work likely to be occurred in intense circumstances where tensions, pressures and surprises are dominant, as these would allow an individual to have particular feelings of uncertainty, contradiction, and insecurity, which in turn tend to lead to self-examination (Brown, 2014). Moreover, most scholars argue that identity work is mostly performed in challenging circumstances or at times of significant transition and liminality (Aschraft, 2012; Beech, 2010; Ladge, Clair & Greenberg, 2012; Lok, 2010; Petriglieri, 2011), within socially formed discourses (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Clarke, Brown & Hope-Hailey, 2009; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003), within demanding nature of professional careers (Kreiner, Hollensbe & Sheep, 2006) and during enacted cultural and value changes at the organisational level (Kosmala & Herrbach, 2006; Ravasi & Schultz, 2006).

3.3.1 Debates on identity work

Over the years, there have been several inconclusive debates on how identity should be explored and theorised in which the concept of identity work is the key aspect (Brown, 2014; Pick, Symons & Teo, 2015; Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx, 2011). According to Brown, current themes mainly focus on whether the identities are “a) chosen by or ascribed to individuals [agency vs structure]; b) generally stable, evolutionally adaptive or fluid; c) unified and coherent or fragmented and possibly contradictory; d) motivated [or not] by a need for positive meaning; and e) framed [or not] by a desire for authenticity” (2014, p 6).

3.3.1.1 Agency vs Structure

First, debates on identity work centred on the extent whether identities are selected by individual efforts or assigned to individuals by social structures (Waterman, 1984). While identity can be associated with agency, the identity formation process

is essentially entrenched in the social environment. For pro-agency-minded scholars, identities result from the active work of an individual (Berzonsky, 2011; Cote & Levine, 2002; Waterman, 1986; Waters, 1990). On the other hand, pro-structure scholars argue – mainly drawing on the seminal works of Foucault (1972; 1977) – that identities are created by exercising power and controlling structures that create and regulate identity (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Brown, 2014; Cheney, 1991; Dutton, Dukerich & Harquail, 1994) in order to create appropriate identities among individuals (Humphreys & Brown, 2002a, 2002b; Kunda, 1992). There is support for the claim that identities are neither purely the results of an individual's choice (agency) nor merely assigned (structure), but are the results of the identity work that involves the interplay between an individual's active work and the influence of broader socio-cultural contexts that constrain the kind of identities that are available to individuals to adapt within these particular contexts (Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 1995; Pratt, 2012). In addition, Walseth (2006) argues that identity is a continuous process that encompasses the relationships between individuals and cultures as: (i) individuals are controlled and constrained by their culture; and (ii) individuals create the culture. Her study acknowledges agentic factors in shaping culture and its products, such as values, discourses and norms in the society, which may influence identity construction.

On the other hand, cultural factors can determine one's identities. Oyserman and James (2011) contend that socio-cultural stereotypes towards a particular ethnicity can influence one's identity based on motivation. African-American students pictured that they feared their possible identities of being a gangster, a criminal or a school failure (a negative stereotype associated to African-American students). Hispanic students described that they feared their possible identities of being an unskilled manual labourer or a drug dealer (a negative stereotype related to Hispanics). Asian students described that they hoped for their possible identities of being a high academic success (a positive stereotype associated to Asians). Despite all of these students' agentic will and power in constructing their identities, their idiosyncratic processes take place inside such specific contextual limits that could be resisted, but cannot be disregarded easily.

It is important to understand that these interactions between personal and social identities' construction processes are a significant end for future research, especially

in understanding the settings in which individuals are more expected to adopt the socially dominant constructed identity categories in their socio-cultural contexts, when contrasted with the settings under which they possibly will negotiate, modify, reject and change their socially assigned roles within these social constructions. Furthermore, in order to yield a broad understanding of identity, we need to grasp not only the features around it, but also the flow in identity in motion; and lastly to understand how individuals' identity is constructed and reconstructed not only in the current day, but also in the past and in the future (Gioia & Patvardhan, 2012; Lorino & Tricard, 2012; Pratt, 2012; Schultz, Maguire, Langley & Tsoukas, 2012).

3.3.1.2 Stability vs Fluidity

The second theme is the debate about whether identity is relatively stable or is dynamic and continuously evolving (Brown, 2014; Gioia & Patvardhan, 2012; Rattansi & Phoenix, 2005; Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx, 2011). Though scholars argue that “individuals need a relatively secure and stable sense of self definition of who they are within a given situation to function effectively” (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999, p. 417), there is the contention that “while self-concepts may exhibit continuity, there is scope also for flexibility provided by a suppler working self-concept, which permits dynamic responses to changeable situations” (Brown, 2014, p. 7).

Scholars in the identity field frequently emphasises the temporary contextual dynamics in identity. There are gradual processes of negotiated adaptation which possibly change the self-concept fundamentally. A substantial assumption in social identity research is that the individual and social features of identity can change dramatically in significance depending on the inter-group environment, as selves consist of “a relatively stable set of meanings, which change only gradually, but identities (work, role, professional, familial) can be acquired, lost, switched or modified much more quickly, and perhaps instantaneously as contexts and preferences alter” (Brown, 2014, p. 8). Additionally, Bauman (2004) and Baumeister (1986) argue that with the downfall of seemingly stable identities around gender, religious affiliation, nation and social rank, there is more of a social fluidity – and insecurity – around identity, which offering more possibility for identity choices that are often challenging for people to deal with (Brown, 2014).

Having argued that identity processes are determined by contextual factors, we should not dismiss the individual's role as an active agent in this process. Tajfel (2010) and Watson (2008, 2009) contend that individuals will vary in their readiness to conform a set of socially given self-categories. This is an identity work process, in which individuals are actively engaged in the search for particular self-categories and contexts to inhabit and in order to justify their existence, individuals then attempt to attaching the power within the particular context in order to maintain stability (Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx, 2011).

On the other hand, there are several scholars such as Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) and Petriglieri (2011) claim that individual in organisations require a relatively stable and secure understanding of their selves in order to function effectively. Moreover, Petriglieri states that "individuals are strongly motivated to maintain and enact their identities in their current state in order to achieve a sense of stability" (2011, p. 644). In addition, developmental psychologists tend to perceive the identity dynamic as a continuing process that take place mostly during particular parts of one's lifespan (Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx, 2011), as identity matters are frequently mentioned only during the teenage and initial adult years (Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx, 2011). In addition, it is claimed that "most developmental psychological approaches continue to regard the identity as relatively stable once it has been formed" (2011, p. 10).

Identity stability seems to arise from the individuals' attempts to sustain self-views, commitments and roles (Swann, 2005), along with social and contextual factors that support to hold these self-views, commitments and roles in place (Serpe & Stryker, 2011). Sveningsson and Alvesson argue that the main purpose of the identity work is to "establish coherent and stable identities" (2003, p. 1187). Therefore, on these grounds, it is fair to claim that despite the fact that identity seems to be stable, it does not mean that there is stillness in the identity work process and it could be the result of an individual's successful and continuous identity work.

3.3.1.3 Coherence vs Fragmentation

A further unsolved issue in identity work research is the debate about whether the self is more properly theorised as coherent and integrated, or is fragmented, and perhaps, conflicting. By using narrative analysis to explore a manager's

autobiography, Watson (2009) finds that in identity work processes, discursive resources are deployed to create and maintain a relatively coherent identity. In other words, identity work is performed in order to establish a sense of coherent identity. In addition, an individual's coherence varies according to an "individuals' sense of their own continuity over time, clarity in awareness of the connections between their multiple identities, a sense of completeness or wholeness, and embrace of the essentially integrated nature of their selves" (Brown, 2014, p. 8). Taking a middle ground stance, Sveningsson and Alvesson argue that while individuals struggle in their identity work process in order to create unified versions of the self, as "discourses, roles, and narrative self-identities all are involved – (as) they fuel and constrain identity work" (2003, p. 1188), the identity work "also fuels fragmentation and conflict" (2003, p. 1189).

In contrast, many researchers claim that identities are fragmented. For example, S. Hall (1996) contends that individuals do not have a homogenous and coherent identity. Instead, individuals' identities are fragmented and fractured and multiply when constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices and positions, which are constantly in the process of change and transformation. In addition, Ashforth et al. (2008) argue that there are distinctions between profession and organisation based identities in identification which influence the identity enactment and sensemaking process. Along similar lines, identity fragmentation is also perceived as two extreme points between work and non-work identities, which is also known as the myth of separate worlds.

The myth of separate worlds (Kanter, 1989) regards identities are separable between work domain (managerial, occupational, professional) and non-work domain (family, ethnic, religious, nationality, gender). However, due to rapid changes in the globalisation era, the differences between these separate worlds are becoming blurred. Individuals in modern organisations must be able to manage and balance the relationship between work and nonwork identities (Ramarajan & Reid, 2013) in order to make the boundaries between them clear (Ylijoki, 2011). Another remarkable study on contradictory identity is Greenhaus and Beutell's paper (1985) on work-life conflict. Greenhaus and Beutell claim that women are more disadvantaged than men because of their traditional role in family. By the same token, when they must be confronted with competing demands between their

responsibilities at work and home, women are expected to abide by their traditional roles compared to their male counterparts (Rosen & Jerdee, 1974). These role conflicts between work domain and non-work domain eventually affect individuals' identity work. Analytically, in such experiences of identity conflicts – as once “our self is threatened or socially invalidated or destabilised by self-doubt and self-openness” (Ybema, et al., 2009, p. 312), identity work is initiated by the individual immediately.

3.3.1.4 Positive vs Negative identities

The third debate about analysing identity in organisation is the extent to which an individual's identity work is driven by a need for positive meaning. Positive meaning or positive identity refers to the identity that is filled with valued, virtuous characters (Dutton, Roberts & Bednar, 2010), which support positive self-views (Roberts, et al., 2009; Watson, 2008). Individuals put an effort to their identity work in order to construct positive image of the self by authoring self-esteem and confidence. In search of positive identities, the theme is scientifically focussed on individuals who are engage in dirty work (Brown, 2014) or a membership of a stigmatised group (Goffman, 2009; Kreiner, Ashforth & Sluss, 2006; Toyoki & Brown, 2014). Hughes (1951) defines dirty work as particular responsibilities and professions which are regarded as disgusting or degrading and those who perform in those professions are considered as dirty workers.

Moreover, society has significant role in constructing the extent of dirtiness of a particular work because society assigns dirty work to particular people who act as agents on society's behalf, and that society then “stigmatises these groups, effectively disowning and disavowing the work it has mandated” (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999, p. 413). Thus, as the extent of dirtiness is socially constructed, the external parties, such as peers, family, friends and society establish continuous threats to the dirty workers. This is because several particular stereotypes are already embedded within those external parties towards dirty workers. In addition, according to Learmonth and Humphreys (2011) the extent of positive or negative identities depends on what is regarded as a good life and a desirable world in a particular society. In this, there are always two sides that are to be debated. Recent research indicates that our identities narratives are often confronted, denied, or disregarded by others (Brown, 2014). This is understandable, as when individuals try to narrate their own stories, they tend to

display such positive image of self and on the other hand they rarely expose the “ambiguity, indecision and negative self-evaluation” (Ybema, et al., 2009, p. 314).

Furthermore, according to Brown (2014), stigmatised identity is a result of a power relationship in society that leads to discrimination, which eventually leads to marginalisation from social acceptance. Moreover, in terms of positive identities, members of this stigmatised group are perceived to be engaged in these identity work activities, in order to establish and preserve their self-worth, self-knowledge and most importantly, to transform others’ views on them by employing defence mechanisms and coping strategies (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Brown, 2014) and self-serving impression management tactics (Toyoki & Brown, 2014).

Dutton, Roberts and Bednar (2010) assert that individuals (ages 21 to 70) would spend more time at work than any other human activities to emphasise the importance of work in search of a positive identity. However, this “description is revealingly partial, excluding as it does everyone apart from certain middleclass people, most of whom are men” (Learmonth & Humphreys, 2011, p. 425). Instead, Learmonth and Humphreys assert that dirty work, in fact, is “experienced by most people, in large measure, as degrading and exploitative” (2011, p. 425). Moreover, Learmonth and Humphreys (2011) emphasise the need to incorporate literatures on resistance and conflict, power play and struggle into Dutton, Roberts and Bednar’s (2010) work in order to capture the bigger picture of identity work.

3.3.1.5 Authenticity and Identities

The subject of authenticity emerges – though in various forms – in many streams of identity literature. Ranging from disputes about authenticity itself versus authentic self (Ibarra, 1999; Trilling, 1980), conceptualisation of secure self-esteem (Heppner & Kernis, 2011), authentic moral identity (Hardy & Carlo, 2011), authentic entrepreneurial identity (Lewis, 2013) to angles on possible identities (Erickson, 1995; Oyserman & James, 2011). Authentic identity can be defined as characters that displaying the free and open operation of individual's true, or core, self in one's daily enterprise (Kernis, 2003) and refers the extent to which individuals engage in identity work process in order to genuinely remain to their real selves (Ibarra, 1999) – as when individuals experience the incongruent moment between their own authentic identity and external expectations, then individuals would take part in identity work

process “to suppress personal values or manage or mitigate inconsistencies” (Brown 2014, p. 11).

Soenens and Vansteenkiste’s work (2011) and Waterman’s work (2011) assert that the authentic identity can be achieved as long as it is congruent with the true self. Nevertheless, Soenens and Vansteenkiste (2011) claim that “true self encompasses on the process of fulfilling three basic needs for autonomy, relatedness, and competence, which are understood to be common to all humans irrespective of individual, group, or cultural differences. Thus, self-realisation occurs through the process of sorting through identity alternatives and committing to those that are most intrinsically satisfying to these three needs... an autonomous, self-directed period of exploration, focused on internal self-discovery rather than on extrinsic concerns (e.g. wealth, recognition), is most likely to lead to self-realisation” (p. 18). On the other hand, Waterman (2011) describes true self as focussing on content, which may vary between individuals.

Soenens and Vansteenkiste (2011) and Waterman (2011) put a different emphasis on authenticity in their work. They regard that the true self is an essential reality. Other scholars argue that the true self is socially formed. One of them is Burkitt (2011), who views that the truth – located in a hidden, private self as – has progressively developed over significant periods in Western sociohistorical context in that “from a constructivist point of view, it could be the subjective feeling of truth, rather than any actual, objective reality, that is beneficial” (Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx, 2011, p. 18). Moreover, Burkitt proposes “the idea of the private self as the locus of one’s ‘true’ identity, contrasted with a false, ‘inauthentic’ public self” (2011, p. 16).

According to Kernis and Goldman (2011), authenticity of an identity consists of four different, yet interconnected components. They are “awareness, unbiased processing, behaviour, and relational orientation” (cited in Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx, 2011, p. 344). Firstly, awareness relates to how individuals are aware of their own strengths and weaknesses, passion, intentions and wants and self-related perceptions. Furthermore, awareness also refers to how individuals understand themselves while being cognisant of fundamental differences in their personality. The second component is unbiased processing. This refers to how individuals are neutral when handling stimulus – both externally and internally generated – that is associated with

their positive and negative characteristics, natures and also qualities. In doing so, individuals do not reject, lessen, overstate or overlook either the positive or negative self-evaluative stimulus.

The third component is behaviour. It relates to the extent to which individuals are freely performing their own behaviour in tune with their own principles, tendency, values and needs, as contrasted to displaying such behaviours just to please others or to get rewards or avoid negative consequences, such as punishments or social estrangement. Last component of identity authenticity is relational orientation. It refers to the appreciation and participation in sincere, honest and open relationship/interaction, and also let those who are important to understand the real you in their close interactions.

Numerous studies have been conducted to examine how individuals struggle in their search for authentic meaning, as an individual's true self is frequently not in line with the external standards of professional competence and character (Roberts, 2005). In their pursuance of particular rewards, benefits and privileges in social and professional environments, individuals sometimes conceal or challenge their own private values or principles in exchange for fulfilling societally or organisationally prescribed selves (Brown, 2014; Creed, DeJordy & Lok, 2010; Hewlin, 2003; Kreiner, Hollensbe & Sheep, 2006; Roberts, 2005; Watson, 2008). In addition, if there is such inauthenticity occurring in the social or professional environment, then it could jeopardise an individual's psychological, relational, and organisational outcomes (Roberts, 2005). Erickson (1995) argues that individuals who are perceived as a member of an oppressed and stigmatised group are more likely to encounter identity work process which forces them to "choose between behaving in a manner which concurs with their putative sense of self or to behave according to the demands and requirements of powerful others" (Lewis, 2013, p. 252).

Of particular relevance to this study is the research on identity work among women. It is argued that gender differences are a significant factor in identity work process. While a woman may not always perceive herself as a member of a stigmatised and disadvantaged group, it is considered that she is categorised as a minority, quantitatively, in comparison to their male counterparts due to the patriarchal culture hegemony (Cheng, 1999). This argument is supported and developed by Deleuze and

Guattari (1986). They contend that the greater number or quantity does not represent the majority. In addition, Ely and Meyerson (2010) assert that the task of identity formation is more complex for women compared to their male counterparts, as women's efforts in their identity formation are "relational, contextual, and have more fluid interpersonal boundaries" (Brown, 2014, p. 12). How members of a minority group (e.g. a woman in patriarchal culture hegemony) search for their authenticity in their identity work processes generates stimulus for further investigation. The following section will present gender identity from multiple perspectives, including how gender identity is connected to identity work.

3.4 Gender identity

3.4.1 Social science perspectives

There has been an inconclusive debate in the social science field about gender identity or the division between feminine and masculine (Acker, 1992; Alvesson, 1998; Connell, 1987; Paechter, 2006; West & Zimmerman, 1987). According to West and Zimmerman (1987), gender differences refer to something that an individual does, not as she or he is. It is theorised that gender differences are established according to contradictory power relations among categories, instead of natural predetermined characteristics. Social practices that strengthen these gender differences are perceived as authorising natural justifications for these differences. For instance, discrimination, segregation and stereotyping in organisations that woman are strongly associated with lower class and positions (Acker, 2006; Cheng, 1999; Crenshaw, 1991; Lewis, 2013).

Much of the current debates among scholars revolve around gender identity and gender differences. For cultural feminists, it is important to emphasise empowerment by respecting women's characteristics, like caring, loving, nurturing and being a team player (Ellsworth, 1989; Worell, 1996). By the same token, radical feminists not only support this view, but also demand major changes in society, especially in male dominated social structures and the patriarchal family structure to eliminate sources of control and domination (Hart, 2006; Shelton & Agger, 1993).

Despite many differences between men and women, there are some characteristics that are similar among them (Hyde et al., 2008). By acknowledging this, gender theorists point to the differences between masculine and feminine identities, but at

the same time, challenge the biological basis of gender difference. Butler (1990) advocates the concept of performativity by claiming that “there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very ‘expressions’ that are said to be its results” (p. 25). It is claimed that not all individuals with the same gender are similar. By merely classifying individuals on the basis of gender, it is all too easy to legitimise the link between gender and biological sex. The next sub-section examines gender identity research from the psychological perspectives.

3.4.2 Psychological perspectives

Unlike social perspectives, in which the emphasis is on discussing how gender identities is supposed to be theorised and how these identities are entrenched in social structures, psychologists focus more on the processes by which individuals refer to dominant gender conceptions in their social contexts. According to Kohlberg (1966), gender identity is regarded as a substantial aspect in the gender development process. This focusses on how individuals’ efforts to distinguish themselves are based on gender categories.

Martin and Halverson (1981) argue that individuals associate themselves with particular gender categories during their childhood and at the same time they assign others to the available gender categories. This approach suggests that gender identifying efforts allow children to establish conceptions that are employed to stimulate them to behave. These conceptions are associated and matched with their gender stereotypes and these gender conceptions significantly contribute to the future guidance of behaviour (Martin, Ruble & Szkrybalo, 2002).

Another approach to gender identity is social identity theory, which centres on identification with social categories (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). It is argued that if we assign a particular group to a category, then it will generate such allegiance among the group members as “people’s perceptions of in-group similarities and out-group differences serve to promote in-group identification and favoritism” (Bussey, 2011, p. 606). In terms of gender identity, a study conducted by Powlishta (1995) suggests that girls and boys regard themselves as the same as others within their gender category and it is found that girls display higher levels of in-group favoritism compared to boys. In contrast, Parish and Bryant (1978) argue that teenage boys

favour the other gender compared to their own gender. To complete an actual comprehensive understanding of identity, it seems necessary to capture the process of the gender identity formation, in terms of the features and the flow of identity in motion (Gioia & Patvardhan, 2012), including the effects of formative events on gender identity.

Along similar lines, Turner et al. (1987) propose self-categorisation theory, which acknowledges the main features of social identity theory. Despite this, self-categorisation theory takes on a more dynamic approach by suggesting that self-categorisation is depending on particular situation or context (Bussey, 2011). This stance highlights the role of power in a particular situation while regulating individuals' preferences and behaviour towards a particular gender category. However, individuals usually only adopt a specific portion of the group's characteristics with which they identify and match. From the self-categorisation perspective, "it is unclear how people decide which aspects of the identified group they will adopt" (Bussey, 2011, p. 606). It can be argued that people decide the aspects of the identified group that they adopt based on the congruence between what he/she feels and what the identified group offers back to him/her. This argument is exemplified by Martin and Dinella's (2012) work.

3.4.3 Gender and identity work

Women are frequently placed in a marginalised place within society (Acker, 2006; Cheng, 1999; Crenshaw, 1991; Lewis, 2013). As an individual's social identity is acquired from the daily social interactions within several available social contexts, every different context might eventually compel individuals to learn and to adopt a new social identity. As a result, individuals are expected to act in line with social expectations in order to be recognised and accepted by others (Lindgren & Packendorff, 2008). In addition, in the continuous process of identity formation, individuals may not always independent in their choices since one might be constrained by particular circumstances, as well as by social institutions such as family, religion and ethnicity (Chasserio, Pailot & Poroli, 2014).

As there are several available social identities, some of them might be conflicting because every social identity has its own borders (territories) and norms. In terms of social identities, gender identity not only functions as the most structuring process in

every society (Lindgren & Packendorff, 2008), but also acts as an effective tool of social regulation in a society (Alvesson & Billing, 2009).

Due to traditional gender roles, men's identities are strongly associated with the public domain as men are expected to be the breadwinner of the family, the protector of the family and the ultimate leader in society (Acker, 1990; Kanter, 1977; Schmitt, Ellemers & Branscombe, 2003). At the same time, women's identities are associated to the domestic domain, as an obedient mother, a wife, a daughter and a sister (Cheng, 1999; Kanter, 1977). In accordance with these identities, women are demanded to behave, perform particular tasks and roles that are in line with feminine values (Cheng, 1999; Crenshaw, 1991). For example, she is supposed to take care of her family, be submissive towards her husband, be active in childrearing and perform household activities, such as cooking and washing.

Traditional boundaries between public and domestic domains are now becoming blurred by the rapid global changes (Ramarajan & Reid, 2013). With women's participation in the workforce increasing globally, it means that more women are penetrating the masculine hegemonies in the public domain (Martin & Barnard, 2013; Van Den Brink & Stobbe, 2009). However, norms, values and concepts of merit and career success in the society are still based on masculine values (Martin & Barnard, 2013; Toh & Leonardelli, 2012; Van Den Brink & Stobbe, 2009). Consequently, as women perform their expected traditional roles and responsibilities, they still need to adapt and adopt their new social identities – which are dominated by masculine norms as soon as they enter the workforce armed with new roles (Chasserio, Pailot & Poroli, 2014).

To highlight that women's identities are under constant threat, the term “identity work of (among) women” is employed. For example, in engineering-related professions, women are more likely to experience work and family conflicts and tend to have lower self-esteem and confidence in their actual abilities than their male counterparts (Faulkner, 2000; Van Den Brink & Stobbe, 2009). This conflict influences their career trajectories and progressions, even though men and women have similar academic qualifications, abilities, experiences and career influences (Faulkner, 2011; Van Den Brink & Stobbe, 2009). These results suggest that gender role conflicts may

explain gender differences in the sector of engineering career development (Faulkner, 2011; Hatmaker, 2013; Jorgenson, 2002; Van Den Brink & Stobbe, 2009).

Faulkner (2011) proposes the term *(In)visibility paradox*, to illustrate the situation in which women engineers' gender identity is highly visible, while at the same time their professional identity as engineers is invisible. In addition, she asserts the term of *gender (in)authenticity* in revealing that careers in the engineering and technological fields are perceived authentic for men, but not for women (Faulkner, 2000; Kleif and Faulkner, 2003). This situation arises because of the available social norms in the engineering field, which are based on masculine norms and values. These norms and values seem to be authentic for men because quantitatively men outnumber women in the field and as a result, "when people think engineer, they envisage a man" (Faulkner, 2011, p. 280).

Women often try to fit in by becoming one of the "boys" in the workplace, by behaving in accordance with the taken-for-granted masculine norms and values (Fotaki, 2013). This may be understandable as the idea of success concept that is based on masculine values. As a result, these women are perceived not feminine enough in the workplace and tend to receive unpleasant treatments from their male peers. In contrast, women who directly show their femininity are not taken seriously, as these women are perceived as showing their natural characteristics (Van den Brink & Stobbe, 2009).

This suggests that the meaning of a particular gender identity is dynamic and is constantly changing with the changing contexts. Identity work takes place as a response to the identity threat that is experienced by women, not only in their private domain, but also in their workplace. Moreover, the strong and dominating masculine norms and values are embedded in the workplace and social environments. The following section examines the relationship between identity, career and gender, particularly on women.

3.5 Identity, career and gender

Over the last couple of decades, significant shifts in global workforce demographics have occurred. Women's number is increasing in terms of participation and is becoming a major force in the economic activities all over the world (Davidson & Burke, 2011; International Labour Organisation, 2015; Morley, 2013a). It was

estimated that women workforces consist of 55% of the global labour force in 2015 (Easton, 2015; International Labour Organisation, 2015). Though there are numerous practices of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) and other women friendly policies implemented in most organisations, apparently they have yet to overcome the problem of underrepresentation of women in organisations' strategic positions (Donnelly, 2015).

Even though there are increasing numbers of women in the global workforce, it is obvious that the global environment still favours men over women in accessing leadership and strategic positions in organisations (Alvesson, 1998; Davidson & Burke, 2011; Morley, 2013b). For instance, in a recent official report of women's career trajectory in management level in 105 countries, it was found that women's share in managerial jobs in 44 countries increased less than 5% over more than a decade and in 25 countries it increased from 5% to 10% and only in 14 countries it increased over 10 per cent. In addition, women's share in managerial jobs in 22 countries decreased regardless of their growing number in labour force participation and higher levels of education (International Labour Organisation, 2015). This is strengthened by Grant Thornton International Business Report (2013), which claims that women only held 24% of senior management positions globally in 2012, whereas the stagnated career trajectories of women started at the mid-career level (Mercer Global Consulting Report, 2014). On the basis of the available evidence mentioned above, it seems fair to suggest that the underrepresentation of women in senior organisation positions remains a problem.

3.5.1 The problem of underrepresentation and career trajectories of women

The problems in the above global statistics indicate that women are still hindered from reaching the top levels of organisations, whether in the private or public sector. In terms of career trajectories, mainly women's career stuck in the middle level positions in organisations. The following sub-sections offer discussion on the external and the internal factors regarding why women are remain underrepresented in senior key positions in organisations.

3.5.1.1 External factors

As something beyond the control of women employees, external factors not only consist of organisational factors, but also socio-cultural, and family factors (Ashforth

& Humphrey, 1993; Duffy & Dik, 2009; Helfat, Harris & Wolfson, 2006; Lam, 2006; Valcour & Ladge 2008; Valimaki, Lamsa & Hiillos, 2009).

In terms of organisational barriers, there is overwhelming evidence confirming that women continuously encounter problems in advancing to senior key positions regardless of their achievements and qualifications. These barriers are variously referred to as the glass ceiling, glass cliff, sticky floor and by many other related metaphors (Adams & Funk, 2012; Ashcraft, 2012; Ezzedeen, Budworth & Baker, 2015; Iverson, 2011; Ramarajan & Reid, 2013; Ryan & Haslam, 2007; Smith, Caputi & Crittenden, 2012). For most women, the glass ceiling impedes their ambitions, as women can only see the key positions from below without reaching them. The glass ceiling is defined by Luke (1998, p.36) as “the transparent cultural, organisational, and attitudinal barriers that maintain horizontal sex segregation in organisations which share certain structural features across cultural and institutional contexts such as the concentration of power and authority among male elites, concepts of merit, career, and success based on male experience and life trajectories, and social and institutional practices that reproduce culturally dominant forms of patriarchy ... then women will look up the occupational ladder and get a clear vision of the top rungs but they can't always clearly see where they will encounter invisible obstacles”. The pyramid shape represents the problem of underrepresentation of women in key positions, because the rank and the authority levels are at the top and with a small proportion of women in it. Next, the glass cliff refers to the barrier that women encounter as women in leadership positions and these women are often promoted to precarious leadership positions, which would increase their possibility of failure (Ryan & Haslam, 2007). Finally, the sticky floor metaphor has been used to explain why women are trapped in low paying jobs at the lowest levels of organisations (Kee, 2006). These organisational barriers can be categorised as attitudinal or structural (Ismail & Ibrahim, 2008; O'Neil, Hopkins & Sullivan, 2011; Simpson et al., 2004; Tlaiss, 2013). Attitudinal obstacles are established by those who have a direct or indirect power on women's career trajectories and progression to higher levels or roles, while structural factors are established by uncertainties of rules and practices, such as ambiguous career promotion policies and unfair working policies.

In terms of socio-cultural factors, there are more expectations from women than their male counterparts to accept family responsibilities as a part of their social identity

(Eagly, 1987; Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1999; Lobel & Clair, 1992; Metz, 2011). Social identities can negatively impact one's professional impression. Women are often associated with feminine values, such as nurturing, caring, intimacy and emotional attitudes and consequently, women are stereotyped as ineffective and weak leaders (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2013; Koenig et al., 2011), despite of their actual expertise (Shahtalebi & Yarmohammadian, 2012). This occurs as women are expected to deal with domestic matters and babysitting, while men are socially associated as the breadwinner of the family. Thus, leadership is strongly associated with masculinity and the main problem for women who are seeking a leadership position has always been hindered by normative masculinity which powerfully represents the image of a good leader (Binns & Kerfoot 2011). Moreover, as masculine culture is strongly embedded within the organisational practices, it will "provoke a resistance to change practices that historically placed men in leadership position" (Toh & Leonardelli 2012, p. 604). This reinforces a situation where the hegemony of masculine values (Martin & Barnard, 2013) is accepted as a common-sense, taken-for-granted male domination (Humphreys & Brown, 2002b) and breaching the social expectations and norms merely will bring social sanctions to the women (Bussey, 2011). Indeed, as Metz (2011) argues, due to those socio-cultural pressures, women often voluntarily opt out their career.

Parental and family factors also contribute to the gendering of identity formation. Bussey (2011) argues that parents are providing direct and indirect treatments which significantly construct one's gender identity, e.g. it can be seen in one's given name, one's dress and one's toys. Moreover, Fredricks and Eccles (2002) argue that individuals' competencies are strongly shaped by their gender during their childhood period. For example, parents tend to favour their son in physical aspects and hard-science regardless of their daughter's actual skill and potential. In addition, Eccles et al. (2000) assert that girls' self-concept of their physical skills tends to conform to their parents' beliefs and expectations eventually. As a result, this leads to the girls' choice of majors in education and career. This is supported by Van Den Brink and Stobbe (2009) and Bussey (2011), who claim that gender discrimination takes place during the early years of academic education, when women are encouraged to pursue "soft" subject areas instead of "hard" and masculine subjects such as engineering and construction.

When women get married, their mind-sets, attitudes and behaviours towards their career trajectory are not only determined by family support, but also their spouses (Armstrong et al., 2007; Deborah, Margaret & Bilimoria, 2008; Madsen, 2008; Valimaki, Lamsa & Hiillos, 2009). Many women have difficulties in balancing their demands from work and from life, which is known as work-life conflicts (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Family obligations and domestic responsibilities, not to mention the social norms and culture towards women, require them to put more concentration on their family instead of their career (Jacobs & Winslow, 2004). It is hard to manage both as both these domains need significant time and dedication. A family-oriented woman tends to feel guilty and that eventually tends to reduce their motivation and commitment towards their career (Coleman, 2002; V. Hall, 1996). On the other hand, Davidson and Cooper (1992) confirm that women who are fully focussed to advance their career trajectory tend to stay single and childless, with the intention to remove the possibility of role conflicts.

Even though family responsibilities and demands are considered as one of the barriers in a woman's career trajectory, Metz (2011) claims that women quit their job primarily not because of the family responsibility reason, but more due to noteworthy reasons, such as the masculine culture, the chauvinistic and discriminative working environments, long work hours and lack of recognition from superiors.

3.5.1.2 Internal factors

Besides the external factors mentioned earlier, internal factors also contribute to the stagnation in women's career. Internal factors refer to individual's endeavours in decision-making towards his/her career advancement. According to the literature regarding women in organisations, internal factors consist of women's own aspirations, such as mind-set towards progress in their career trajectories, approaches and behaviour regarding career progression and the extent of their self-confidence concerning leadership competences and balancing work-home conflicts (Cubillo & Brown, 2003; Dyrbye et al., 2011; Kottke & Agars, 2005; Lam, 2006; Luke, 1997; Murniati, 2012). Internal barriers significantly contribute to a woman's mind-set towards her career aspirations. Those with low self-confidence tend to be not as successful in their career as they are unable to manage their challenges (Cubillo & Brown, 2003). In addition, Murniati (2012) argues that gender stereotyping in society heavily influences women's mind-set, their attitudes and behaviours.

Women tend to be modest – not promoting their achievements in front of the others – as a result of fear of being criticised as unfeminine (Berg, Stephan & Dodson, 1981; Daubman & Sigall, 1997; Luke, 2000). Also, women who are considered to be successful in their career trajectories are regarded as masculine as men and less feminine than women in the lower levels of the organisation (Ledet & Henley, 2000) and working mothers are perceived as less competent and committed than women who are not mothers and men (Valcour & Ladge, 2008). In terms of career identity, women are demonstrated as hesitant to advance into more competitive masculine roles because of negative self-perceptions. They tend to choose softer roles whilst remaining in male-dominated environments. A potential explanation is because of the possibility that women have been raised and socially conditioned based on their gender identity (Kottke & Agars, 2005).

The concept of identity is a significant factor in an individual's career. Several scholars argue that identity is central in motivating and helping individuals decide effective career-related choices, commitment, planning the future life and guiding behaviour to pursue career goals and experience career success (Adams & Crafford, 2012; Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010; Kroeger, 2007; Oyserman & James, 2011; Valcour & Ladge, 2008; Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx, 2011; Waterman, 2011). As identities are socially connected to normative beliefs about displaying proper role behaviour, identities influence an individual's behavioural and psychological engagement in the roles they inhabit and determine their sense of successful role performance (Valcour & Ladge, 2008). As mentioned earlier, identities are the results of interaction between individuals in their social environments. Women's career trajectories seem to be intervened by their "interactions with others in the workplace as well as by their own assessments of how well they are meeting work role expectations" (Valcour & Ladge, 2008, p. 302).

The above discussion on identity, gender and career is elaborated in the following section by adding the prospect of the higher education setting. Given the complex setting of higher education, it is a fertile ground for researching the factors that influence identity work and how it is connected to career trajectories.

3.6 Identity, gender and career in higher education

3.6.1 Career identity

Career identity is an individual's self-conception in the career context and serves as a set of criteria for making decisions, planning for the future and guiding behaviour. Employees tend to align themselves with those attributes of their work and organisation which they consider essential and reject those which they perceive as incongruent with who they are and would like to be (Adams & Crafford, 2012; Fugate, Kinicki & Ashforth, 2004).

Career identity also refers to identity in the work context, which consist of "goals, hopes, and fears; personality traits; values, beliefs, and norms; interaction styles; time horizons; and so on... which resembles constructs like role identity, occupational identity, and organisational identity in that they all refer to how people define themselves in a particular work context" (Fugate, Kinicki & Ashforth, 2004, p. 20). Moreover, career identity is essentially dynamic, continuous and longitudinal as it corresponds to an individual's past and present, which eventually guides their future behaviour, though the significance and meanings of specific events in the past, present and may vary during one's life span (Williams, 2012).

As stated earlier, the constructs of career identity offers a powerful insight into people's work behaviours. By understanding how people define "who I am or who I want to become" in their work setting, it will provide a better understanding about career identities, particularly in providing a way to encourage the possible selves to achieve their aspirations (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Furthermore, possible and potential selves not only serve as representations of "what individuals might become and what they would like to become, but also what they are afraid of becoming and thus provide a conceptual link between cognition and motivation" (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 954). For example, if a person wishes to become a successful CEO in an IT company, then they are not only making efforts to obtain the computing and programming based knowledge, but also in business administration and managerial skills and knowledge. Thus, career identity then enables systematic cognitive schemas that motivate, direct, control and sustain as individuals act out particular behaviors which consistent with their desired self (Fugate, Kinicki & Ashforth, 2004).

3.6.2 Academic identity

According to Pratt, Rockman and Kauffman (2006), professionals are strongly associated with privileges and exclusiveness in society because of their expertise in particular knowledge and skills, which can provide solutions to empirical and practical problems. Professional identity is defined as “the relatively stable and enduring constellation of attributes, beliefs, values, motives, and experiences in terms of which people define themselves in a professional role for achieving both objective and subjective success” (Dobrow & Higgins, 2005, p. 569). On the contrary, Ruohotie-Lyhty (2013) argues that professional identity is “not understood as something stable but rather as a continuum that is constructed and reconstructed through social contacts” (p. 121) and includes organisational and political contexts (Burns & Bell, 2011). The process of professional identity construction can be perceived as a struggle between “both self and others and within the discourses present in one’s life where individuals adopt positions of themselves that are intertwined with the positions they ascribe to others” (Burns & Bell, 2011, p. 953). This identity (re)construction process reminds us of the process of identity work discussed in the previous section.

Compared to career identity, professional identity is embedded in a specific role, profession or place (Fugate, Kinicki & Ashforth, 2004) and a sense of being a professional (Trede, Macklin & Bridges, 2012). Professional identity is also regarded as a continuous process of interpretation and reinterpretation of experiences, which does not answer the question of who I am now but who I want to become in the future (Clarke, Hyde & Drennan 2013). This study equates professional identity with academic identity, as academic identity corresponds to professional identity in the higher education context (Harris, 2005; Quigley, 2011).

Archer (2008) suggests that academic identity forms through a search for authenticity and success among younger academics. Archer (2008, p. 385) states that the “experiences of inauthenticity are exacerbated by: (a) the current dominant performative ethos, (b) their age, (c) race, class, gender and (d) status – in particular, contract researchers”. Moreover, to achieve such so-called success, younger academic’s identities are influenced by structural locations of race, ethnicity, social status, age and gender (Archer, 2008). This is supported by Slay and Smith’s (2011) argument that the concept of success is often linked with successful professional

identity construction. In addition, Currie et al. (2000) claimed that the concept of success in academic career mainly based on male life trajectories, as Morley and Lugg (2009, pp. 39) claimed that “academic identity is often constructed and enacted via disciplinary choice and location”. The next section presents an overview of how globalisation, complexity and managerialism in the higher education context influence female academics in their identity work process and their career trajectories.

3.6.3 Supercomplexity in higher education, female academics’ identity work and career

The changing environment of higher education has led to significant changes in academic identity, specifically in the implications of policy change in the UK (Henkel, 2005). There are several scholars who support the argument that discipline and higher education institution are the key communities in which individual academics have built their identities (Billot, 2010; Deem, 2006; Hanson, 2009; Henkel, 2000, 2005; Kogan, 2000; McInnis, 2010). Moreover, as a result of the changing environment, interaction between academic and these key communities have changed due to the conflicting values, multiple demanded functions and loosening of institutional boundaries (Churchman & King, 2009; Clarke, Knight & Jarvis, 2012; Winter, 2009; Ylijoki & Ursin, 2013).

Pick, Symons & Teo (2015) introduce three waves of academic identity work research in a supercomplex environment. As pointed out by Nixon (1996), crisis in academic identity is inevitable. In addition, Barnett (2000) and Henkel (2000; 2005) argue that higher education institution can be regarded as a supercomplex organisation due to the rapid changes which have occurred and transformed the sector in the last three decades. These works are identified as the first wave of the academic identity research (Pick, Symons & Teo, 2015).

Moreover, these rapid changes not only bring opportunities, such as rising enrolment, quality assurance, professionalisation of services, research network established, new course developed and intensifying new technology utilisation (Taylor, 2010), but also challenges. Higher education institutions around the world have struggled to manage these challenges. Primarily, there are two main challenges: the first is the one that resulting from the increasing political, economic and social pressures

(Alexiadou & van de Bunt-Kokhuis, 2013; Courtney, 2013; Welch, 2011). In implementing managerialism, contemporary universities are expected to become more of a private sector organisation and focus on neo-liberal agenda, such as the primacy of profit, economic rationality and corporate efficiency principles (Deem & Brehony, 2005; Winter, 2009; Winter & Donohue, 2012). In this context, it is managerialism accompanied by massification that amplifies such competition among higher education institutions not only on the local, national and regional scale but also globally (Altbach, 2012; Henkel, 2010; Marginson & Considine, 2000; Marginson, Kaur & Sawir, 2011; Shin & Harman, 2009; Smith, 2012; Welch, 2011). Contemporary universities are embracing market/context-driven research, applied problem solving and interdisciplinary approaches as ways to produce knowledge – best known as Mode 2 (Gibbons et al., 1994) – in order to heighten their reputation and brand image within the global competition engagement in global league table and any comparative measures of institutional performance (Churchman & King, 2009; Fanghanel, 2012; Gordon, 2010; Harris, 2005; Smith, 2012).

The second challenge is related to financing (Altbach, 2012). As a result of lessening the funding provision from the government, higher education institutions are forced to become more entrepreneurial in the search for external alternative funding sources (Courtney, 2013; Davis, Van Rensburg & Venter, 2014; Marginson & Considine, 2000; Pick, Teo & Yeung, 2012). Consequently, universities are required to establish a strategy to implement profit generation (Welch, 2011), which in some countries mean that the institution financial burden is shifted to the individual student (Fanghanel, 2012). In neoliberalism, public sector organisations such as universities are required to be able to generate their own profit just like the private sector. As a result, individuals who work in universities are expected to become entrepreneurial. As an entrepreneur, academics are propelled to embrace competition, meritocracy, individuality and freedom of choice. As there are competitions, then “there must be winners and losers” (Nikunen, 2012, p. 715), which “only a minority can be fully successful” (Clarke, Knights & Jarvis, 2012, p. 6). In an entrepreneurial university, managerialism have transformed the nature of public universities by “making them into producers of commodities that consumers (students) may choose to demand depending on their competing preferences and the institution’s perceived brand image” (Winter, 2009, p. 123).

The second wave in the academic identity research is about how changes in higher education are threatening academic identity which is generated by “a process of interaction between agency (voice) and structure (organisations) in which there is an increasing prevalence of identity breakdown” (Pick, Symons & Teo, 2015, p. 3). Furthermore, Harris (2005) argues that academic identities are increasingly fragmented as the institutional boundaries are shifting due to neo-liberal practices in the UK context. Along similar lines, Clegg (2008) claims that academics are required to be able to cope with the rapid changes in higher education and the external environment, which could cause threats to their academic identities. Clegg (2008) also proposes that academics manage their hybrid identities that consist of private (internal) professional identity and public (external) identity that are provided by the contemporary environments. Thus, the conflicting values among identities arise as external forces try to enforce new contradicting values to the traditional academic and personal values of academics. This is problematic for academics as they are not only upholding their personal-internal identities for the sense of coherence and authenticity, but also managing their public identity in order to deal with the emerging monolithic organisational stories of neoliberalism and global competition (Churchman & King, 2009).

Furthermore, the hybrid identities are explored by Whitchurch (2008, 2009) who points out the emergence of the ‘Third Space’ professionals in higher education institutions. The ‘Third Space’ professionals emerged as a result of the blurring of boundaries between professional and academic domains. In the ‘Third Space’, administrative service has been modified as it requires collaboration with academic colleagues and a number of stakeholders with whom institutions interact (Whitchurch, 2008).

Due to the pressure from global competition and performativity, academic working hours are intensified and leadership is assumed as a full-time commitment and availability to carry out the strategic goals of the organisation and their job (Morley, 2013a). As universities are expected to become more entrepreneurial, academics are required to sacrifice their personal, social and even health issues for committing their complete devotion in their work environment (Ylijoki, 2011). In a similar vein, Henkel (2000) claims that to be able to survive the academic career, an academic has to adapt to external demands and strict employment conditions, displaying

instrumental attitudes and behaviour between academics. Moreover, according to Slaughter and Leslie (1997), this academic capitalism has brought pressures of performativity in cooperation with associated industry, profit-making and entrepreneurial endeavours into an academic's life.

Managerialism, profit-oriented activities and market-based rationality have created the values-based conditions by which some academics support themselves within the university as an enterprise/managerial identity, whereas others isolate their academic selves from the demands of a corporate enterprise/professional identity (Winter & O'Donohue, 2012). Moreover, those managerialist values put more emphasis on individualism instead of collegial enterprise and collaboration focussing on the customer rather than the producer (Trowler, 2001). As highlighted in the second wave of the academic identity research (Pick, Symons & Teo, 2015), these situations will bring such consequences to academics because tensions would be arising as a result of the incongruence of values between the internal and the external self (Winter, 2009). Consequently, academic identities are constantly constructed and reconstructed (Billot, 2010).

As the second wave research highlights the interaction between external and internal factors, the third wave puts more attention on academics and how they can build more robust responses to higher education reform (Pick, Symons & Teo, 2015). The third wave research covers themes ranging from how to reconcile the conflicting work identities (Empson, 2013), how some academics participate and some others struggle to resist the managerialism practices on their individual and professional identities (Clarke, Knights & Jarvis, 2012), fragility and insecurity in academics as a response of proliferation of managerialism (Knights & Clarke, 2014) to tensions between emerging multiple identities as a result of the changing realities confronted by academics (Ylijoki & Ursin, 2013). Still, Ylijoki and Ursin (2013) argue that as a result of the rapid transformations in higher education sector, different types of academic identities are constructed. In their study on 42 Finnish academics, it was found that there are various meanings of being an academic in the contemporary university. These meanings encompass the narrative of a regressive storyline, a stable storyline and a progressive storyline, which accommodates the academic identities among the Finnish academics.

The formation of academic identities is understood as a continuous process of negotiation between internal and external experiences of being an academic, which is constructed through competing influences (Archer, 2008; Courtney, 2013; Quigley, 2011; Winter & O'Donohue, 2012). This formation is regarded as an ongoing process of change in how academics understand themselves, how they interpret experiences, how they present themselves and wish to be perceived by others and how they are recognised by the broader community. In general, academic identities consist of three layers (Kogan, 2000). The first is personal unique history and such aspects concerning to an individual, such as personal values, recognition and esteem. The second layer is the embedded individual, in which an academic finds him/herself working in, which provides its own languages, traditions, values, myths and so on. Lastly, is the notion of professional identity, where the values of an individual and values of communities and organisations are amalgamated (Henkel, 2000; Kogan, 2000).

As values serve as a significant factor in defining academic (professional) identities (Churchman & King, 2009; Henkel, 2005; Ibarra, 1999; Winter & O'Donohue, 2012), conflict between values will arise at the individual level as “the macro level changes in the wider environment of higher education have shaped and moulded the daily practices and the accompanying values, ideals and identities within academia” (Ylijoki, 2011, p. 2). In addition, as new values brought by massification, internationalisation, new managerialism, marketisation and global competition pressures, conflict between the traditional academic identities and contemporary managerial identities are inevitable, as Albert and Whetten have suggested that “traditional academic values of professional autonomy and collective ideals are squeezed out and marginalised in favour of a managerial identity that is governed by values of economic rationality, the primacy of profit, and the minimisation of cost” (cited in Winter, 2009, p. 123).

In this study, emphasis is placed on the idea that academic identity is influenced by traditional and managerial (contemporary) values. Winter argues that “as academics enact their professional roles, they are influenced by academic (traditional) and managerial (contemporary) identities and the contradictions and conflicts that arise from these competing identity claims” (2009, p. 122). Even though academics have dual identities, managerialism is perceived as bringing its own values-based

influences, which could force an academic to negotiate between traditional and performative values. This is important because the processes of values alignment (values congruence) and values separation (values incongruence) are considered as fundamental to academic identity formation (Winter, 2009). As a result, Trede, Macklin and Bridges (2012) suggest that further research is needed to better understand the tensions between personal and performative values and between structural and power influences. Along similar lines, we still need to answer “the questions of what it means to be an academic” (Courtney, 2013, p. 49).

Archer (2008) suggests that tensions arise between authenticity and success values which are based on managerialism, meritocratic and personal constructions of authenticity and success as an academic. Archer’s work (2008) proposes that “the authentic and successful academic is a desired yet refused identity for many younger academics, who must negotiate on a daily basis not only their attempts at becoming but also the threat of unbecoming” (p. 387). In a measured and controlled culture such as performativity, academics may experience the “risk of loss of authenticity in adopting values hitherto alien to the academy, suggesting that new kinds of professionals are fashioned and new roles endorsed (as champions of performance), which may represent inauthentic commitment” (Fanghanel, 2012, p. 28). Therefore, based on this argument it can be posited that the supercomplexity in higher education influences academic identity work because tensions arise between values and it would stimulate identity work processes in determining personal goals, priorities, hope, fears, values, beliefs and norms, which would eventually affect motivation, self-efficacy, commitment, job satisfaction and effectiveness that would lead to a decision about careers (Winter & O’Donohue, 2012).

In terms of career, the meritocratic system means that career trajectory and rewards are influenced only by merit. Nonetheless, “one’s academic career and success are affected by more than just one’s individual achievements, as there are many forms of support – peers, colleagues, superiors, supervisors, mentoring, networks and so on” (Nikunen, 2012, p. 715). Professors are required to be more productive, more relevant to and be engaged in market-related activities and to connect more effectively and technologically with a wider range of students than have traditionally been taught in higher education (Rhoades, 2010). Thus, academics are required to be able to sell their ideas or research in order to maintain (or advance) their careers by

securing research funding (Smith, 2012). These performativity pressures eventually generate insecurities among academics as a result of their identity work process (Fanghanel, 2012; Smith, 2010).

In the same vein, several studies have argued that the work of academic is increasingly proletarianised (Boxer, 1999; Currie, Harris & Thiele, 2000; Guzmán-Valenzuela & Barnett, 2013; Tomusk, 2003; Ylijoki & Henriksson, 2015). Academic proletarianisation is not only understood as academic exploitation at work (Ylijoki & Henriksson, 2015), but also understood as “losses of autonomy of working conditions, of job security, and of promotion prospects; deteriorating in working conditions” (Fulton & Holland, 2001, p. 309), which is characterised by poor salaries (compensation) and inadequate academic supporting facilities at work (Guzmán-Valenzuela & Barnett, 2013; Tomusk, 2003). Moreover, recent research has reported that female academics may be disadvantaged and may suffer career advancement due to the academic proletarianisation (Barret & Barret, 2010; Murniati, 2012; Ylijoki & Henriksson, 2015).

Currie, Harris and Thiele (2000) argue that universities as greedy institutions are demanding academics to make sacrifices in order to pursue their academic careers. As a result, female academics must sacrifice their full-time inn work, being trapped in the greedy work, which indirectly contributes to the imbalance of multiple roles in the spheres of work-life problems (Barret & Barret, 2010; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Hayness & Fearfull, 2008; McBrier, 2003; Morley, 2013a). Moreover, while women are confronted with the competing demands between work and home responsibilities, at the same time, they are still expected to abide by their traditional roles when compared to their male counterparts (Rosen & Jerdee, 1974). In academia, such practices also occur. Female academics are still expected to be responsive to childcare and housework and their career advancement can be hindered by gendered practices in their work settings (Currie, Harris & Thiele, 2000; Jacobs & Winslow, 2004; Ylijoki, 2011). Thus, female academics would often miss opportunities in networking and bonding activities, like golfing, meeting or participating in professional organisations that are important in advancing careers and meeting mentors (Creamer, 2012). This argument is supported by Billot (2010), who argues that “there are conflicts between the personal and the professional and

the tension between these is compounded by the changing circumstances of the institutional context, often resulting from work-based policy changes” (p. 5).

Similarly, the contemporary university system of advancement in careers trajectories and rewards are profoundly gendered (Harris, Thiele & Currie, 1998; Currie, Harris, & Thiele, 2000; Learmonth and Humphreys, 2012). For example, male academics tend to be more focussed on research whereas their female counterparts emphasise on teaching, as research performances are pivotal in continuing their employment or their career trajectory (Barret & Barret, 2011; White, 2012). In addition, Nikunen (2012) argues that though managerialism, performativity and meritocracy bring some academic freedom, it also encourages a competitive and demanding environment, which is not easy to work in and frequently results in gender inequality when the talk turns to careers.

In terms of career advancement to senior academic positions, women are underrepresented in universities globally. According to the HEFCE (2012), academic employment in universities is not only dominated by men, who make up 57%, but they also dominate the key academic positions, confining women to less senior roles (Morley, 2013a). In addition, 80% of women employed in the university sector globally are found in professional and support areas. In the USA, only 23% women are university presidents (Baltodano et al., 2012), whereas in the UK, female academics were outnumbered by their male counterparts by a margin of four to one in senior academic positions (Fotaki, 2013). This finding is reflected in the research focussed on other nations, e.g. Morley (2013b) claims that though there is an increasing number of women’s participation in higher education institutions, it is not reflected proportionally in key academic positions, such as Head of Institution and Professor. Additionally, she found that from 27 countries in EU, only 13% of all institutions in the HE sector and 9% of universities awarding PhD degrees were headed by women (Morley, 2013b). As Glazer-Raymo (1999) asserts that “gender neutrality is a fiction” (p. 24), especially in the professoriate and within academic administration (Murniati, 2012), at the same time White, Bagilhole and Riordan (2012) claim that the problem of underrepresentation of women in higher education management starts at the level of senior lecturer and becomes more prominent at the professorial level.

Individuals who are perceived as members of a minority group are more likely to encounter complicate situations which force them to decide whether to behave in a manner that aligns with an authentic sense of self or to behave in a particular manner that is prescribed by the dominant and powerful pressures, such as society, norms and culture (Erickson, 1995). Women are considered as minority, not only in the society and but also in particular contexts such as the university (Eveline, 2005; Fotaki, 2013), which is depicted as a masculine territory and a representation of hegemonic masculinity, as has been stated earlier. Therefore, based on available evidence, it can be argued that in constructing and reconstructing an authentic academic identity, female academics face particular challenges, especially in their identity work process.

In a recent study, Pick, Symons and Teo (2015) proposed a new way to theorise and problematise identity work. Considering the supercomplex environment in which academic identities are constructed, they urge for a comprehensive and more multifaceted analysis in order to answer theoretical and methodological issues (Pick, Symons & Teo, 2015). They present one of the major challenges in conceptualising and analysing academic identity work as a complex, rich, holistic and situated process. To tackle this challenge, they employ literary theory, – Mikhail Bakhtin’s concept of chronotope – in order to capture and explain the complexity of the academic identity work, which is dynamic in nature, in narrative fiction such as the novel. Chronotopes represent the integration of time and space and helps us understand how identity work is contextual and helps capture how “identity work involves the contextually situated construction and sharing of meanings and interpretations of what it means to be an academic” (Pick, Symons & Teo, 2015, p. 8). Their work fruitfully offers new theoretical insights by arguing that academic identity work is a chronotopic and multi-level process. However, their study needs to be confirmed by further empirical research.

Pick, Symons and Teo’s work (2015), however, confirms the usefulness of employing literary theory in explaining academic identity work. In organisational research, literary theory holds the attention and can be employed as a tool in generating new theoretical and practical perspectives (De Cock & Land, 2005). One of the prominent literary concepts is from Gilles Deleuze (often in co-authorship with Felix Guattari). Deleuze argues that identity comes after process; identity as

being, identity as stable and identity as complete representation are merely illusions. There is no identity as “such independent of the processes making and unmaking it. No identified organisation has a final and determined being; it is always a multiplicity of becoming” (Williams, 2012, p. 181).

Eveline (2005) applies Deleuzian and feminist frameworks to examine the identity work of a female Vice-Chancellor during her leadership in a prominent Australian university. She argues that identities should not be regulated by binary terms such as masculine and feminine. However, Eveline’s work (2005) does not provide multiple realities on particular discourses as it only focussed on one participant. A further investigation is needed to incorporate multiple realities from different participants as there is no single discourse (language) that creates a reality. Instead, there is the possibility of a dominant (major) language that can take power within a multiplicity of (minor) languages and discourses.

Pick (2015) argues that the Deleuze-Guattari concept may offer opportunities for scholars to stimulate debate about new directions for theorising about organisations. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari coined the terms deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation in their magnum opus, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1984), to describe the complex relationship between capitalism, power and identity; which are locked in a fluid process of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation within the particular territory.

In general use of the term, deterritorialisation is strongly associated with globalisation. It depicts how globalisation flows to infiltrate national and geographical borders, which eventually change the politics, economics and socio-cultural structures within the territories. On the other hand, reterritorialisation is understood as a process of restructuring the deterritorialised area, indicating the emergence of a new structure within the field. In the context of globalisation, there will be power play among those who interact. In this case, the process of power play can be considered to be similar to the identity work process, as there are struggle endeavours from the actors.

There are several attempts in linking the Deleuze-Guattari concept of deterritorialisation with identity. However, these attempts mainly focus on globalisation’s influences on cultural identity (Tomlinson, 2003); on refugee,

migration, diaspora and transnational identity (Adamson and Demetriou, 2007; Papastergiadis, 2013); and on minority religious group in Britain and Denmark (Sinclair, 2008). In relation to identity, deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation are best understood as continuous unfolding processes. As the concept implies a continuum, some spaces can experience deterritorialisation, while others may experience reterritorialisation. For example, a country might gain some powers and lose some within its globalised territory. The lost powers might not fade away. Instead they refashion themselves and the power is distributed towards the available potential channels; or in terms of social relations, they do not absolutely lose their boundaries and their territorial structures before they reterritorialise. Rather, social relations may assemble other new territorial boundaries and structures, even as they lose the previous ones. This means that the new territoriality of social relations, while being qualitatively different, will include vestiges of the old one.

A territory is an identity and vice versa, whether this is a person, a geographical area, a nation or an entity (Crain, 2013; Tomlinson, 2003). According to Deleuze and Guattari (1984), a territory is constituted and not given. In its constitution, a territory may consist of a series of signs, markings, gestures, postures and sound. Similar to a territory, a person's identity may also consist of several efforts in determining and distinguishing his/her own identity from the other person and these efforts are also known as the identity work process. During one's identity work process, it can be argued that there are such processes of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation. As identity work is strongly related to multiple realities and best understood as continuous construction, reconstruction and negotiation processes, it would be appropriate to apply the concepts of Deleuze and Guattari to understand, to explore and to explain the dynamic nature and the complexity of the academic identity work process.

In addition, according to Deleuze and Guattari (1987), reality is heterogenic. It means that there is no single discourse (language) that would generate a shared reality, but there is the probability of a dominant (major) discourse's power play within a particular territory. This research does not refer to the term 'majority' to a particularly large quantity but to the "determination of a state or standard in relation to which larger quantities, as well as the smallest, can be said to be minoritarian" (May, 2003, p. 149).

‘Majority’ represents a state of domination, whereas ‘minority’ characterises a resistance to the hegemony of the ‘majority’ by a creation that explodes it from within. In their seminal work, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) argue that Kafka’s literature is a minority literature. It challenges the major literature domination by creating new structures which are unidentified by the ‘majority’. Furthermore, Deleuze and Guattari argue that “all becomings are ‘becomings-minor’ because becoming–Jewish, becoming–woman, etc. therefore imply two simultaneous movements, one by which a term (the subject) is withdrawn from the majority, and another by which a term (the medium or agent) rises up from the minority” (1987, p. 291). To become is to be part of a particular territory (identity) where the majorities are infiltrated and reterritorialised in such actors’ endeavours in which “more fluid ‘identities’ are created, but only as the by–products of the process itself” (May, 2003, p. 150).

The concept of the ‘minor discourse’ and ‘minority’ often generates misinterpretation in literatures. According to Deleuze and Guattari, a minority does not refer to a particular quantity or numerical in a particular group as described in the common language. Instead, it is generated by particular identities and acts as “fluid movements of creativity that subvert the dominant, i.e., majoritarian, identities our current arrangements bestow upon us” (May, 2003, p. 149). The supremacy of patriarchy illustrates how the concept of ‘minority’ is used: despite women being greater than men in terms of quantity, men still constitute the majority as they remain unchallenged in every single aspect in social life.

Moreover, the concept of major and minor literatures (discourses) is one of Deleuze and Guattari’s (1986) essential contributions to power and resistance topics. Deleuze and Guattari (1986) argue that power and resistance are forces arising from capabilities to change things for the better. In terms of this research, these forces can also be regarded as the identity work process, – as it is not a fixed, static entity, but a constantly moving set of potential connections – made by individuals (academics) as desiring-machines in their endeavours of searching for authenticity in academic identity work. Individuals are machines in a big factory that produce desire and attempt to connect themselves into others’ machines and processes (Elliot, 2012). It is the desires that motivate individuals’ creativity to act and innovate in order to create counter actions against the mainstream (Rayner, 2013).

Academics are no different. Within the higher education territory, there are major discourses that play dominant roles in determining a territory's structure, by setting up a particular standard, rule, custom, culture and habit to regulate people's behaviour and their function within the territory. A big question then emerges – when everything is defined by the dominant power, is there any place for an authentic identity to be constructed within this kind of territory?

Till date, there have been few studies that focus on women's careers in higher education in the context of a developing country, particularly in South East Asian countries. Exceptions include Luke (2000) who conducted her study in four countries (Singapore, Hong Kong, Thailand and Malaysia) within the region. Her study reveals that ethnic identity affects a woman's career trajectory. In addition, Murniati (2012) focusses on women's progression in higher education institutions in Java Island, Indonesia. Murniati's (2012) research findings argue that 1) family and spouse's support is significant in managing tensions between work and life demands; 2) heavy workload impedes women's aspiration to reach top positions; 3) organisational policies prefer men over women in promotion; women have to work harder to reach the top position; and 4) culture and religious factors can assist or hinder these academics to advance their careers. However, Murniati's study does not seem to incorporate the diversity among the Indonesian female academics as her study only focusses on career progression among female academics in Java. Moreover, Funnell and Chi Dao's study (2013) suggests that there are no qualitative studies that explain women's experiences of slow career progression in their professional journey.

These studies significantly contribute to this study as an approach to this research. However, these studies do not explain the processes that precede women's behaviour towards their own mind-set to their career trajectories. We can argue that identity significantly contributes to their mind-set and their particular careers' behaviour, and most what is important to this research is that they point to a need to understand the process in identity construction. Clarke, Hyde and Drennan (2013) identify that the area “has been under-researched and is influenced by personal attributes..., demonstrated that gendered patterns of identity exist within higher education and professional boundaries are becoming blurred between higher education and other areas of professional life... an overlooked aspect of this issue is the change that occurs in identity between the early and mid-career stages” (p. 18).

3.7 Rationale for study

The previous discussion implies that in their search for identity, individuals try to answer the question asked by Waterman (2011), which is “how is an individual trying to answer identity-related questions to know which of the many identity alternatives available is the ‘better’ choice to make?” (p. 357). Thus, it is manifested in the identity work process. In addition, contemporary questions of identity have become more sophisticated within the last 50 years due to rapid changes in many aspects of social life. The dynamics and complexity, especially in the higher education context, have generated insecurity and fluidity (Barnett, 2000; Bauman, 2004; Lawler, 2014).

Billot (2010) argues that there is a perceived gap, between what academics may want or feel that is warranted for their works and that which is perceived as implicit to the role of an academic. This results in discomfort at the workplace, as the expected and imagined conditions are replaced by unaligned conditions and expectations. Identity work, therefore, requires an effort to balance the conflict between personal expectations and unexpected pressures in work and social environments, where the individual’s identity is constructed, as well as particular identities of occupations (Ashcraft, 2012).

Though Gordon and Whitchurch’s (2010) work on academic identity is insightful and significantly contributes to the field, there is still a need to gain new perspectives (Azman, 2012). For instance, in developing countries, academics are still struggling with “their own set of national and regional forces that impact upon their institutional structures and procedures” (Azman, 2012, p. 389). As a result, higher education institutions in these countries still have to deal with reconceptualisation, restructuring and realigning within the system, which eventually influence academic identity work as it creates insecurity and fragility (Guzmán-Valenzuela & Barnett, 2013). Moreover, Azman (2012) asserts that “this strongly suggests the need for more thinking and discussion on the academic identities in the context of the developing countries” (p. 389), especially the struggle among female academics in their identity formation, in order to capture the essence of the experience of becoming a woman academic. Azman is not alone in her view. Morley (2013a) also urges the need for the collection of global data about the underrepresentation of women in senior positions in higher education institutions, “which would inform analysis of the

barriers which have been encountered by those women who have attained leadership positions as well as the ‘structures of inequality’ which militate against the entry of larger numbers of women into these roles” (2013a, p. 1).

Despite the voluminous literature on identity work that provides many examples on how organisations influence and regulate an individual’s work-related identities (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Dutton, Dukerich & Harquail, 1994; Kunda 1992; Pratt, 2000), little is known about the processes particularly on how an individual negotiates his or her identity within a work context (Empson, 2012) and moreover, recent literature is yet to put emphasis on how individuals experience identity conflict in a work context (Empson, 2012). In light of these problems, this study attempts to address the so far under-researched questions about the part played by “social structures, cultures and discourses within which the individual is located” (Watson, 2008, p. 122) and “the extent to which people embrace particular social-identities or ‘personas’ as elements of their self-identity” (Watson, 2008, p. 129).

According to Alvesson and Sandberg (2011), there is a need to challenge the assumptions that support current organisational theories, in order to initiate new ways of producing ‘frame-bending theories’ through problematisation, by adopting an extensive span of perspectives from a variety of disciplines. In the same vein, Corley and Gioia (2011) call for a new broader horizon in theorising that would offer more scope, both scientific and practical utility of theories. When compared to the organisation and management literature, higher education research into academic identity work remains relatively under-theorised. Therefore, it needs new ways of problematising and conceptualising the field (Pick, 2015). Along similar lines, Pick, Symons and Teo’s work (2015) confirm that literary theory can be a useful analytical tool for the problematisation and conceptualisation of organisation theory, especially with regard to academic identity work. However, their work is yet to be tested and therefore, it needs to be examined in light of further research.

In his conceptual paper, Pick (2015) argues that borrowing literary theory in theorising and problematising organisation theory can provide new insights. Literary concepts, such as those proposed by Deleuze and Guattari (rhizomes, major and minor languages (discourses), and deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation), might be beneficial in organisational and management studies, especially in explaining and

capturing the dynamic nature and complexity of the academic identity work process. In addition, as identity is best understood as continuous (re)construction and negotiation processes, it would be appropriate to apply the concepts of Deleuze and Guattari to understand, to explore and to explain the dynamic and the complex nature of the academic identity work process.

To achieve better understandings of identity, we need to capture the process of the identity formation, not only the features but also the flow of the identity in motion (Gioia & Patvardhan, 2012). According to Brown, there are several possible fruitful directions regarding identity work research. Brown (2014) argues that there is a lack of understanding about how particular organisational and national cultural contexts influence individual's identities and identity work, as identity work "may occur differently in cultures that vary on indexes such as individualism/collectivism, power distance and masculinity/femininity" (Brown, 2014, p. 12). Moreover, gender is considered to be a significant factor in identity work as "the task of identity formation is more complex for females than for males" (Brown, 2014, p. 12). This indicates that further research is needed on this matter.

The underrepresentation of female academics is a global problem. This research explores the processes involved and how these processes contribute to this problem. As identity is linked with career, further research is needed to understand their relationship and how it contributes to the underrepresentation problem. Thus, this research emphasises on identity work of female academics as this is the novelty and the contribution of this research to the extant theories. As the purpose of identity work is to create an idiosyncratic, authentic and coherent identity (Watson, 2008) and also to manage the boundaries between personal and social identities (Kreiner, Hollensbe & Sheep, 2006), further research is needed to explain how the influence of particular contextual factors contribute to identity work processes in constructing women's academic identity as they perceive their career and their own concepts regarding success. Therefore, this research attempts to build a conceptual model that depicts the continuous process of identity work and also to examine the importance of particular contexts as they saturate all areas of social life (Brown & Humphreys, 2006), especially those inhabited by academics (Alexiadou & van de Bunt-Kokhuis, 2013).

According to the gaps in the literatures and also the characteristics mentioned earlier about when identity work process most probably occur, it is fair to choose and focus on a demanding profession, which is situated in a particular organisational and national-cultural context, influenced by externally-produced discourses and the gender aspect in identity process and imposed changes in the organisational culture and values. In other words, this study poses research questions about identity work of women in academics in the context of a developing country, which in this case is Indonesia.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter summarises the conceptual and theoretical issues related to identity, identity work and examines the current debates around the topic of gender and career in higher education. The concept of identity, identity work and their relationship to gender, especially women who are working in higher education institutions as academics has been discussed. Moreover, due to the complexity of the higher education global environment, female academics are struggling to construct and reconstruct their academic identity, which has implications for their career trajectories, let alone climbing their way up to the senior level position.

Within the extant identity work literature, there are several unanswered questions that need to be addressed. Firstly, there is little understanding of how particular contexts influence individual's identities and identity work and how the topic of academic identity still lack the perspectives of developing countries. Moreover, gender is considered to be a significant factor in identity work, especially in a supercomplex working environment such as higher education. Therefore, further research is needed that investigates the process of identity work among female academics. At the same time, the underrepresentation of women remains a situated problem globally. Hence, it would be fair to ask how identity work of female academics is connected to their underrepresentation in key positions in public universities. Secondly, there is a call for further empirical research in conceptualising and problematising the organisation and management studies, particularly in the academic identity work stream, by employing literary theories such as Deleuze-Guattari's concepts and there is also a call for research into developing nations.

By completing this research, there are two expected contributions: theoretical and practical. In terms of the theoretical contribution, it contributes to the extant literature on academic identities, as most of academics identity and identity work studies are mainly based on Western literatures in developed nations. Additionally, this research expands and develops Watson's work (2008), by using Deleuze-Guattari's concepts of rhizomes, major and minor languages (discourses), deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation. Also, this research explains the connection between identity work process among female academics and their career trajectories, particularly explaining the problem of underrepresentation of female academics in senior university positions.

Secondly, the practical contribution of this research is expected to improve policy and practice of gender equality in Indonesia, especially in the higher education context. The supercomplexity in the higher education environment has given rise to problems of the identity work process among female academics, which connects to the problem of underrepresentation of female academics in senior university positions. If higher education organisations are serious about attracting and maintaining academic staff, a viable solution regarding it is needed. Until these issues are addressed, problems on women's academic identity and their stagnated career trajectories are likely to continue in being a major concern. The next chapter outlines the methodology used in this research in order to address the gaps and research questions.

4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This research explores and illuminates on the connection of identity work processes among female academics with their career trajectories. It not only investigates personal experiences, but also professional experiences of female academics at Indonesian public universities with regard to their identity work process, which in turn, is connected to their career trajectories, and how it contributes to the problem of underrepresentation of female academics in senior academic positions. The main aim of this research is to understand women's personal and professional experiences that they encounter during their career, their responses to the barriers they confront during their career and also the identity work strategies they employ in order to overcome those barriers in their career trajectories.

This chapter outlines the methodological approach that is employed in order to understand the meaning of female academics' identity work process. This chapter consists of seven major sections. The first section offers justification for employing qualitative methodology and the second section is the method which includes setting and participants, the preliminary study, instruments and interview protocols. The third section discusses data collection, which is followed by the section dealing with data analysis procedures. Trustworthiness is the fifth section in this chapter and sixth section discusses ethical concerns. Lastly, it presents the conclusion section.

4.2 Justification for qualitative methodology

Ontology refers to the nature of reality. In this research, it is assumed that reality is subjective and "constructed by perceptions and consequent actions of affected social actors" (Saunders et al., 2012, p. 131). Moreover, different interpretations are likely to affect actions and the nature of social interactions between people, as they try to make sense through interpretation and reinterpretation of particular events and the meaning that they draw from these events (Saunders et al., 2012). Therefore, a subjectivist stance is the best option for understanding the nature of reality of academic identities; as female academics may differ from each other in interpreting their identities as a consequence of their own view of the world, their identities are produced through social interactions as mentioned earlier in the literature review chapter.

Epistemology concerns assumptions about knowledge and how to obtain knowledge (Myers, 2009). Qualitative research is commonly associated with constructivist interpretive ontology. The approach to research is then supposed to be inductive and theory-generating. Researchers who take an interpretive approach base their methodology on the subjective experience of the individual because individual perception is held to bestow meaning. According to this view, “the world and ‘reality’ are not objective and exterior, but ... are socially constructed and given meaning by people” (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Lowe, 1994, p.78). The methodology adopted in accordance with this approach, therefore, meets the aim of gaining an understanding of the processes whereby individuals create, modify and interpret the world. The philosophical stance of this research is interpretivist. Interpretivist stance tries to analyse human's behaviour in depth and from the point of view of the female academics, as the reality can only be accessed “through social constructions such as language, consciousness, shared meanings and instrument” (Myers, 2009, p. 38).

A qualitative research design is used to collect and to understand experiences and to discover the essential meaning of the problem situation under the researcher's investigation. The research aims to explore and build an understanding of the meanings of woman academics, especially on their identity work process and their career trajectories. In terms of qualitative approach, this research utilises a phenomenological analytical method. Phenomenology refers to the way in which we, as humans, make sense of the world around us and the phenomenon is socially constructed (Saunders et al., 2012). Consequently, in this research, data is collected from eligible woman academics and develops a composite description of the essence of the experience of how it feels to be a woman academic. This description consists of ‘what’ they experienced and ‘how’ they experienced it (Creswell, 2013; Moustakas, 1994).

A phenomenological study describes the meaning of lived experiences for several individuals about a concept or a phenomenon (Creswell, 2013). Moreover, phenomenology is a way to research the conscious experiences instead of the hypothetical circumstances (Lanigan, 1979) that would generate detailed descriptions on a particular phenomenon. Moreover, phenomenology allows a researcher to illuminate a particular phenomenon as it “uncover(s) a truth that seems almost within

reach” (van Manen, 2006, p. 717) and to explore the origin of the particular meaning in the past and its connection to the present and the future (van Manen, 2007), as Thompson et al. (1989) advise that the reality individuals experience (their lived experience) does not always correspond with the world of objective description because objectivity often implies trying to explain an event or experience as separate from its contextual setting. Phenomenology involves a three-step process of discovery: “(a) the collection of descriptions of lived experiences, (b) reduction of data into essential themes and (c) hermeneutic (explanatory) interpretation of themes” (Lapinski & Orbe, 2007, p. 141).

As stated by Orbe (2000), phenomenology can be a valuable tool in discovering the pattern of similarities and differences in various groups while at the same time pays attention to the lived realities within and among these groups. As this research focusses on the academic identity work processes among female academics in various locations and diverse socio-cultural backgrounds in Indonesia, employing phenomenology as the research tool is an advantage in discovering, exploring and understanding individual experiences of the female academics interviewed.

The target population of this research is female academics in Indonesian public universities and the phenomenon of interest here is what it is like to be an Indonesian woman academic with regard to their academic identity work and their career trajectories and its progression. Thus, this research has socio-cultural and professional perspectives. The exploration of the context helps to understand how the socio-cultural background of the participants of the study impacted their identity work process as well as how it affected their way of thinking, the perspectives and perceptions towards career trajectories and the success concept, which can be regarded as the reality of the world of the participants in this research.

This research uses qualitative methods to answer the research questions. A qualitative research design is used to collect and to understand human experiences and to discover the essential meaning of the problem situation under the researcher’s investigation. Qualitative methodology is adopted because, firstly, the focus of this research is to explore identity work among female academics, which includes formative events, significant changes and development, challenges and conflicts,

which in turn would affect their career trajectories. The following Table 4.1 summarises the research paradigm which guided this research:

Table 4.1 Research paradigm (Adapted from Saunders et al., 2012)

Philosophy	Becoming Identity changes over time.
Ontology	Constructivism Multiple realities constructed and changed by the woman academics as they interact with internal and external aspects.
Epistemology	Interpretive Brings to light the different realities of the woman academics.
Methodology	Qualitative Open-mind method to capture the richness of multiple realities by employing semi-structured interviews and a continuous improvement approach.
Method	Phenomenology Focus on the lived experiences of the woman academics.

Saunders et al. (2012) assert that the characteristic of qualitative research is to “make sense through interpretation of events and the meaning that they draw from these events” (p. 132). Researchers in qualitative study are concerned with “the complexity of social interaction expressed in daily life and the meanings that the participants themselves attribute to those interactions” (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 5). As this research focusses on how identity work of female academics in Indonesian public universities connects to career trajectories, it is be beneficial to acknowledge the definition of academic success, values, beliefs, significant incidents and experiences in the workplace that these academics include in their career journey narratives. By employing qualitative methodology, this research was not only able to capture the meaning of being a woman academic in an Indonesian public university, but also to understand the identity work process of female academics in a holistic manner. In order to answer the research questions, this research employs an explanatory qualitative approach. An explanatory is an approach that focusses on studying a

particular situation or a problem, in order to explain the relationships between variables (Saunders et al., 2011).

Furthermore, Saunders et al., (2011) claim that this approach involves pattern matching procedures in an effort to build an explanation while collecting data and analysing them, rather than testing a predicted explanation as set out before. By using this approach, the researcher develops a conceptual or analytical framework among variables and constructs, employing extant theories and then tests the appropriateness of the framework as a means to explain the research findings. This study employs this approach because it proposes to explore the identity work of female academics in Indonesian public universities. This method enables this research to explore these women's reflections about their own academic identities, social identities, equal employment opportunity practices and their career trajectories, especially in higher education context, to explore patterns, differences and convergences in their professional experiences. These women's reflections are keys in understanding the factors contributing to their identity formation, along with their identity work process and in the end, connecting to their career trajectories. It is important to comprehend how a selected group of female academics are able to articulate their own identities, describe not only personal journeys but also professional ones; it will add to a better understanding of the practices that not only occur in the higher education sector but also in the social environment, which eventually helps to advance women's career in the universities.

In this research, the researcher is the 'instrument' of investigation, as his presence in the lived experiences of participants is central (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Insider-outsider stance is significant in gaining access, perspectives and particular incidents of the phenomena being investigated because a researcher is not only playing a direct role in data collection, but also in analysis stage (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Furthermore, the researcher should be aware about his/her relationship with the participants. As the researcher gets closer to the participants, it is more likely for the researcher to capture the details and hidden features in the particular phenomenon (Murray-Thomas, 2003). At the same time, Murray-Thomas (2003) argues that the close relationship between researcher and participants can establish an emotional immersion, which would potentially risk the primary objectivity needed in scientific

research and would sacrifice the actual findings. Likewise, as an insider, the researcher's prior experiences can lead to biased interpretations (Unluer, 2012).

Prior to the fieldwork, researcher was worried regarding how his gender as a male researcher will influence the interview process. Insider scholars can be categorised as total insiders, if they share several common identities (i.e. ethnicity, race, class, professions) or reflective experiences (i.e. betrayal, wars, guilty, hardship); and partial insiders, as the researcher shares a single identity or a few identities (Chavez, 2008). While the researcher can be regarded as an outsider in this research, the researcher does have privileges in gaining access to and trust of participants because they believe that the researcher have much in common (as an Indonesian academic). Moreover, as trust is obtained, participants become more enthusiastic during the interview session in talking about their personal experiences. The gender difference between the researcher and the participants did significantly influence data collection during the interview sessions. While participants were curious about why a male researcher is focusing on gender issues, they were happy to relate their unique experiences of identity work. Many participants expressed a hope that the researcher would be able to give them a voice through this research and communicate their experiences and concerns in public forums while at the same time protecting their anonymity.

During the interview sessions, all of the participants asked the researcher about how a male responds to the pressures on academics. The participants suggested that there should be research conducted to examine male perspectives. For example, most participants asked, "Are you married? Does your wife work outside the home? How do you feel about it? Do you think your wife should stay at home? Does your wife ever complained about your mother?" These questions allowed the researcher to join in the shared experiences and enabled researcher to exercise *Verstehen* (empathetic understanding). Consequently, as the researcher actively joined this dialogical moment, the participants were able to express their concerns in a judgment-free environment. Therefore, all of these benefits allowed the researcher to capture the essence of what it is like to be a woman academic in Indonesian public universities in her identity work process by looking the phenomenon through participants' points of view.

In this study, the researcher's roles are that of an interviewer, observer, transcriber and analyser. Having worked for nine years in the academic profession, it was important for the researcher to undertake bracketing, to set aside the researcher's pre-existing assumptions and personal feelings related to the problem. This step is also known as epoché in transcendental phenomenology (Moustakas, 1994).

4.3 Methods

4.3.1 Setting and Participants

4.3.1.1 Site Selection and Participants

There are 86 public universities in Indonesia, but the researcher conducted the research in 19 of them, firstly because these universities are likely to be the prominent universities in the country (Webometrics, 2014) and they are best known for their diversity of human resources (DIKTI, 2014), which would be a good place for the researcher to explore the research questions. Secondly, due to the geographical issue, which in turn affects the cost of data collection, the researcher selected only these 19 universities (Table 4.2). These universities span from Sumatera to Papua (Universitas Sumatera Utara, Universitas Andalas, Universitas Negeri Padang, Universitas Negeri Jakarta, Universitas Indonesia, Institut Teknologi Bandung, Universitas Padjajaran, Universitas Diponegoro, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Universitas Brawijaya, Universitas Airlangga, Universitas Mulawarman, Universitas Hasanuddin, Universitas Negeri Makassar, Universitas Sam Ratulangi, Universitas Haluoleo, Universitas Udayana, Universitas Pattimura and Universitas Cenderawasih). Some of the universities above were formerly institutes that merely focussed on teaching and later were designated as universities since the mid to late 1990s.

As per Curtin University's Human Research Ethics Committee instruction, the researcher researched in locations considered as high risk, in terms of personal safety (i.e. Central Sulawesi, Maluku, Papua and West Papua), based on the Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade's (DFAT) advice (DFAT, 2013). However, two participants from Jayapura (West Papua) and one participant from Ambon (Maluku) were able to travel to Makassar for the interview sessions as they have seminars in Makassar. In recruiting participants in the high risk area, the researcher employed personal and professional networks to invite prospective participants. As

expected, most of them were able to participate in the study during their travel to Makassar.

Table 4.2 Indonesian public universities where participants work

Island	City	University
Sumatera	Padang	Universitas Negeri Padang
	Padang	Universitas Andalas
	Medan	Universitas Sumatera Utara
	Lampung	Universitas Lampung
Jawa (Java)	Jakarta	Universitas Negeri Jakarta
	Jakarta	Universitas Indonesia
	Bandung	Institut Teknologi Bandung
	Bandung	Universitas Padjajaran
	Semarang	Universitas Diponegoro
	Yogyakarta	Universitas Gadjah Mada
	Surabaya	Universitas Airlangga
	Malang	Universitas Brawijaya
Kalimantan	Samarinda	Universitas Mulawarman
Sulawesi	Makassar	Universitas Hasanuddin
	Makassar	Universitas Negeri Makassar
	Kendari	Universitas Haluoleo
	Manado	Universitas Sam Ratulangi
Maluku	Ambon	Universitas Pattimura
Bali	Denpasar	Universitas Udayana
Papua	Jayapura	Universitas Cenderawasih

Out of the 23 participants, aged between 24 to 57 years, recruited for this research, 17 of the academics hold a master's degree (74%) and the rest have a doctorate degree (26%). Nine of the academics have tenured less than 10 years, 7 of them tenured around 10 to 20 years, whereas another 7 academics have tenured over 21 years. 6 of the academics are holding strategic position in their university respectively. The following Table 4.3 provides detailed descriptions of the Indonesian female academics who were interviewed.

Table 4.3 Characteristics of participants

Pseudonym Initial	Education	Age	Tenure	Academic Rank	Managerial Position
DW	Master	31–40	Under 10 years	Junior Lecturer	-
SUL	Master	Over 40	10–20 years	Lecturer	-
LM	Master	31–40	Under 10 years	Junior Lecturer	-
JH	Doctorate	Over 40	Over 21 years	Professor	Senior Executive
FA	Master	31–40	Under 10 years	Junior Lecturer	-
SSS	Master	31–40	Under 10 years	Junior Lecturer	-
FD	Doctorate	Over 40	Over 21 years	Professor	Senior Executive
KO	Doctorate	31–40	10–20 years	Lecturer	-
YR	Master	Over 40	Over 21 years	Senior Lecturer	-
HLN	Master	31–40	Under 10 years	Junior Lecturer	-
ASM	Master	31–40	Under 10 years	Junior Lecturer	-
TNSD	Master	31–40	10–20 years	Lecturer	-
JD	Master	Over 40	10–20 years	Lecturer	Executive
MM	Master	Over 40	Over 21 years	Senior Lecturer	-
IMG	Master	Over 40	10–20 years	Lecturer	Senior Manager
IZM	Master	31–40	10–20 years	Lecturer	-
TS	Master	Over 40	Over 21 years	Senior Lecturer	-
SAAT	Doctorate	Over 40	Over 21 years	Senior	Senior

				Lecturer	Manager
ELW	Master	20–30	Under 10 years	Junior Lecturer	-
FF	Master	20–30	Under 10 years	Junior Lecturer	-
GAKS	Doctorate	Over 40	Over 21 years	Professor	Senior Executive
ER	Master	20–30	Under 10 years	Junior Lecturer	-
HLO	Doctorate	Over 40	10–20 years	Lecturer	-

4.3.1.2 Sample Selection and Access

In order to develop a comprehensive understanding, interviews with participants at various levels were conducted, specifically with women from different stages of career (junior/early academic, mid-career academic and senior/late academic), based on DIKTI's criteria (2015a). To obtain optimal data, criteria for inclusion in the research sample are: 1) women who are working as academic staff; 2). working in DIKTI accredited and registered public universities in Indonesia; 3). they must have been working in public higher education institutions as an academic for at least 12 months.

In order to answer research questions and to meet research objectives, non-probability sampling method was employed as this is considered as the best way to obtain in-depth data from the interviewee (Silalahi, 2012). Purposive sampling is a method to determine who the best subject is in order to obtain desired information for answering research questions and objectives. In other words, the researcher selected participants considered to be the most appropriate to assist them in addressing the research questions, those capable of experiencing and understanding the experiences in identity work process that are to be studied (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Saunders et al., 2012). Moreover, a homogeneous purposive sampling was utilised as the sample members are similar, i.e. a female academic. As mentioned by Saunders et al. (2012, p. 288), “characteristics of the selected participants are similar, allowing them to be explored in greater depth and minor differences to be more apparent”.

Determining sample size in the non-probability sampling method is ambiguous (Saunders et al., 2012), where the sample size is dependent on the research questions and objectives. To tackle this issue, Saunders et al. (2012) recommends continuing to collect qualitative data until it reaches data saturation, when there is no more any new information or an emerging key theme. Saunders et al. (2012) consider this to be between 5–25 participants.

Gaining access to the research subjects for this research is an important consideration. The researcher's access strategy was facilitated through a combination of having a nine-year career in the academic profession, working on a large number of collaborative projects at several Indonesian universities, having strong connections to the academic profession in Indonesia through an ongoing membership of The Indonesia Lecturer Association, along with a membership of the Management Course Lecturer Association of Indonesia. These affiliations allowed the researcher to maintain recognition and credibility for accessing the universities and the participants. In addition, the researcher also actively participated in several gender-related activities, such as seminars, socialisation and women empowerment collaboration programmes.

4.3.2 Preliminary study

As the researcher was waiting for responses from the participation requests, they performed a preliminary study. A preliminary study is advantageous, because it is “not only for trying out strategies but also to buttress the argument and rationale for the genre and strategy” (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 95). The preliminary study seemed to evaluate the research instruments and improve interview protocols. Prior to the preliminary study, the researcher sought help from five female colleagues in public universities with different backgrounds to participate in the preliminary study. The researcher employed their personal network to recruit potential participants. The interviews with the participants were held in places of their choice, mostly at their offices. In general, the interviews took around one and a half hours. The interview sessions in the preliminary study enabled the researcher to evaluate and develop the interview protocol, modify and review the interview strategies for the main study and try out different approaches (Yin, 2009).

At the end of the preliminary study, the researcher requested feedback from the participants that would be beneficial in the main interview sessions. In the preliminary interviews, the researcher developed fieldnotes to acknowledge the process and made further adjustments that they needed in order to achieve better interviews. The preliminary interviews facilitated the researcher in identifying the potential difficult questions. For instance, two participants questioned back the researcher, “What do you mean?” in answer to the question, “Is there any unwritten law or guide imposed upon you which regulate your behaviour or physical presence in the workplace?” The purpose of the question was to examine what are the contributing factors that limit their identity and the connections to career trajectories. On the other hand, rest of participants were able to articulate that the social norms and social pressures upon them came from their spouse, family, peers and senior colleagues at the workplaces. Therefore, the researcher decided to keep the question and then clarify the questions as soon as the participants in the main study seemed not to understand it.

Throughout the preliminary study, the researcher encountered several challenges in recording field notes. Firstly, as suggested by Marshall and Rossman (2011), the researcher intended to write a reflective journal to record. In doing so, the researcher noticed that when the interview protocol was on the same page as the recording of observations and comments, it turned out to be difficult in practice. It required the researcher to stop several times to go from side to side between the interview protocol and the fieldnotes. To make the process of recording observation and comments better, the researcher decided to keep the interview protocol and the fieldnotes separately. Moreover, the researcher then changed the structure of the fieldnotes by using a note and showing the observations in brackets. Furthermore, throughout the interviews, as soon as researcher had detected irregular behaviour, such as reluctance, doubt and change in voice tones in responding to the questions directly, the researcher put several observations in the fieldnotes and wrote the exact time in the interviews from the digital recorder. As soon as the researcher had concluded the preliminary interviews, the researcher re-examined the interview protocols and customised the fieldnotes’ structure.

In order to identify problems experienced in the data collection, a reflective journal was employed. A reflective journal is important in a qualitative study. Problems,

such as trust building, participants' responses to interview questions, interruptions during interviews, problems with personal bias, verification of data and many other important issues are acknowledged and recorded in order to make continuous improvement in the next interview sessions. The following are examples of reflective journal notes:

I am a bit nervous about this interview session... Even though this is a preliminary study, I am still feeling nervous. Will she trust me? Why should she trust me? How I should behave, so I will not ruin the session? It has been 45 minutes now and I am getting nervous, will she arrive soon? (Reflective journal, #001).

She hesitated to answer the question about the unwritten law in the workplace, maybe because she is afraid that her colleagues will listen to her answers? The place of interview is not supporting, because it may be intimidating her. I should make sure of the location of interview to ensure the participants' comfort in the future sessions. (Reflective journal, #252).

4.3.3 Instruments

One of the most widely used methods in qualitative research is open-ended, in-depth interviews. In-depth interviews refer to “one to one interactions... which provide an opportunity for detailed investigation of each person's individual perspective, for in-depth understanding of the personal context within which the research phenomenon is located, and for very detailed subject coverage” (Lewis & Nicholls, 2013, p. 56). In this study, the researcher employed in-depth, semi-structured interviews in order to capture the participants' identity work process and their career narratives. According to Myers (2009), “semi structured interviews involve the use of some pre-formulated questions, but there is no strict adherence to them. New questions might emerge during the conversation, and such improvisation is encouraged” (p. 124). Moreover, a semi-structured interview includes an element of storytelling, whereby participants are asked to describe some specific moments of their academic and personal experiences. As recommended by Creswell (2003), the researcher was equipped with an interview protocol (Appendix 4) in order to make sure that the interview sessions covered the important subjects to be addressed. Along similar lines, Taylor and Bogdan (1996) argue that an interview protocol is not a predetermined set of questions; rather it is a list of key aspects that qualitative researchers need to address during the interview session. In addition, for the reason of efficiency and effectiveness, it is suggested to have the consent form signed by participants before conducting the interview (Appendix 3). The employment of semi-

structured interviews not only allows accessing the lived world of the respondents but also enables the gathering of rich narrative texts.

4.4 Data collection procedures

As soon as a participant agreed to participate in the study, a schedule for the interviews session was arranged. Given that, the researcher travelled to different cities and tried to schedule a set of interview times for participants in the same island/city. Out of the 45 contacted potential participants, 23 agreed to participate and there were two withdrew their participation as they felt uncomfortable and cautious in continuing the interview due to the sensitivity of the issues being covered (i.e. Soeharto and the New Order government).

4.4.1 Interviews

The interviews began at Universitas Negeri Makassar in Makassar on January 22nd, 2014 and finished at Universitas Haluoleo in Kendari on September 10th, 2014. The researcher made two separate data collection travels to Indonesia, as per DIKTI scholarship programme requirement, which asserted that the researcher could not stay in Indonesia for more than three months per visit. During the first phase of data collection, the researcher conducted 10 interviews. Each interview lasted around two to two and a half hours. In the second stage of data collection, there were 15 interviews conducted with two participants withdrawing their participation. The researcher conducted these interviews in places chosen by the participants, as it not only accommodated their schedule, but also created a comfortable atmosphere as suggested in the reflective journal during the preliminary study. In total, five of the interviews took place in the participants' offices on campus and the rest preferred to be interviewed in a café or a hotel lobby as they were attending seminars in that hotel/venue and scheduled the interview in order to use their time effectively and to freely express their responses. Most participants had questioned about the issue of anonymity during their interview as they were concerned that people who would read the research would easily recognise them. Precautions were taken to ensure the anonymity of the research participants despite some of them being willing to reveal their identity.

As stated in the interview protocol, participants were interviewed in order to capture the experience of identity work process and the meaning of being a woman academic

in Indonesian public universities. Also, participants were expected not only to elaborate the perceived barriers in their career trajectories, but also their strategies related to identity work processes. Before commencing the interview, the researcher read the rights of the participant and ensured that the participant's participation was voluntary and they could withdraw at any time without further explanation. If the participant agreed, then they would sign a consent form. However, this part was not included in the tape recording as this would consume time in the recording. At the very first stage of the interview process, most of the participants were concerned whether the interview would be held by using English or Bahasa Indonesia. They felt worried because they perceived that their English proficiency was not good enough in answering the questions. As the researcher had already considered this possibility, the researcher explained and encouraged the participants to use Bahasa Indonesia in order to explain their experience. In the researcher's opinion, when non-native speakers use English, there is a possibility of reduction in the narrative richness of the experiences and meanings. As a result, all of the interviews were conducted in Bahasa Indonesia.

The first section of the interview time focussed on creating a trust and rapport with the participants. The interviews started with several demographic questions, which consisted of personal data, family, marital status, educational background and work experience and work status. These factors are important because it provides a description of the context and functions as a trigger in probe questions. The next section of the interview centred on how participants perceive their academic career journey. Though the research did not start with any assumptions, all of the participants admitted that female academics are struggling in their profession as a female academic, not to mention their endeavours in advancing their career. This presented an opportunity to ask them questions like "can you tell me your career journey from the very beginning up to present day?", "based on your experiences, what are the factors that might be blocking the progress of a woman's career trajectory?" or "how do you see yourself as a female academic?". This part would explain the experience and the sources that might be involved in the underrepresentation problem in the higher education institutions and their career trajectories. This interview technique led to a long and rich narrative of the participants' career (Czarniawska, 1998), because it invited many probe questions

such as “can you be more specific about this particular event?”, “any example you can give me about it?”, “How did you feel about it?”, “why you felt that way?” or “how did this thing happen?”, “How did you manage it?”.

At the end of the interview, the researcher gave small gifts of appreciation to the participants. These were souvenirs from Australia such as pins, fridge magnets, key rings and stickers. According to Head (2009), it is significant to make sure that the participants are acknowledged for their voluntarily participation in the research. Also, the souvenirs created trust and a long-term personal and professional relationship between the researcher and the participants as presenting small gifts as a token of gratitude is considered polite in Indonesian culture. Moreover, Russell et al. (2000) argue that showing gratitude encourages participation in the future. Whenever the researcher needs to clarify, confirm or ask other questions, the participants would happily respond to the researcher’s queries.

4.4.2 Recording and transcribing

The researcher documented the interviews with a digital recorder for portability, accessibility and security reasons. By using a digital recorder, the researcher was not able to transfer all of the recordings to the laptop and group them into specific folders, but was able to transfer the entire recording file to a secure university computer storage and cloud storage (Google drive) as a preventive step. To back up the digital recorder, the researcher also utilised his mobile phone as the second recorder. This was intended to not disturb the interview process because of technical problems (i.e. low battery of recorder, bad quality of particular sounds and words). As mentioned earlier, to support the interview session process, the researcher also made fieldnotes to record the interview process and other significant incidents concerning the data collection.

Next, as the interviews were conducted in Bahasa Indonesia, the interview transcripts were translated to English. Interviewing participants in Bahasa Indonesia and translating it to English was labour intensive and resource consuming, as this process consisted of transcribing, translating and re-translating the language. The researcher, then, manually transcribed the recordings and as agreed, copies of the transcription and the audio recording files were given to the participants. As soon as participants confirmed the authenticity of the transcript, the researcher categorised the transcript

as valid. This process not only helped the researcher in achieving a rigorous and credible research, but also ensured the authenticity.

To ensure the precision of the translation, the researcher engaged the sources of an English literature academic from an Indonesian university and an expert in English literature at Curtin University. They crosschecked the interview transcripts in Bahasa Indonesia and the English translation. To ensure the participants' anonymity, the researcher assigned pseudonyms to each participant before getting it checked.

The entire interview recordings comprising 45 hours and 27 minutes of interview, together with almost 380 pages of text, simultaneously catered as data source. As soon as each interview session was done, the interview recording was played back. This was important because it allowed participants and the researcher to listen to the recording, in order to ensure the content and also to check which participant's response that should or should not be revealed in the transcription. This process was time-consuming, as the interview recordings were played and replayed. However, this part enabled the researcher to clarify the unclear words uttered by the participant, certain contexts and meaning of particular sentences from the participants.

4.5 Data analysis

The first step of analysis was started after completing the transcribing and translating of the study interviews. This process was conducted to identify the emerging concepts from particular events in the data. In this stage, intensive readings of the manuscripts were conducted, as well as listening to the audio recordings to understand the voice intonations and emotions that a transcript could not capture. This process allowed the researcher to be immersed in the data, re-experience the atmosphere of the interview and also the setting where the interview took place. This process stimulated relevant new insights about the study, as the researcher could not only can make summaries based on these observations on the interview process but also several thoughts and comments of possible meanings. This process centred on the content of the interview, which could highlight the language being used (ironies, sarcasm, metaphors), the setting and preliminary interpretative comments.

4.5.1 NVivo and coding

Next, the analysis focussed on how the researcher transferred the valid interview transcripts into NVivo. To analyse data, the researcher used the NVivo Version 10

program for qualitative research and assigned pseudonyms to participants and the institutions where they work. In attaching codes to the interview transcripts, the researcher looked up the research questions so that the researcher would be able to link the codes to the research questions. Then the researcher exploited the code relationship feature in NVivo, which enabled the researcher to classify the codes into a number of general categories. In open coding method, the data collected was separated into different conceptual values, where the same data with a similar value was put together into a specific group (label). As the research process commenced without an explicit basis in the existing theory, the result may have been the creation of a multitude of conceptual labels related to the lower level of focus and structure with which we commence the research (Saunders et al., 2012; Silverman, 2013).

NVivo program not only assisted this coding process by enabling the construction of nodes linked with references to the text source, but also was able to display the coding stripes in particular parts of the text or the whole text. NVivo also assisted the researcher by providing the insert memos feature from fieldnotes to the interview transcripts. These memos assisted the researcher in recalling and understanding relevant information that was recorded by the researcher. The researcher constructed themes and picked important quotes from the code families. These themes and associated quotes offered abundant and interesting stories of the female academics in their identity formation, identity work process and also their career journey. These features enabled the researcher to observe and make comparisons among the categories and concepts.

Coding is the process of distinguishing aspects of the data that is relevant to the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Saldana (2013) describes coding as a critical aspect in bridging the data collection and the explanation of meaning. The research is conducted with an inductive approach, as the data collection is conducted to explore a phenomenon, detect and classify particular themes and patterns and create a conceptual framework (Saunders et al., 2012). The coding process was started by coding all data and then presented as an integrative diagram to organise all codes in order to draw out the themes and concepts. Ryan and Bernard (cited in Myers, 2009, p. 167), suggest that there are six fundamental tasks in coding, namely “sampling, identifying themes, building codebooks, marking texts, constructing models, and testing models”. As the researcher engages in the abundant descriptive

data, pattern, themes or essences start to appear. This stage of analysis mainly comprises total engagement as long as it is needed for the sake of confirming an authentic and a detailed interpretation and description of the phenomenon. As with all qualitative data, phenomenological data analysis includes processes, such as open coding, categorising and making sense of the essential meanings of the phenomenon (Braun & Clarke, 2013).

4.5.1.1 *First Cycle Coding: Open Coding*

In this research, the first stage of analysis started after completing the transcribing and translating the pilot study interview transcripts. This process was conducted at the beginning of the study in order to identify the emerging concepts from particular events in the data. This process is also known as open coding, which allowed this research to establish initial categories of information about identity work process of female academics and also its relationship towards their career advancement, which was perceived and experienced by the participants in public universities. During the open coding process, pilot study participants enabled the researcher to break down, line by line, sentence by sentence review, assessing, comparing, conceptualising and categorising the data (Saldana, 2013). In the open coding stage, preliminary analysis of the pilot study data was employed merely into descriptive data which included participants' perceptions of their authenticity in academic identity work process and its connections to their career trajectories in Indonesian public universities. As can be seen in Table 4.4, the first order constructs were organised.

The raw data were constantly compared and categorised into as many codes as possible and merged into similar nodes. Once the data have been categorised, then they are examined for properties that characterise each category. It should be noticed that properties are specific attributes of a category or they may be subcategories. The researcher examined and identified the meaning of the data by asking questions, making comparisons, looking for similarities and differences between the comments. In this way, similar comments [or incidents and events, i.e. phenomena] were grouped together to form categories. So basically, open coding is a process of reducing the data to a small set of themes that appear to describe the phenomenon that is under investigation.

The open coding in this research provided the abundant data collected to be allocated into specific and broader themes. Creswell (2013) defines a theme as units of information that are classified together as a range of codes in supporting a common idea in qualitative research, which informs us about what a set of codes is *about*, or what it *means* (Saldana, 2013). In this thesis, theming the codes began according to topics that were prevalent in the codes. They are: responses in identity work process, career trajectories, career barriers, organisational factors, governmental factors and pressures, socio-cultural factors and pressures, authenticity, the personal concept of success and work-life conflicts. Links between the themes, however, can be established and recorded when appropriate.

The following Table 4.4 displays examples of the emergent themes for the same interview extract with some of the participants. This approach is useful in identifying key concepts. Moreover, in this stage, quotes were commented and then grouped into concepts. Next, these concepts were grouped into themes. A number of interesting themes began to emerge in the early stage of research, such as women's concern of career trajectories in a male-dominated culture, major discourses and responses on the global and rapid changes in higher education. As every individual is different, this research captured the diverse experiences of the participants from different places in Indonesia. However, the interview analysis revealed areas of convergence in relation to perspectives of the participants, the instances where their perspectives differed and the reasons behind those convergences and differences.

The following stage comprised connecting emerging themes, clustering themes together based on conceptual similarities and assigning a distinct descriptive label to every cluster. This activity involved organising the themes in an interview transcript before being connected and clustered. At this point, not all of the themes in the interview transcript were included in clustering; this is because those themes do not have a strong groundwork and also, do not perfectly match with the emerging structure.

The researcher developed clusters of meaning from these important statements into themes to write a description of what the participants experienced (textual description) and also a structural description of the context that influenced the identity work process among participants (Creswell, 2003).

Based on the structural and textural descriptions, the researcher composed a combined description that described the ‘essence’ of the common experiences of the participants. It can be in the form of a descriptive passage and when the reader reads it, he/she should be able walk away with the feeling that, “I understand better what it is like for someone to experience that” (Polkinghorne, 1989, p. 46).

Table 4.4 Examples of the emergent themes in open coding

Original data	Exploratory comments
<p>I felt that I am not welcomed and appreciated here. I mean... the facilities that those Ministries promised me when persuade me to go back to Indonesia is nothing.</p> <p>N-O-T-H-I-N-G! I never received anything, except my status as permanent academic. I already fulfilled everything required in order to be a good academic. But I feel that my job is failed to fulfil my own [personal] dream.</p> <p>Hahahaha [laughs sarcastically]... Our profession is the most underrated profession in this country. When we are trying to educate the young of the nation, many people will get highly paid just only sit and destroy our nation. You can see how the sinetron [soap opera] stars demoralise our youngster. And senators in Senayan who are corrupt.</p>	<p><u>Descriptive Comments</u></p> <p>Academics' profession is not highly appreciated by government</p> <p>IMG expresses her disappointment towards government as a result of the lack of appreciation and unfair treatment compared to other professions. She also asserts her aspiration towards the profession and her desire to change the current situation.</p> <p><u>Linguistic Comments</u></p> <p>Many examples of irony expressed in IMG's statement towards the lack of appreciation – She combines irony and sarcasm in describing the events (Soap opera, senator and parking attendant).</p> <p>“[i]f there is no positive changes happened in the next three years, I am thinking to quit my job as academic and go back to Japan”, “They still expect me to go back” – an ultimatum/warning to the government?</p> <p>“I don't need to be a professor. I just need a real professional academic atmosphere in my workplace”</p>

<p>Even the parking attendants get paid higher than us. Hahahaha [laughs] I already told my husband that if there is no positive changes happened in the next three years, I am thinking to quit my job as academic and go back to Japan. I am still corresponding with my former employer in Japan and they still expect me to go back. For me, it is not about money anymore... it is about how my profession is valued and respected not only by the society but the most important is respected by the government. I have everything I need now; I don't need to be a professor. I just need a real professional academic atmosphere in my workplace. (IMG, Mid-Career).</p>	<p>– IMG just voluntarily gives up her chances on her career progression in order to substitute it with a better academic environment. This also strengthens the desire to change the situation</p> <p><u>Conceptual Comments</u></p> <p>IMG tells the story of a recent academic profession condition. A good and professional academic environment is highly coveted – this seems to be an experience of the lack of the good and professional academic environments.</p> <p>IMG confesses her aspiration in her career, as she does not want to aim to the highest level in the profession anymore. It describes her frustration in the workplace due to her experiences of being betrayed because the Ministries failed to deliver their promises after she had agreed to go back to work in Indonesia; the disappointment of the lack of recognition and unfairness.</p> <p><u>Emerging Themes</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expressing concern about injustice treatment • Expressing identity work strategy in dealing with the treatment
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Original data	Exploratory comments
<p>Wherever I go, people will talk and still consider us as a lecturer, not as our self as individual. And you are conditioning yourself to be fit with the best image of the profession. Though you want to do this (be yourself), but you will think the properness of your action to the lecturer profession in the society. Yes, It is a burden to have a profession as a lecturer.... It's like eating a <i>Simalakama</i> fruit [catch 22]! On the one hand, I want to be myself, but on the other hand, my surrounding doesn't support me (FF, Junior).</p>	<p><u>Descriptive Comments</u></p> <p>FF states her authentic experience of being constrained by the accepted image of the academic profession and gender identity.</p> <p><u>Linguistic Comments</u></p> <p>“It’s like eating a <i>Simalakama</i> fruit (a catch 22)” – Describe the complicate situation faced by FF. <i>Simalakama</i>=A mythical fruit, i.e. if one eats it, one’s father will die and if not, one’s mother will die instead.</p> <p><u>Conceptual Comments</u></p> <p>FF tells a story of common experience faced by female academics in the society. There is no agency aspect in her story, as she feels helpless, left with no choice and everything that happens is beyond her control.</p> <p><u>Emerging Themes</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mentioning about social pressures

But what distinguishes me with other women is that I did not give up to those [social] pressures. Whatever you do, you will be judged, no matter how considerable your action was, you will be judged as wrong. Whatever you did is never enough to satisfy the society. I knew that I could not fight the society with the hard way, so I just tried to get familiarised with them and eventually I would know how to deal with those kinds of treatments. I believe on the credo of “if you can’t beat it then join it”. This was also sharpening my interpersonal skills and networking skills, which were crucial in my career trajectory (FD, Senior).

Descriptive Comments

FD expresses her experience and that she never gives up in facing the social pressures. She also mentions her strategy in modifying her authenticity by joining the majority, in order to survive and thrive.

Linguistic Comments

By emphasising her distinction, FD’s story reinforces that she is not like women in general. It could describe that the gender identity she displays in society to survive has changed.

“If you can’t beat it then join it” – provides the strategy FD employed in order to deal with pressures and her career trajectory.

Conceptual Comments

FD expresses her story of agency, as she feels that she cannot win by being authentic. She then adapts the dominant culture in order to survive and thrive.

Emerging Themes

- Mentioning about social pressures
- Expressing identity work strategies in dealing with the treatment

4.5.1.2 Second-Cycle Coding: Pattern Coding

Second-Cycle coding methods are beneficial in reorganising and reanalysing data from the first-coding cycle methods (Saldana, 2013). Morse (1994) describes that this process requires “of linking seemingly unrelated facts logically, of fitting categories one with another” (p. 25) in order to develop a comprehensive body of data (Saldana, 2013). Also, this process enables to reorganise and refine the codes and themes from the first cycle coding to eventually develop a smaller and more select list of broader categories, themes and concepts (Saldana, 2013). Additionally, pattern coding is employed to formulate theoretical constructs and processes as Miles and Huberman (1994) argue that pattern coding is not only appropriate for the search for rules, causes and explanations in the data, but also in the formation of theoretical constructs and processes. Pattern codes are defined as “explanatory or inferential codes, ones that identify an emergent theme, configuration, or explanation. They pull together a lot of material into a more meaningful and parsimonious unit of analysis. They are a sort of meta-code. ...Pattern coding is a way of grouping those summaries into a smaller number of sets, themes, or construct” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 69). Several pattern codes can emerge from a single body of qualitative data, which are able to identify a major theme or direction in revealing dynamics of interrelationship (Saldana, 2013), which can be seen in the following table:

Table 4.5 Pattern coding

Quotation Pattern	Codes
Pattern indicating low self-confidence (e.g. “I always feel that I am not good enough to be a proper academic”)	- Insecurity
Pattern indicating humiliation (e.g. “We used to be very poor, I don’t want my children experience the same”)	- Shame
Pattern regarding accepting and integrating the conflicting identities (e.g. “I feel that maybe it would be better for a woman like me to be just an average academic”).	- Repositioning Identities (Accepting Gender Identities and Declining

<p>Pattern regarding rejecting the socially prescribed gender identities and develop academic identity by imitate a successful image of academic identity. (e.g. “That is why I have to act and leads like a man in my faculty, because people only adore the man as the leader.”).</p> <p>Pattern indicating action or strategies employed to challenge the oppressive hegemony (e.g. “If you are trying to mess with me, face the consequence. Maybe they thought that I am just an average junior academic, so they can treat me as they want. No way! I know they would treat every junior academic, but not me. I am different. I stand for my rights and that's what makes me different”).</p> <p>Pattern regarding redefinition of the new concept (minor discourse) in terms of career (e.g. “I don’t mind if I can’t be a successful in our university because I believe that my fortune is not depending on the university, even more I can have such freedom to use my expertise outside the university”).</p>	<p>Academic Identities)</p> <p>- Repositioning Identities (Rejecting Gender Identities and Imitating Successful Academic Identities)</p> <p>- Depositioning Identities (Challenging Status Quo on Both Gender and Performativity Based Success Notion)</p> <p>- Redefining the Success Concept</p>
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The codes are categorised into as many codes as possible and merged into similar category based on the pattern (Saldana, 2013). Once the data have been categorised, they are examined for properties that characterise each category. It should be noticed that properties are specific attributes of a category or they may be subcategories. The researcher examines and identifies the meaning of the data by asking questions, making comparisons, looking for similarities and differences between the comments. In this way, similar comments (or incidents and events, i.e. phenomena) are grouped

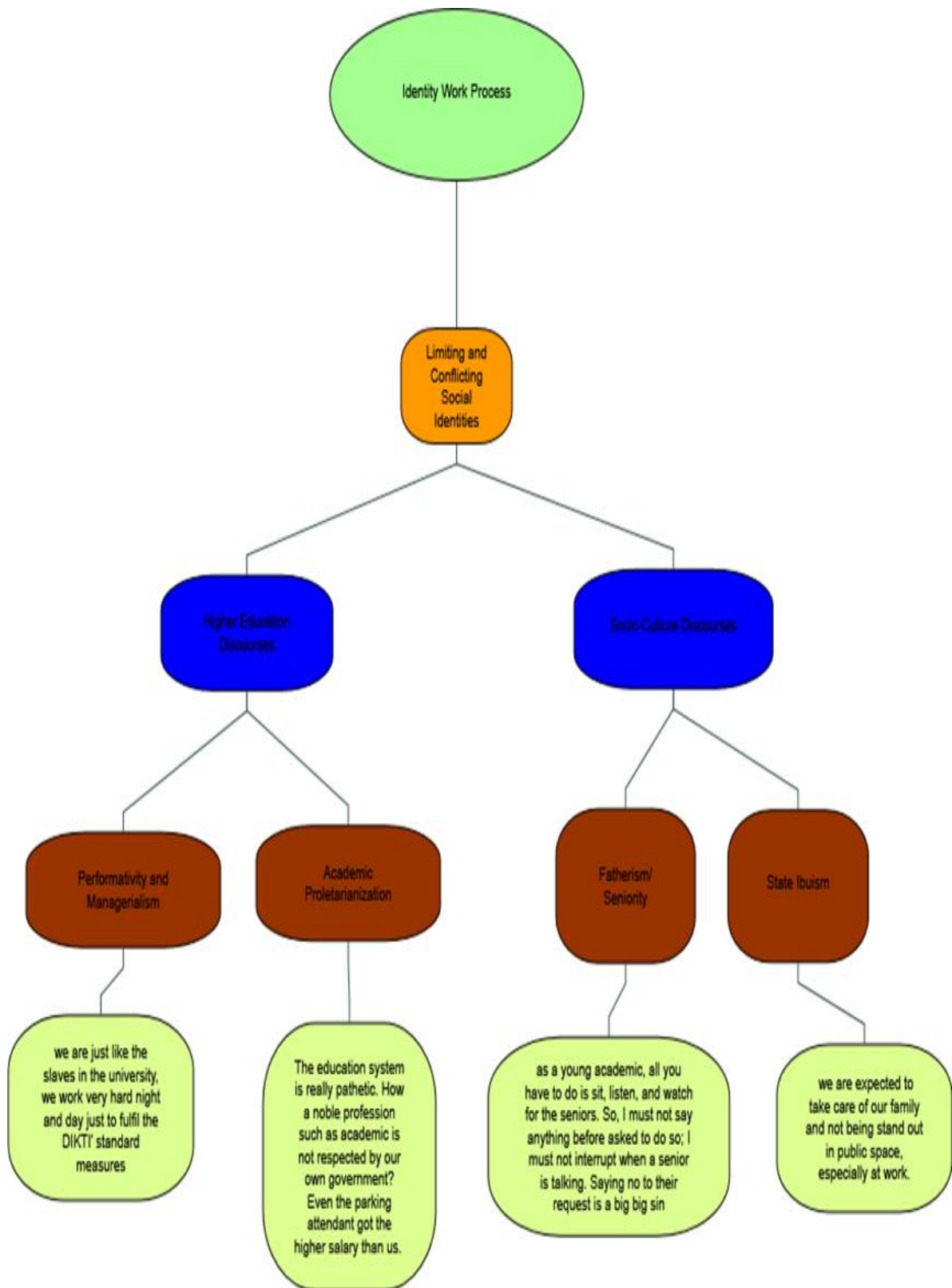
together to form categories. Moreover, multiple categories are then grouped into a relevant concept based on the pattern as seen in the following table:

Table 4.6 Categorisation

Codes	Category	Grouping Concepts with Common Meaning
Shame Insecurity Accepting Gender Identities and Declining Academic Identities Rejecting Gender Identities and Imitating Masculine Academic Identities Challenging Status Quo on Both Gender and Performativity Based Success Notion Redefining the Concept	Identity Dissonance Repositioning Identities Depositioning Identities	Identity Work

In terms of conceptual framework of this study, the following Figure 4.1 illustrates the relationship among different codes, categories and concepts of identity work connected with other codes and categories (limiting and conflicting social identities, higher education discourses, socio-cultural discourses, performativity and managerialism, academic proletarianisation, Fatherism/seniority and State Ibuism).

Figure 4. 1 Conceptual framework of identity work



The Figure 4.1 illustrates a flow chart in which the top is part of an emergent theory that flows down to its individual codes to support it. The green boxes represent coded information. Within this example, support has been drawn from four categories. They are: performativity and managerialism, academic proletarianisation, Fatherism/seniority and State Ibuism. In the figure above, while there seems to be contradictions between higher education discourses and socio-cultural discourses, they shape the identity work process by creating limiting and conflicting social identities altogether.

4.6 Trustworthiness of the study

Trustworthiness is an essential factor in a qualitative study and it is one of the most vital considerations of the researcher. According to Prion and Adamson (2013), rigor is an overall measure for trustworthiness in qualitative study, extended to the processes of data collection, analysis and explanation. A study without rigor is merely a fiction and worthless (Morse et al., 2002). Moreover, triangulation is required to ensure the trustworthiness of a study, as it facilitates in minimising the risk of the researcher's bias. Golafshani (2003) defines triangulation as a "strategy (test) for improving the validity and reliability of research or evaluation of findings" (p. 603). According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000), there are four types of triangulation: sources (to triangulate multiple data sources), theories (to employ different theories), researchers (to use multiple researchers) and methods (to use multiple research methods). However, the most common triangulation strategy employed in qualitative studies is the sources triangulation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Source triangulation includes interview transcripts from data from the same participant collected at different times or from different participants in different places. In this research, the researcher employed interviews, field notes and related government policy documents that specifically connected to higher education and career trajectories.

Moreover, in order to ensure the study's rigorousness, Whittemore, Chase and Mandle (2001) suggest that reliability and validity measures be incorporated as primary and secondary criteria. The primary criteria consist of credibility, criticality, authenticity and integrity. Moreover, the second criteria consist of explicitness, vividness, creativity, thoroughness, congruence and sensitivity. In addition, Whittemore, Chase and Mandle (2001) argue that all kinds of qualitative research

must represent those in the primary criteria. Nevertheless, the primary criteria are not sufficient in and of themselves. Therefore, the latter criteria are needed to “provide further benchmarks of quality and are considered to be more flexible as applied to particular investigations” (Whittemore, Chase & Mandle, 2001, p. 529). Additionally, they assert that “phenomenological investigation will need to address investigator bias (explicitness) and an emic perspective (vividness) as well as explicate a very specific phenomenon in depth (thoroughness)” (p. 529).

4.6.1 Primary criteria

4.6.1.1 Credibility and Criticality

Credibility encompasses “the confidence in the truth value or believability of the study’s findings” (Jeanfrau & Jack, 2010, p. 616) as “participants recognise the researcher’s described experiences as their own” (Beck, 1993, p. 264). Credibility in this research is confirmed by repeated emerging common themes in the participant’s stories. The consistent repetitions of themes during the analysis stage demonstrate that the phenomenon under investigation is actually experienced by most of the participants and truly represents the participants’ world view. In addition, peer examination or peer review offers an outsider’s perspective towards our study. This offers an external check of the research process (Creswell, 2013). Moreover, peer review is essential because the researcher is able to use the constructive feedbacks from fresh perspectives to challenge assumptions made by the investigator, whose closeness to the project frequently inhibits his or her ability of view it with real fairness (Shenton, 2004).

Feedback was received from thesis supervisors continuously. Throughout the writing period of the thesis, supervisors stimulated, challenged and examined the researcher’s way of thinking. In addition, findings from the research was not only regularly presented to the fellow PhD students, the findings were also presented at a Colloquium on 1st and 2nd October 2013 and on the 28th of October at the Australian and New Zealand Academy of Management (ANZAM) Conference, which was held at University of Technology Sydney in Sydney, Australia from 3rd–5th December, 2014. Reviews from the colloquium and the conference not only helped the researcher to receive constructive feedback to validate the findings, but also to make other scholars aware of the research.

4.6.1.2 Authenticity and Integrity

Authenticity is defined as “closely linked to credibility in validity and involves the portrayal of research that reflects the meanings and experiences that are lived and perceived by the participants” (Whittemore, Chase & Mandle, 2001, p. 530). In this research, authenticity was accomplished by presenting the participants’ responses in actual recorded words and by presenting the rationality of the interpretation that led to the results (Charmaz, 2006). Authenticity also refers to being true to the participants’ voice, which includes the researcher’s true interpretation, accurately displaying the characteristics of the phenomenon by presenting explanation, description or theory.

In order to minimise the researcher’s bias, this research used member checking because it has its roots in phenomenological approaches to research (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Member checking is defined as the procedure in which a researcher checks the precision of the data, analysis, explanations and conclusions with the participants in order to ensure that the findings really reflect the participants’ experiences (Whittemore, Chase & Mandle, 2001). Throughout the data collection and analysis stage, the researcher frequently encountered vague data. To minimise the potential errors in the interview, in transcribing and in the case of result inauthenticity, it was important for the researcher to ask, confirm, clarify and verify directly from the participants. During the transcribing stage, there were several times that the clarification from participants was needed. For example, some of the participants forgot to write down their details in the consent form. Also, the researcher communicated with the participants after the transcribing process was done by sending the transcripts to the respective participants. At this stage, participants confirmed that the content of the transcripts was true and permitted the researcher to continue to the next stage.

Integrity is vital in analysis of a qualitative research. The subjectivity in interpretive research acknowledges the researcher as a person who may interpret data uniquely (Whittemore, Chase & Mandle, 2001), but integrity needs to be proved within the process in order to ensure that the interpretation is valid and based on real data.

In this research, data interpretation was valid and in order to ensure the validity, repetitive checks were conducted. The interview transcripts were coded for the

analysis of the themes. The constant comparative analysis techniques (Thorne, 1997) were used to minimise the amount of codes and also to develop the relationships between the different themes, which emerged from the data. Constant comparison is an analysis procedure generating and connecting categories by comparing incidents to incidents, incidents to categories and categories to categories (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Each of the new interviews was coded and every emerged incident from each interview was compared to the previously coded interviews before any further coding was done. Moreover, for using the constant comparative technique, there are five steps, as suggested by Boeije (2002, p. 395), as follow:

1. Comparison within a single interview
2. Comparison between interviews within the same group
3. Comparison of interviews from different groups
4. Comparison in pairs at the level of the couple
5. Comparing couples

Step 1 and step 2 were performed by the researcher during the coding process, because participants in this research were categorised into same group based on their similarity of academic ranks, marital status, education, age and also particular experiences that was discovered when comparing with the interviews of other participants. Moreover, step 3 in this research, as suggested by Boeije, is about a group of participants who have different experiences regarding particular issues. The participants' main experiences in this research were similar. However, there were two main different responses on particular dominant discourses, those who resisted it, the younger academics, whereas mid-career and seniors academics tended to accept and reinforce those discourses. Next, step 4 compares the participants' responses in pairs, those who are in a relationship, e.g. "a parent and a child, a teacher and a pupil or an employer and an employee" (Boeije, 2002, p. 399). However, step 4 was not conducted in this research, because it only focusses on women academics' perspectives and experiences. Step 4 has a potential to be addressed in future research when male academics are also incorporated in order to examine the reality based on men's perspectives. Lastly, step 5 compares those pairs in step 4. As step 4 was not conducted, therefore it was not necessary to continue to the last step.

4.6.2 Secondary criteria

Whittemore, Chase and Mandle (2001) argue that the second criteria need to be incorporated into a qualitative research in order to achieve trustworthiness. The second criteria consist of explicitness, vividness, creativity, thoroughness, congruence and sensitivity.

4.6.2.1 Explicitness

During the research, the researcher preserved his neutrality; the researcher got out of his skin (Aguilar, 1981) in order to not let his personal beliefs influence the perspectives of the participants. The researcher acknowledges that his personal experience as an academic in a public university was the impetus of this study. During his tenure, the researcher encountered concerns from female colleagues about how women struggle in fulfilling their responsibilities at work and their obligations at their domestic domains, let alone aspiring to reach a strategic position in the university. As this phenomenon occurred repeatedly, the researcher became curious why only few women reached senior positions.

As mentioned earlier, the researcher's status was that of an outsider. However, his status as an Indonesian academic allowed the researcher to access and to gain the participants' trust. The researcher's access and personal networks helped him in overcoming the weaknesses of an outsider. Moreover, being an outsider increased the objectivity of the research interpretations.

4.6.2.2 Vividness

Vividness involves the "presentation of thick and faithful descriptions with artfulness, imagination, and clarity. Presentation of rich data contributes to the ability to highlight salient features of themes, portraying the essence of the phenomenon without overwhelming the reader with excessive detail" (Whittemore, Chase & Mandle, 2001, p. 531), so it would enable the readers to personally experience and understand the phenomenon or the context described. Throughout the data analysis stage, serious efforts were performed to connect the descriptions of the phenomena to the related theories of the identity work, i.e. the tensions between personal and social identities in constructing an authentic academic identity, which is connected to career trajectories. As stated earlier, the constant comparison analysis technique was

employed to obtain vividness and clarity of the emerging themes and their interrelationships.

4.6.2.3 Creativity

Creativity is “demonstrated in qualitative research through novel methodological designs to answer specific research questions, flexibility within the inquiry process, and imaginative ways of organising, presenting, and analysing data” (Whittemore, Chase & Mandle, 2001, p. 531). In the data collection stage, the researcher used two different voice recorders; this was intended to anticipate any technical problems during the interview. As recent mobile phones are now equipped with the voice recorder feature, it was be beneficial to utilise it in this research. In organising, analysing and presenting the data, NVivo version 10 and Decision Explorer computer programs were utilised during the research.

4.6.2.4 Thoroughness

Thoroughness is referred as “attention to connection between themes and full development of ideas. Thoroughness has been previously identified as completeness, consistency, and saturation” (Whittemore, Chase & Mandle, 2001, p. 531). The holistic picture of the phenomenon is captured and explored, whereas methodology is utilised for checking data quality. The research results addressed the lived experience of the female academics in explaining their identity work and its connection to their career trajectory in Indonesian public universities. Constant comparison technique was employed in order to identify relationships among themes and the relationships among those themes were also illustrated into conceptual models during the process of analysis. Data saturation was achieved at 23 participants as there were no more new themes emerged. After this, the interview process came to a close.

4.6.2.5 Congruence

Congruence is demonstrated between the research question, basic theory, research method and also research findings. The research findings display transferability to other groups of people and contexts. As female academics experience slow progression in their career trajectories globally, it would be fair to assume that the findings in the Indonesian context may help explain the wider problem. To ensure that the data was precisely interpreted and properly reported, some of the participants were re-interviewed. This re-interview process confirmed that the research deviated

from the main concept in interpreting the identity work among female academics and their career journey in Indonesian public universities.

4.6.2.6 Sensitivity

Socio cultural contexts are the key foundations in this research. As Indonesia is well known for its diverse cultures and this research required the researcher to capture the experiences of Indonesian women, the researcher prepared himself with lessons on how one should behave in a particular culture. The researcher's affiliation with the Indonesian Academic Association and Indonesia Management Course Lecturer Association enabled him to gain access to the targeted universities and participants. In addition, to improve trust and to build rapport, the researcher used references in selecting participants. As the participants were being referred by the people they know, the researcher was able to gain their trust.

4.7 Ethical concerns

Ethical concerns are an essential factor as researchers must be aware of the participants' rights and be mindful of the possible risks that their studies might carry that may impact the participants in the future. To protect the participants' rights and to minimise the risks, the researcher undertook the following procedures:

4.7.1 Seeking ethic approval from ethics committee

Prior to commencing the data collection process, the researcher complied with the rules of the Curtin University Human Resource Ethics Committee by submitting the research proposal, the timeline plan and the ethics approval form to ensure that the research would be conducted in accordance with the policies of the Curtin University human ethics committee.

4.7.2 Seeking authorisation from institutions

To get access to the participants in Indonesia, firstly, the researcher looked for authorisation from a particular officer at the aimed institutions. After the researcher acquired authorisation, the potential participants were likely to participate. The researcher asked the authorities' permission first by sending the information sheet (Appendix 2), as the researcher did not want to face any problems in the future regarding bureaucracy matters. Also, in Indonesian culture, it is polite and respectful to the host to ask permission before entering their domain. Marshall and Rossman (2011) identified that the obligation to get informed approval is a common Western

tradition. Therefore, with regard to research ethics, the researcher, who performed the study in a non-Western context, acknowledged the cross-cultural differences. To protect the participants' anonymity, the researcher did not report the real identity of the participant; instead the researcher only reported to the officers verbally and thanked them for their hospitality.

4.7.3 Getting consent from potential participants

After receiving the ethic research approval from the Curtin University Human Resource Ethics Committee and being authorised by the officers in the aimed institutions, the researcher made contact with the potential participants by sending them an email, which contained the information letter of the research and the consent form (Appendices 1, 2 and 3). The consent form comprised the study's comprehensive description, which includes: the study' objectives, the procedures, nature of participation (voluntarily) and also the rights and privacy of the participants. Along with the email, the researcher also asked for the potential participants' availability. When they signalled that they would be able to participate in person, the researcher asked for their schedule for conducting the interview session by sending them an email or calling them directly.

4.7.4 Anonymisation procedure

In order to protect the participants' privacy, anonymisation was conducted. The participants' de-identification process began as soon as the interview session ended. Recording was played back to the participants, so they could choose which information they wanted to include in the transcripts. This information could have included their name, study experience in abroad, location and university. Every participant's objection was taken into consideration by deleting it or by modifying it without compromising the actual meaning. When the participants looked satisfied with the revision, the recording was categorised as a valid recording. Moreover, when the recordings were transferred to interview transcripts, the researcher rechecked the transcripts to ensure the participants' anonymity. To ensure anonymity and interview authenticity, the researcher sent the completed interview transcript to the participants, respectively. If they agreed, the transcript was classified as a valid transcript. When the interview transcripts were translated from Bahasa Indonesia to English, the researcher made sure that the translators would not able to identify the

participants based on their transcripts. To protect their identity, random names and initials were generated and assigned to each participant.

4.7.5 Protecting the safety of data and data storage

All of the transcripts, records and relevant documents collected during this research are stored in password secured protected computer files or are in a locked cabinet in the supervisor's office at Curtin University. Data will be stored for seven years following the completion of the thesis and then destroyed. Great care and responsibility will be given to all collected information. Access to the data is available only to the researcher and members of the thesis committee.

4.8 Conclusion

The focus of this research obliges to an in-depth comprehension of the experiences related to the identity work process and its connection to the career trajectories of female academics. To answer the research questions, this research is situated in the interpretative paradigm and includes the presentation of qualitative methods for data collection and analysis. Semi-structured interviews were used not only to access and understand the lived world of female academics, but also allowed for the collection of rich narrative texts. The phenomenology approach was adopted to explain experiences in the identity work of female academics, which is useful in explaining the connection to their career trajectories in Indonesian public universities. Also, analysis of phenomenology identified the common themes and important episodes in the participants' lives as female academics, which influence their perception towards their career trajectories and progression. Important episodes are significant because they contribute to the participants' perceptions and identity work process regarding the definition of success in academic career.

The next chapter focusses on the research findings' presentation, an in-depth analysis of the problem, which is undertaken utilising the phenomenology analysis. This approach is employed in order to explain the experience of the participants in their search for authenticity of their identity, their identity work process and its relation to career trajectories of female academics. Secondly, the depiction of the minor discourse as a form of resistance to the dominant discourses in identity work among women academics is elaborated.

5 ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and findings of the research. It focusses on the individual perspectives and experiences of the identity work process of female academics in Indonesian public universities and their professional career journey. The findings are presented with quotes extracted from the interview transcripts. To ensure confidentiality and anonymity, pseudonyms (name initial) are assigned to the participants' descriptor (For example: JD, Mid-career).

The chapter is divided into three major sections. The first section discusses the identity work among female academics in Indonesian public universities. This section also presents how major discourses contribute to different female academic's identity work process and eventually influence their behaviour and perception towards career trajectories. The second section presents how younger academics are striving to redefine the success concept and construct their own authentic academic identity inside the dominant discourses' hegemony.

Finally, the chapter presents the conceptual model framework. By using concepts proposed by Deleuze and Guattari – rhizomes, minor and major discourses, and deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation – this research develops the three-step model of identity work process by Watson (2008).

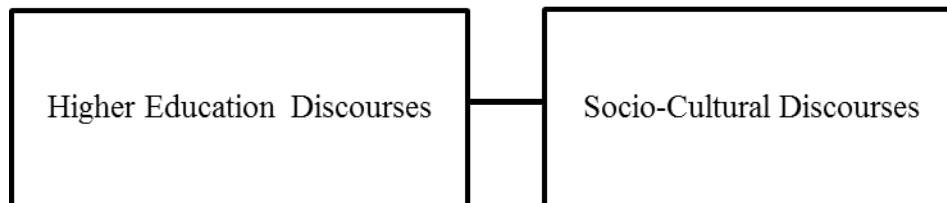
5.2 Identity work among female academics in Indonesian higher education

Identity work occurs in relation to multiplicities of available social discourses (Watson, 2008). The data in this research suggest that within these discourses, an individual adopts such positions of themselves that are intertwined with the positions they ascribe to others that have a substantial effect on his/her professional and personal lives. For that reason, the analysis of identity work in this research would be incomplete without considering the multiple discourses. Additionally, it seems that the socio-cultural context plays an essential factor in the participants' academic identity work, not only in the work environment, but also in the domestic domain as well as the social environment. The following section presents and discusses the major discourses identified in this research.

5.2.1 Major discourses

In this research, there are two dominant (major) discourses of the Indonesian academics and the higher education environment as shown in the following Figure 5.1. This research acknowledges that these major discourses may not constitute all the possible ways of representing what goes on in the Indonesian higher education system, but the discourse identification is based on comprehensive data analysis, which suggests that these major discourses are relevant and influential to the identity work process of the participants. Moreover, as these major discourses are discrete, then they are “best addressed as (analytically) separate, although in practical settings they can be combined or synthesised” (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003, p. 1172).

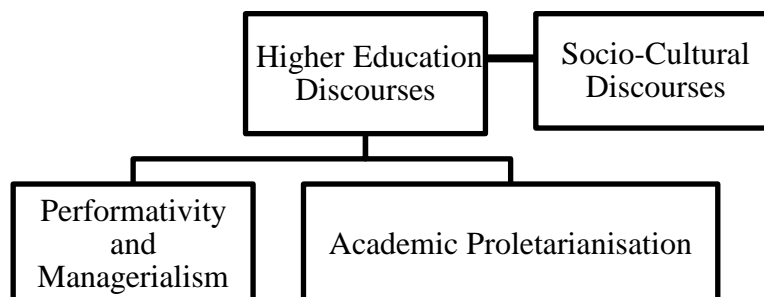
Figure 5.1 Major discourses



5.2.1.1 Higher Education Discourses

In relation to the higher education discourses, there are several identified major influences that affect the identity work processes among the research participants. They are: performativity and managerialism and academic proletarianisation.

Figure 5.2 Indonesian higher education discourses



5.2.1.1.1 Performativity and Managerialism

The Indonesian Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education’s Vision Year 2025 highlights the importance of national competitiveness based on knowledge. It is expected that Indonesian scholars will actively participate in the

global academic environment and as a result, it will improve the quality level of Indonesian higher education. New regulations and policies were established by the Indonesian government in order to create such an environment. Since 2008 till present, there have been several significant changes in the regulations and policies in Indonesia's higher education system, ranging from the establishment of the 2025 Vision, its policy and regulations on the career structure of academics (which changes every time the Minister is replaced) to the workload management system (*Beban Kerja Dosen/BKD*).

In this research, it was found that Indonesian women academics at first considered that the new regulations and policies (remuneration based performance system and fast track career advancement programmes) were a panacea, which would enable them to excel in their academic career. Regardless of their location and seniority, most of the participants believed that by emphasising individual performance, it could be expected that their careers can progress as much as their male counterparts' and their wellbeing as academics will improve. As exemplified by JD (Mid-career):

I was thinking... this is it. Finally, I can be a true academic, where I, as an academic, will be appreciated based on my own real performance. As our remuneration will be based on our own performance, I don't have to take extra side works anymore.

In the above quote, JD welcomes these new meritocratic based regulations because she had previously regarded herself as an average academic who took to extra side works outside the campus due to the poor salary. She felt confident that her academic career would excel because her competency was going to be assessed fairly and be based on her actual individual performance, which would improve her income. Many participants hoped that the new regulations, especially on career fair assessment, might improve their career trajectories and the common practice of seeking extra income from extra works would be diminished, which would allow participants to be more focussed on their duties as academics in universities. From this point, it can be acknowledged that before 2008, Indonesian academics, in general, were struggling to find extra income, whereas at the same time, the social discourses also limited women academics to excel and be assessed fairly. This resulted from the dominant national patriarchal discourses of State Ibuism and Fatherism, which is elaborated in the following section.

Moreover, DIKTI uses vision slogans, such as “world class education system” and “entrepreneurial universities” in managing Indonesian public universities. Consequently, universities are encouraged to adopt these visions into their daily operations. Research participants acknowledge that DIKTI demands that academics publish more research papers and attract more grants from external sources consistently, as these factors are significant for their academic careers. However, most of them complained about the tireless and capitalistic process as exemplified by FF (Junior) who felt that “*we are just the slaves in the university, we work very hard night and day just to fulfil the DIKTI’ standard measures*”. These productivity pressures generated concerns among participants. Gradually, DIKTI’s 2025 visions seemed to be perceived as a threat which jeopardised the traditional values of academic freedom. A Mid-career academic (SAAT) mentioned that:

The head of research centre rejected my research proposal. He said that my proposal was not marketable enough. Either I change it or I should not submit it. I don’t know if I can hold my academic principles [sic] anymore.

And

My students thought that they are my boss so they can do whatever they want in the classroom. If I fail them, they threat me to go on strike and they will publish the unbalanced story in the media. They thought that they own me because they already pay for expensive tuition fee. I feel that present academic profession is not as respected as it used to be.

SAAT complained that her identity as an academic was demeaned because her independence was being compromised by the pressures of marketable research which aimed at attracting external research grants. At the same time, she criticised the current practices of marketisation and massification, because they turned students into customers and “[K]ings in the classroom”. As a result, SAAT feels that the students’ bargaining power is greater than her authority and academic freedom as an academic. This concern was expressed by all the participants, regardless of their level.

These discourses appeared to form an important part of the groundwork for the identity work process at the individual level, because they reinforced the contradictions between the values that were brought forth by performativity and managerialism and the traditional academic values of professional autonomy. It was

found that what they expected before was different from the values brought by performativity and managerialism. The participants' authentic desire was translated into academic identity work. Authenticity-driven identity work in this research refers to how a female academic maintains strict coherence between what she feels and what she does. Moreover, it also means that she has a precise image of what type of academic she wants to be by performing a particular behaviour and presenting herself in the type of physical appearances she feels comfortable with. For the female academics in this research, in creating an authentic academic identity, one must adopt a constant stance of identity work within the panoptic environment, as one female academic (HNA, Senior) asserted, "*in order to be myself, I [must be] constantly aware of my behaviour, because there is constant monitoring not only in my family, the society, but also in the workplace and I just can't be myself at work*". In general, the participants encountered such experiences where the image of their own authentic academic identity was not in line with the image they had to perform as required by the major discourses.

In addition, these discourses also generated tensions among participants' social identities, work identities and gender identities. As stated earlier in Chapter 3, as a result of the performativity and managerialism discourses, the participants were required to be more productive than before and they mentioned that work-life issues and their social identities as women were not in line with the performativity values. Not only the young academics, but the mid-career and senior academics also complained about work-life issues, such as extensive working hours with heavy and demanding workloads due to the results of the new regulations.

Even though I am a single woman, I found it hard to find my me-time and family time. My parents and my brother always complain that I was too busy at work, [because] I had to travel for seminars, conferences, research collaboration projects with colleagues from other cities. I even have to reschedule one of my classes for three times in the last semester. They [parents and brother] did not believe that academics needed to be dynamics and mobile, because they only have the image of a traditional academic (ELW, Junior).

Doing a proper scientific research is impossible for me. I don't know how to manage my time between teaching, reading, and the research itself. Not to mention my responsibilities at home, my husband reprimanded me several times about not to neglect my duties at home (SAAT, Mid-career).

Not only workload in terms of teaching and research, but the research participants also complained about the additional workload of administrative tasks, such as reports and paperwork.

Every single year we were demanded to submit our progress and each year they are still asking for the same documents... It really consumes our time... this should be the job for administrative staff. We even don't know what they [DIKTI] are going to do with our documents because we are submitting the same documents in E-V-E-R-Y single year and no feedback. [Sigh] ... and the thing I hate most was they always threatened us that if we don't fulfil their requirements then our career would be stagnated (FA, Junior).

According to the excerpts above, female academics seem to struggle in managing the various duties they have to undertake at work, along with their duties at home as a daughter, a wife and a mother. Despite all of the participants admitting that they were already managing their time wisely, it seemed impossible for them to handle those other duties. In addition, it seems that most of the participants tend to accept the heavy workload in their early years as young academics because:

In our university, all of the junior academics have to prove something to be accepted. I also encountered similar experiences when I was a young academic (TS, Senior).

As the youngest person in my department, I will be assigned many classes to teach and responsible for the seniors' research report. They thought that I have the spare time because I am a single woman and I should do the research (report) because they are not familiar with the computer (FF, Junior).

I always got calls (from my Dean) even when it's holiday... My Dean always relies on me and I don't want to risk my career by saying no to him. I have to respect my superior's trust to me (LM, Junior).

In relation to the excerpts above, most participants agreed that as part of the initiation process in the academic profession, they tried to behave as nicely as they could at the workplace. During their early years as academic, all the participants mentioned that they made strong efforts to be an academic and they observed and learnt from their working environment how to mingle and behave with their peers in order to be accepted and acknowledged as an academic. Academics tend to put more effort to get acceptance during their early years of tenure because “*everyone in the society will respect me, because academic profession is highly regarded*” (LM, Junior).

Having mentioned those excerpts above, apparently the implementation of the new regulations and policies do not seem to be enhancing academic wellbeing, including fair and adequate compensation, as promised. Instead, most of the participants voiced their concerns about their difficulties in accomplishing the standards placed upon them. Even today, the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education is still trying to formulate the format for career and performance standards.

5.2.1.1.2 Academic Proletarianisation

This research shows that the current compensation structure of Indonesian academics is creating tensions in their identity work process. While academics are requested to be more productive, at the same time, their salary structure as government employees does not adequately cover their cost of living. Regardless of their marital status, the research participants admitted that their monthly salary and allowances were not enough to cover their monthly needs. It is common for Indonesian academics to have a side job outside the campus due to the inadequate compensation, which eventually generates more tension in the academics. Such a tension in their identity work process was exemplified by:

People sometimes wonder about my real profession. An academic or a boutique owner and online fashion seller? Because they always see me at the shopping mall. I don't have any choice, my salary as an academic is not enough even for myself. [Therefore] I have to seek another source of income. For me, I hate to neglect my responsibilities [as an academic] at work but what can I say? I have to feed my family (MM, Senior).

I don't understand how government sees us as academics. We are expected to be stand-up comedians in the class, experts who are able to compete in the ASEAN region and entrepreneur in attracting money at the same time and you know what [tone sounds sarcastically] ...? They compensated us with a labour wage level (IMG, Mid-career).

The education system is really pathetic. How a noble profession such as that of an academic is not respected by our own government? Even the parking attendant gets a higher salary than us. Those corrupt politicians are enjoying money (sic) by doing nothing and the responsibility to build this country's future is put upon us... academics, who are underpaid. I am thinking about quitting my career as an academic and becoming a politician [sounds sarcastic] (SAAT, Mid-Career).

The above excerpts evidently provide a contextual background of the participants' identity work. MM mentioned that she needs to take on an extra job as an online

fashion boutique seller to overcome her financial problem. MM consciously admitted that her academic responsibilities were neglected due to the external side job and it created tensions in her, as her online fashion seller identity was more salient than her academic identity. In addition, IMG criticised the government by describing how the demanding profession of an academic was not recognised properly because its compensation level was equal to the labour wage level. Another excerpt from SAAT above indicates the inequality in the compensation system. SAAT expressed her frustration as she has to consider giving up her academic career to become a politician. It is understandable that by becoming a politician, her financial wellbeing will improve. In comparison to an academic, a politician's annual salary is Rp. 797.928.000 or around AU\$ 79.000 (Hermawan, 2015), whereas a full professor's annual salary is, at the most, around Rp. 276.000.000 or around AU\$ 27.600 (Hamid, 2015). Moreover, SAAT criticised the lifestyle of the politicians who are perceived as 'corrupt' and 'doing nothing', whereas she, as an academic, was struggling to fulfil her performance requirements and at the same time trying to educate students but is being poorly rewarded.

In addition to financial compensation, the research participants also commented about non-financial compensation such as the poor academic supporting facilities. For example:

Everyone talks about becoming a world class academic and world class university. To be honest, I don't think my university will be able to reach DIKTI's visions in year 2025. It is hard for us to be world class academics and compete with academics from other countries because we are not equipped with the latest technology in our laboratory. Every time we ask for the improvement, the rejection will come instantly. So practically, all I can do is just to sit all day long in my laboratory playing a computer game, because there is nothing I can do (FA, Junior).

Despite the implementation of an entrepreneurial university, infrastructure procurement including laboratory facilities is still centralised. Every year, each university has to submit an annual budget to the Indonesian Minister of Research, Technology and Higher Education. Next, the Ministry proposes to the *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* (DPR) or People's Representative Council to pass its annual national collective budget. However, in reality, it is hard to pass the total proposed

budget in the proposals. A university sometimes gets a maximum 80% of their total proposed budget.

Most of participants encounter constant challenges on their identity, and thus, their resentment emerges at the point where they are unable to cope with the situation which has not changed. As part of the identity work process, resentment translates as an emotional experience of helplessness of participants towards the abovementioned social contradictions. Their anger also generates from the imbalanced treatments they perceive. The imbalances are in the form of provision of facilities to regions outside of Java:

Government always put the same performance standards upon academics. This is not fair! Because Indonesian academic career will be influenced by the same standards regardless of our location... And academics outside Java Island do not have any access to the proper facilities compared to the academics in Java Island. That's why now I don't want to be bothered with this career bla bla bla thing. Now I would rather work with NGO's, because I can focus on my field and be recognised and rewarded at the same time (ER, Junior).

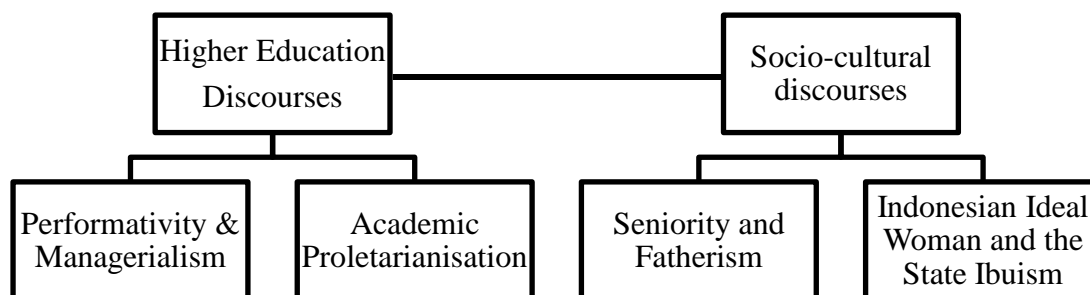
The low remuneration, along with insufficient supporting infrastructures, creates an unhealthy academic environment, discouraging women to devote their life in pursuing their career in the academic profession and compelling them to seek alternative fields where they can apply their expertise and get rewarded. Moreover, due to the increasing pressures from government to publish more research papers in order to compete with countries in the ASEAN regional, many academics feel that the productivity objectives are unrealistic, because they will not able to conduct proper research without proper support and facilities. The following section outlines the influence of the socio-cultural discourses which contribute to the limited social identities of female academics in Indonesian public universities.

5.2.1.2 Socio-cultural discourses

University is not only the habitat of academic discourses, but is also embedded within the socio-cultural discourses. The connection between Indonesian higher education discourses and socio-cultural based contexts is that of a dialectical relationship, because discourses are not only enveloped within the effect of context, but it also simultaneously impacts, shapes or transforms context. Thus, they are connected in the conceptual framework presented in this study.

The participants are placed at the intersection of the Indonesian higher education discourses and socio-cultural based discourses, or in this case, the seniority (*Fatherism*) discourse and the Indonesian ideal woman (*State Ibuism*) discourse (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3 Socio-cultural based discourses



5.2.1.2.1 Seniority and Fatherism

This research reveals the persistence of traditional socio-cultural values in the discourses. In Indonesia, most children have been raised and taught within a cultural and social context of compliance. Children are taught to listen and to obey their elders' instructions and requests because older people are always true, experienced, know everything, are wiser, powerful and authoritative (Zulfikar, 2013). Younger people are required to be polite and respectful to older people, not only in the family and society, but also in the workplace. Younger people are taught that they must not express any ideas that may contradict their parents or other older people (Zulfikar, 2013). These cultural values are reinforced in school where children are more likely to be knowledge receivers, not knowledge seekers. Children, therefore, hesitate to express their critical and/or creative thinking, to ask questions or make comments to their teachers or about their teaching materials (Zulfikar, 2013). Nevertheless, it is still reflected in this research.

There are also unwritten laws on how we should behave towards the seniors. When I was a junior academic, I had to suppress my ego and my own character and identity at work. No matter how smart and well-educated you are, as a young academic, all you have to do is sit, listen, and watch the seniors. So, I must not say anything before asked to do so; I must not interrupt when a senior is talking. Saying no to their request is a big big sin. You don't do that (TNSD, Senior).

I was trying to give my opinion to solve the accreditation problems in our faculty, but I got warned by seniors... I do not have any rights to say anything because I was just a junior academic. I still have to sit,

watch, and learn, and wait for my turn, they said. And then my friend also would like to give his advice on the problems but he was also reprimanded just like me. (DW, Junior).

According to the excerpts above, the influence of seniority is evident in this research. Regardless of their gender, young academics are expected to be passive in order to maintain a harmonious relationship with senior academics, even if this means they have to comply with unreasonable and irrelevant requests from the seniors, such as “when I was a young academic, I used to drive my senior to the fish market after the work hour every day” (YR, Mid-career) and “they [seniors] instructed me to write research papers for them, so they can use the credit points to advance their career” (FA, Junior).

In this research, most young academics feel that they were exploited by their seniors in dealing with heavy and demanding workloads, which was mostly related to the teaching and administrative things.

Seniors are only pursuing their external side job or teaching at the postgraduate degree because it offers much more money than the undergraduate... and I am the one who covers all the teaching in undergraduate classes. I don't have my own time to do my own work. That's why I was stuck in the junior level for a long time just for being a personal assistant for the senior (KO, Mid-Career).

The main reason for the above participants to feel frustrated is because she was spending most of her time fulfilling her seniors' responsibilities in teaching (she mentioned about being a *personal assistant* to her senior), whereas her seniors were focussing more on their research, which is significant in the progression of their academic career and only focussed in teaching at the postgraduate level as it offers greater financial rewards. As a result, the junior academic did not have enough time to do her own research and publication, which led to her career stagnation.

On the other hand, senior academics perceive that their requests to their juniors is part of the empowerment and mentoring programme, which eventually helps the junior academics gain experience, which is beneficial for their future career. As a Professor have admitted:

To fulfil the requirements from DIKTI, I just empower the young academics in my faculty. I don't have enough time to do them all. It is a win-win solution, because I got the (credit) points and sometimes I will give them the coins (financial reward). I need the (career credit/KUM)

points to advance my career and they need the experience. I taught them not to be spoilt academics, so they can be independent, tough, and smart which would bring them success like what I experience (FD, Senior).

In terms of seniority, the young participants felt that they had to compromise their academic freedom in order to deal with their seniors in the university.

The worst thing is when your superior intervening your authority. There was a student who did not deserve to graduate and apparently this student was a family member of the Dean from another faculty. My superior told me to pass the student; I really feel sinful and helpless. I don't own that academic freedom anymore (ELW, Junior).

Up till present, Indonesians, especially government employees and civil servants, are still required to know about the unwritten rules and to behave correctly in their organisational activities, particularly when dealing with an older person who has a higher rank and/or position. In order to advance their career, academics as government employees need their superiors to provide and fill their *Daftar Penilaian Pelaksanaan Pekerjaan* (DP3)/annual performance appraisal report. This has also been acknowledged by the research participants, as their superiors tend to use the DP3 assessment as a tool to intimidate young academics whenever they challenge or debate with their superiors at the workplace. Lower marks are given to these young academics' performance dimensions in the DP3, especially on loyalty, obedience and cooperation. Moreover, lower marks mean that these young academics cannot advance their rank in time and have to wait for the next assessment period.

You know what? I was treated unfairly by my Dean just because I did not choose the person whom he supported at the Head of department election. Then, I was summoned and reprimanded by the Dean because I was not able to cooperate and obey his instruction. I defended myself and asked for the freedom to be different and to be more democratic in the election. He said, "hey, young girl. Let me tell you something. You don't know anything about democracy. I learnt about democracy far before you OR even your parents were born". Then when I received my DP3 report, I only got 50 points both on my compliance and cooperation aspect" (HLN, Junior).

As has been mentioned earlier in Chapter 2, the national identity of Indonesia was derived dominantly from the Javanese cultures. The nature of Javanese relationships within an organisational context is strongly influenced by the nature of Javanese relationships in a family context, which was promoted massively during the New Order era. One of the guiding principles for interpersonal relationships within a

family context is that of *Bapakism*, which translates as “Fatherism”. The Fatherism principle is manifested as strong obedience for the charismatic fatherly figure. It strengthens the patriarchal values and it not only permeates the family boundaries, but also into broader society. Moreover, the “Fatherism”, Western based performativity and the patriarchal local cultures amalgamated and preserved the masculine dominations in the workplace, especially at universities. This confirms Deleuze-Guattari’s concept of deterritorialisation. The notion of “Fatherism” was strongly glorified by the New Order government which deterritorialised the diverse local cultures spread across Indonesia. This was intended to create a sense of togetherness, a harmonious nation and to create respect towards the great “Father” figure of the nation that is Soeharto.

In the larger social and organisational context, this can be seen in respect of the contextually appropriate authoritative “father figure”, who could be a teacher, leader or manager. Essentially, this principle is a form of Javanese paternalism and patronage that expects compliance and respect within the Javanese society. The values of *Bapakism* that reflect the patronage beyond family relationships are embodied within the values of *Hormat* (respect). Geertz (1961) describes *Hormat* as a Javanese term, which can be interpreted as the respect for superior rank that is carried out as a proper practice of etiquette. The concept of *Bapakism* contributes to the practice of *ABS* (*Asal Bapak Senang*/doing whatever to keep the boss happy) in Indonesia (Deanabila, 2016; Eklof, 2004). To please the boss/superior, one must agree with whatever the boss is saying or doing and one should never question and critique the superior or older people. The “yes-man” culture is also discourages the freedom of speech, democracy and academic freedom in this regard up till the present (Deanabila, 2016). In addition to the normal regulations that influence the superior/subordinate relationship, the Javanese are also guided by a life philosophy that influences their relationships with other people, whether they are Javanese or non-Javanese. This philosophy, *Nrimo*, means acceptance. *Nrimo* emphasises the importance of always accepting somebody’s argument with respect and be satisfied with the current situation or status. Again, this idea is related to the primary objective of Javanese life – to build harmony, a belief which is referred to earlier explanation. Geertz justifies that “the determination to maintain the performance of social harmony to minimise the overt expression of any kind of social and personal conflict,

is based on the Javanese view that the emotional equilibrium, emotional stasis, is of the highest worth, and on the corresponding moral imperative to control one's own impulses, to keep them out of awareness or at least unexpressed, so as not to set up reverberating emotions in others" (1961, p. 147). Till now, academics are still expected to obey these cultures in the workplace.

5.2.1.2.2 Indonesian Ideal Woman and the State Ibuism

At the organisational level, the participants seem to not only draw resources from work-related discourses, but also from their social category identity as a woman. It was found that the research participants voiced their concerns about how they consistently negotiated their non-work identity as a woman in the work environment because they are more acknowledged as women, rather than academics. In terms of their social identities as women, research participants explained that they were limited by the social norms related to gender.

Regardless of their gender, Indonesian academics are expected to perform the same workload in order to progress their career, whereas in the society, Indonesian women are still required to conform to their *Kodrat* (women's inherent nature and fate as formulated by the New Order government [see Chapter 2]) as a woman, which is to be passive, submissive and remain in the home domain as defined by *State Ibuism* values. Moreover, in the workplace, it was found that while most of the participants walk through the identity work processes in becoming academics, there were also extra work for them to reconcile their identity as an academic with their identity as a woman. As a result, their identity as a woman and as an academic seems to be conflicting as soon as they are performed at the same time.

During the 32 years of the New Order regime, the role of mothers and wives underwent housewifification and domestication. Housewifification is defined as "a process by which women are socially defined as housewives, dependent for their sustenance on the income of their husbands; irrespective of whether they are de facto housewives or not; the social definition of housewives is the counterpart of the social definition of men as breadwinners, irrespective of their actual contribution to their families' subsistence" (Suryakusuma, 2004, pp. 162–163). Moreover, domestication is understood as how women are strongly placed in the domestic domain (Sen, 1998) as women are limited and merely responsible for the reproductive function. As

explained earlier in the literature review chapter, top and strategic positions in organisations like universities are strongly associated with masculine values and dominated by the male academics. On the other hand, domestic matters, like household work and babysitting are seen as belonging to the woman's domain.

An Indonesian ideal woman is expected to carry out at least three roles in her life. The first one is to be a devoted daughter, second is to be an obedient wife and lastly, a loving mother. Moreover, regardless of their marital status, it is a woman's responsibility to take care of their parents. It was found from the interviews that the participants' decision to be an academic professional was predominantly made by their parents. Most participants agreed that the motivation behind their parents' encouragement was the flexibility of working time. By having a flexible working hour, it is expected that a woman can still have enough time to look after their family.

My parents always encouraged me to be an academic, as an academic woman is able to take care of her family while working because of the flexibility [working] hour (KO, Mid-career).

My dream since I was a kid is to become a teacher. When I graduated my junior high school, I planned to join the SPG (Sekolah Pendidikan Guru/ Teacher Education Vocational School) instead of the normal High School... but my Junior High School Principal told my father that I will leave my hometown instantly as soon as I become student in SPG and therefore I will be placed far from my family. As a daughter, I was obliged to stay with my parents. And as I completed my High School, I was interested in going to engineering, but my father prohibited me again. He told me that I should go to a more feminine field and become a PNS (government employee) (TS, senior).

It was found that when participants entered the educational institutions, they were designated by their family to the soft courses or subjects that matched their gender identity, as expressed by TS. The participants felt that they have no choice in choosing their favourite subjects or courses. Women are expected to obey their parents in every single aspect whereas men are expected to be more independent in choosing their own destiny. Another logical explanation is that parents always encourage their children to become government employees (*Pegawai Negeri Sipil/PNS*). In Indonesian culture, by becoming a *PNS*, a person gains a respectable status in the society, he/she gets a fixed rate monthly salary (regardless of the performance outcomes), he/she is still able to take care of the family because of the

flexible and lenient working hour (five days and around 35 hours per week), he/she is entitled to the monthly fixed pension fund (which is received for the rest of the life and if a PNS dies, his/her widow and children are still entitled to receive the pension fund) and it is very difficult to get a government employee fired, even when the employee was proved to be conducting serious violation such as being absent in the workplace for a long time.

Furthermore, the socio-cultural discourses confine a woman to viewing herself as an obedient wife. All of the participants mentioned that they have experienced such social pressures to get married. A woman is required to get married, because marriage is regarded as a factor that would enhance their lives and it would complete their identity as an ideal woman. The following quote from JH (Senior academic) represents the common social pressures that have been encountered by the participants in this research:

Batak woman will be considered as a successful woman when she completed 3 things in her life. First, married a Batak man. Secondly, raised children in Batak (way/method). And lastly, to find a Batak in-law. In the reality, society always has their excuses to find a woman's flaw. When I was in my college, everybody was like asking, "when you will be graduated?" After I graduated, the next question will be, "When will you start working?" And shortly after I worked, people started to ask me question, "Why don't you get married?" After I got married, people then questioned me, "Why aren't you pregnant yet?" After I had my baby, people will ask again, "what kind of milk did you give to your baby? Is it your breast milk or formula?" Not long after that, they will ask again, "when will you have another child?" After I had another baby, they asked that, "Oh you got two boys now... you should try to get a baby girl now".... So every time I responded to such questions, I was the one who always wrong. No matter what I answered, they would come up with their own judgment and their perceptions were always right. I remember that I used to not work because I had to take care of my first baby; people were concerned that it was a waste if I don't work as I have my degrees. And after I decided to get back to work, the same people questioned my decision, they said that, "wow, you are back to work? Who is going to take care of your children?", "Don't let the nanny replace your duty as a mother", they said. When we deal with society, there will be endless pressures for sure.

Despite JH is a Batak woman, the other participants, regardless of their ethnicity and location, mentioned similar experiences regarding endless social pressures on them to get married and have children. Moreover, when asked whether the spouses support their career, most of participants mentioned that their husband was very supportive.

However, there were two participants, when asked the same question, mentioned that:

My husband divorced me because of my work... he always complained that I put more focus on my work than focus on the family, but that's what it takes to be an academic. I am not the one who makes all the rules, because I am just a junior staff with massive workloads... He felt neglected because I was too busy for work. I know that he was just afraid that I will be more successful than him (ER, Junior).

My husband is very supportive but he just couldn't resist his family intervention about my career. I was going to be promoted to be the Head of Department but my mother-in-law convinced my husband to tell me to not accept the promotion (TNSD, Mid-career).

The first excerpt from ER obviously states that a working woman must bear the opportunity cost of the work-family conflict. In this excerpt, “he” represents ER’s former husband. She viewed that her former husband was opposing her career as he demanded ER to conform to her traditional role as a wife. Moreover, she perceived that her husband was afraid that ER’s career will outshine him. This would harm his pride as a man, because in this society men are required to be at a higher position and better than woman, including career.

In addition, the last excerpt from TNSD suggests that the extended family’s influences also intervene in one’s private domain. It was found that it was related to the reputation or the social status of the extended family in the society, which will be put to risk, as soon as a woman does not conform to the traditional values and social norms like in TNSD’s case. Similar to ER’s case, TNSD’s mother in-law was afraid that TNSD’s new position as Head of Department would make TNSD’s husband socially inferior. It seems that the married participants were impeded by cultural factors from their parents-in-law, who never want their son to be inferior to his wife; and at the same time, the parents-in-law want their daughter-in-law to focus on her responsibilities at home, not at work.

Thus, it was discovered that the participants with children have difficulties in maintaining a prospective career, because she is expected to carry out her duties as a full-time mother, despite also having busy schedule at their work as an academic.

My career slowed down as soon as we got our first baby. Apparently, having children is a career killer for me because I just can't have dirty diapers and the research report at the same time (FD, Senior).

I really want to achieve everything, but... when you have own your kids, they will be your first priority... I don't want to leave them and I don't want everyone to think that I neglect my family just because of my work. My husband wanted to help me but his parents never allowed him to help me in childrearing (SUL, Mid-career).

It is hard to go to the field work when you are married, not to mention when you have three kids... I feel I need a wife instead of a husband... Hahahaha... (ELW, Junior).

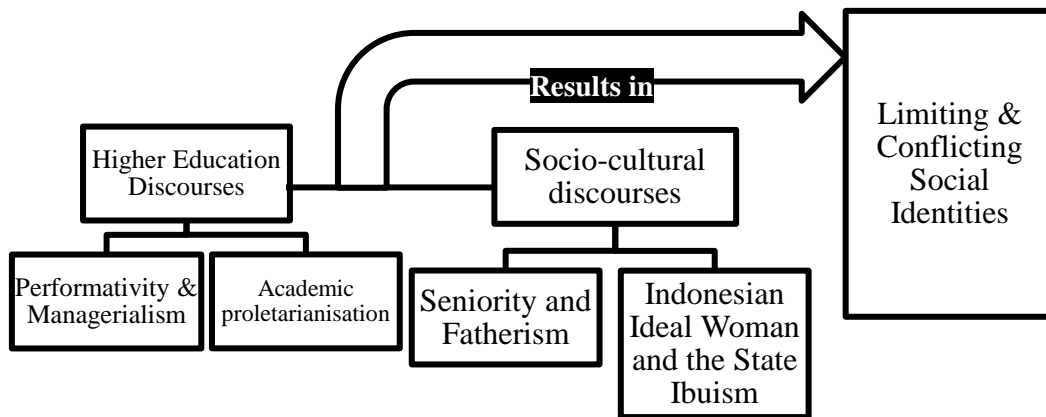
From ELW's excerpt above, it is clear that she felt it was difficult to do field work and take care of her family at the same time. The reason she mentioned that she "need a wife instead of a husband" was because the meaning of the word "wife" in the Indonesian society is strongly associated with the person who is responsible for the domestic matters, taking care of the spouse and the children and even for the women themselves. This finding represents the issue of work-life balance occurring among the female academics, which in turn influences their career trajectories and eventually contribute to the women's underrepresentation in senior positions.

The above identified major discourses appear significant in generating a complex, multidiscursive environment in which female academics attempt to negotiate and manage the tensions around their academic identity. These obvious tensions are as follows: (i) between managerialism and traditional academic values, (ii) between pressures to engage in global competition and the poor compensation for academics, (iii) conflicting relationship between senior academics and junior academics, as a result of cultural factors and pressures of performativity and (iv) ambiguity of identity between gender identity and professional identity. This is connected to the limiting and conflicting social identities available to the participants, which is elaborated in the following section.

5.2.2 Limiting and conflicting social identities

As explained earlier in the literature review, organisation is an arena where individuals struggle to construct and deconstruct their identities within "organisationally based discursive regimes" (Clarke, Brown & Hope-Hailey, 2009, p. 325); moreover, inside organisations, individuals are required to employ resources from the available discourses (Kuhn, 2009; Watson, 2008), which not only reinforces, but sometimes limits and conflicts each other. This is reflected in the findings of this research (Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4 Limiting and conflicting social identities



Despite identity theories (Cheney, 1991; Foreman & Whetten, 2002; Phillips & Hardy, 1997) arguing that people are able to manage their multiple identities, in this research it was found that women have a limited range of available identities. This is confirmed by MMM (Senior):

I tried to be myself at work, but I could not. I feel that I am a different person in my workplace and another one in my family environment. I just do not want to be like this forever, because I can't deal with all of these identity-juggling anymore.

She attempted to manage her multiple identities and she realised that it would be difficult to cope with. Her position of being placed at the intersection of multiple and conflicting external pressures is also common for the other participants in this research.

In this research, the available social identities are derived from the major (dominant) discourses mentioned earlier. The dominant discourses organises social identities into several prescribed categories. It seems that women are limited to the identities prescribed by the New Order government, whereas those who do not refer to these prescribed identities are seen as deviations and thus, social sanctions are enacted, most of which are in the form of alienation and also uses defamation as a tool in the community.

All of the research participants related to the experiences of limiting social identities, which eventually generated conflicts among them. Moreover, these conflicts emerged as a result of what participants perceived as their authentic self and what they were expected to become. However, there were only limited number of social

identities available as prescribed by the major discourses that were offered to women; hence, it would initiate and influence the participants' identity work process. The social identities in this research are based on Watson's category of social identities (2008).

According to the interview data, it was found that while women enter the workforce, it is expected by their family and the society that their academic profession is only their 'side jobs', because their primary duty as a woman is to be a homemaker, not the breadwinner. For each of the research participants, their social-category social-identity (Watson, 2008) as a woman conflicts with their formal organisational identity as an academic. The interview data revealed that participants constantly negotiated their social-category social-identity in the work environment, because they are acknowledged more based on their physical appearance and their identity as a woman, instead of their professional identity as academics. This is perceived as one of the main reasons why progression in career trajectories of women academics is very slow, because they do not have enough opportunities to show their competency as they are limited by the socially defined image of a woman.

I remember that I used to be the only woman in this regional research annual meeting and the Chairman introduced me as the 'most beautiful person in the room'... and people started to laugh. I was really offended, because my physical appearance is more appreciated than my intellectual ability... I didn't know what I had to do so I could be recognised... I mean, it felt like I am invisible or something at work (FD, Senior).

Based on FD's excerpt above, it is apparent that despite the fact that the annual research meeting was attended by prominent researchers across the region, FD's expertise was suppressed by her gender identity as the only woman in the room. In other words, participants are simultaneously highly visible as women, but at the same time their competencies as academics are invisible. This is also made worse by the common perception that women should be placed under the supervision of men in formal strategic positions in an organisation. As expressed by HLO:

This foreign research donor appointed me as the Head of the Committee for the joint research programme between my former university in Netherlands (anonymised place) and my university in Jayapura. However, the Dean modified the structure of the committee by appointing a senior professor to be the new Head, and reassigned me as the treasurer. When I asked him why he did that, he just simply

said, "I think you will suit in the treasurer position, because you are a married woman, you should take care of your children and give more of your time to them. Being a Head of committee is not an easy responsibility, because you must devote all your time in the programme" (Mid-career).

The research excerpt above suggests that the perceptions and experiences of stereotypes are common regardless of the marital status of the participants. Married participants, especially those with children, are expected to be present at home to take care of their family and do the domestic activities, as soon as they finish their schedule at campus; whereas the single participants are still expected to take care of their parents. Moreover, the excerpts provide overwhelming experiences of the participants, that while they were working as academics, there were significant challenges in constructing their authentic academic identity, let alone perform as an authentic academic in advancing their career. One of these is the experience of being confronted with the ideal of a woman that is not compatible with the image of the contemporary academic, who works in the high-speed organisation and is strongly associated with high-level of productivity.

It was found that the participants questioned their authentic identity as academics. A common perception in Indonesia is that people believe that the authentic female academics are those who can take care of their family, obey their husband belonging to the domestic domain and at the same time work as an academic. At the same time, the additional pressure of performativity also sets its own standards in defining the ideal, authentic and successful academic. Participants felt that their current academic profession is only fit for men, as mentioned below:

Society always puts double standards on us. As a woman, we are expected to be passive, take care of the family, and obey the social norms and at the same time, as an academic, we are expected to be productive and active. How come the women are able to compete and succeed as academics? On the other hand, men are expected to succeed in their career... they have to be successful. And they don't experience any negative stereotyping and discrimination against them in the society. Academics should dress in a religious manner. If academic Moslem women are demanded to wear hijab at work, why the Moslem men are not demanded to wear their songkok [Moslem Hat for man] in the university? I really am confused about these double standards (SUL, Mid-career).

It is somewhat surprising that most of the participants, regardless of their religion and faith, rejected the idea that religious teachings and values were hindering their career; instead, they suggested that these religious teachings were being misinterpreted to benefit men:

The misconceptions of cultural and religious teachings are the biggest barriers for a woman to progress her career. I believe that my religion is very respectful to women. Islam even states that heaven lies on a mother's foot palm ... there is a hadith [Prophet Muhammad PBUH's saying] that highlights the importance of your mother as a woman three times before respecting your father. Also, Islam is about equality, no difference among women and men in the Allah's sight, the only thing that differ them is their good deeds to Allah. Islam never forbids a woman to work. Prophet Muhammad's wife was a really wealthy merchant ... there is even a chapter in Holy Qur'an named An-Nisaa, The Women (SAAT, Mid-career).

Many people think that Hindu women are placed far behind the men, so the women are the subordinate of the men in Hindu context. For me, it is not like that... as I read the Hindu Holy Book of Manawa Dharma Sastra... I then understand the position and the status of Hindu women.... Hindu women are hard workers, she should be the leader of her family... there is a Sloka [prayer/song] which says that as soon as the women are respected, then all of the sacred rituals between creatures and the Gods will be accepted, because Gods will be very happy in blessing us (GAKS, Senior).

I never feel that my faith is limiting my career. It is just some people who use it and manipulate it for their own interests. It is very clear in the Holy Bible; in the Galatians it is clearly justified; the equality of human being, regardless of their gender. Also remember... the story of Hana, the woman prophet (ELW, Junior).

On the contrary, there was a participant who alluded to the notion of how her religious teachings and values were a significant factor in her career trajectory. ASM (Junior) said that:

Women are supposed to behave according to what the society and religion tells them... according to my religion the leader is the man, not the woman, so I just I have to obey it... I am aware of my position [as a woman] and accept it as is. No matter what, [I have to obey the teachings] because religion is the most important thing for me.

To deal with this conflict, ASM had to compartmentalise her identity. ASM kept her authentic identity only for herself and displayed the accepted identity in her surroundings:

I realise that my kodrat as a woman is a difficult thing to do. I have to be a perfect mother to my children and perfect wife to my husband. I have to conceal my own interests. Sometimes even when I feel angry, helpless, and depressed, I have to cover them all, suppress my emotions. I should show them like nothing has happened and everything is okay.

This may be explained because ASM has a traditional, conservative background. She explains that religious values are important in her family. Her father was the son of a religious clerk in the 1970–1980s eras. Her father was a senior civil servant during the New Order period in Central Java. From the quote and the personal background of ASM, it can be seen that the strong values of State Ibuism in the New Order period are overlaid by strict religious values that are embedded in her life. Moreover, the result suggests that conflicts between social identity as a woman and formal role identity as an academic create tensions, which allow an identity in a private domain to permeate another identity in the professional domain, and vice versa.

Another interesting finding from the research is that the limited social identities of women also occur in the Minangkabau women-dominated culture in Padang, West Sumatera. Even though the Minangkabau society is matriarchal, women are underrepresented in senior positions, especially in public organisations. A common view amongst the participants is that their local cultural values and identities do not represent an authentic identity anymore due to the hegemony of State Ibuism values during the New Order period.

Women used to get the priority in every aspect... women are the gold [sic] in this society, but it is (local culture) diminished now, especially in Padang... Now everything is like we are in Java... the way we talk and behave, it's like Javanese. We used to call an older man as "Uda" in Minangkabau, however, now everyone is called "Mas" (means brother in Javanese language), regardless of their ethnicity (LM, Junior).

Moreover, the shifting of local cultural values was mainly caused:

When they started to open branch of government organisations or public institutions in this area, the head or the leader was not Minang people, most of them were brought from Java... So they [the New Order regime] built a strong foundation of their culture upon us. They infiltrated our culture, they entrenched their culture into ours... they created symbols, rituals, ceremonial which were based on their culture in order to preserve their power (DW, Junior).

These excerpts seem to provide evidence that even within social-category social-identities, there were discrepancies between the image of women as expected by the dominant discourses and the image of women as expected by the local cultures. Thus, such is the identity work among research participants, especially in the sense of the authenticity. Moreover, the findings suggest that despite the authoritarian government of the New Order era having ended 16 years ago, the gender identity concept of State-Ibuism is felt by the research participants even today.

To explain how a matriarchal society in Minangkabau has gradually changed, we can see a proof of deterritorialisation by the dominant national patriarchal cultures during the New Order era. Not only that, the local matriarchal culture has also been gradually deterritorialised by the academic performativity culture since 2008, which reinforces the masculine-based success concept in the workplace. The State Ibuism and Fatherism discourses blur the boundaries between the local cultural values, the national cultural values of State Ibuism and Fatherism and becomes integrated. Altogether, they become a strong dominant discourse territory in influencing identity work of female academics.

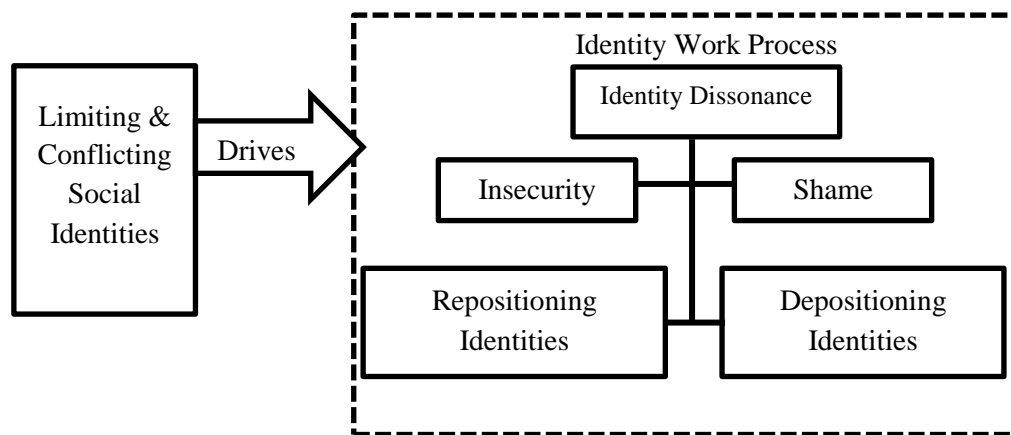
Without disregarding the availability of social identities as proposed by Watson (2008), the above excerpts provide confirmatory evidence that there were limiting and conflicting social identities that generated ambiguity in participants' identity work. During these conflictual events, it can be argued that the identity work process takes place among the participants, as it involves their sense of authenticity as academics. The participants are not able to authentically construct their own academic identity because it seems that the socio-cultural discourses coupled with the Western based performativity and the local patriarchal cultures are embedded in the workplace setting. While women are still expected to conform to the seniority cultures, they also are required to adhere to their socially prescribed identities within the State Ibuism discourse at the same time. In order to capture their struggle of searching for the authentic academic identity, the processes of identity work has been elaborated in the following section.

5.2.3 Identity Work Process

The analysis reveals how the research participants constantly perform identity work as their agentic efforts in searching for an authentic academic identity. The identity

work process occurs as participants experience conflicts in their social identities, which influence their academic identity construction. The limiting and contradicting social identities available for female academics drive and ignite such identity work process among them. The heterogeneity of reality that consists of the above conditions is interconnected, thus acting as resources in the academic identity work process. As we know, identity work is not a fixed, static entity, but a constantly moving set of potential connections made by the participants in an ongoing processes which consists of identity dissonance stage which eventually leads the research participants into the next stage, i.e. either to reposition their identities or to deposition their identities (Figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5 Academic identity work process



5.2.3.1 Identity Dissonance

Identity dissonance arises from the conflicting experiences that are commonly encountered by the research participants in the initial stage of their identity work. As a response of the overwhelming social identity conflicts and limiting social identities offered by the dominant discourses, the research participants at this stage seem to experience a combination of insecurity and shame.

5.2.3.1.1 Insecurity

The experiences of conflict between social identities are associated with insecurity. Moreover, the panoptic control over academic performance and productivity is strongly connected to being a successful academic or a non-successful academic. The research participants agreed that they avoided being categorised as the latter type of

academic. Hence, the constant control and standardised performance system created insecurities among the research participants.

In year 2016, when the ASEAN Economic Community started, Malaysian and Singaporean academics are permitted to work and teach in Indonesian universities and vice versa. I don't know how I am going to deal with this competition and publication pressures, because the standard and the measurement are always increasing each year. I always feel that I am not good enough to be a proper academic and not ready to compete (SUL, Mid-career).

It was a common response of insecurity that has its origins in the regional competition in 2016 at the ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) Economic Community. The participants were worried that now they would not be able to compete with the foreign academics as the part of regionalisation and the performativity based programmes implementation. It should be highlighted that SUL mentioned Malaysian and Singaporean academics, instead of academics from other ASEAN countries, such as Thailand or Philippine. It is understandable because DIKTI always refers the former countries as major competitors in the education sector, whereas in terms of the productivity level of academics, DIKTI compares Indonesian academics with Malaysian academics.

Insecurity was not only experienced by young and mid-career academics, but also by the senior participants. GAKS (Professor) mentioned that *“I feel I am not able to do the research anymore, because everything is very quick and I am getting old... Though I put my efforts in 101%, I still feel I am not able to compete with other scientists”*. The insecurity feeling experienced by this senior participant is understandable because professors are required to fulfil the annual publication targets from DIKTI. Otherwise, they have their professorship revoked.

In practice, senior academics admitted that they employ younger academics to assist them in pursuing their annual target. As a result, younger academics feel insecure, especially during their early years of tenure. Younger academics hesitate in fulfilling their seniors' instructions because, *“most of them only use us for their own interests, I wrote a paper myself for my senior but I never get acknowledged even as the second writer”* (FA, Junior). The possible explanation is that when a published paper has a second author, then the credit points are divided in the 60:40 ratios. Apparently, senior academics do not want to share the 40% of the total points by adding a second

author, because, “*I need the whole credit point to secure my professorship for the next year assessment*” (JH, Professor).

As a consequence of the unfair treatment from their seniors, most of the young academics reject their seniors’ instructions. Younger academics perceive that they already have their own targets, not to mention their domestic responsibilities at home; whereas on the other hand, their works are not recognised by their seniors. By rejecting their seniors, younger academics also feel insecure because of the fear of jeopardising their career.

As long as what my superior tells me to do is in line with my job descriptions and with my duties as a public servant, I will be more than happy to do it. But, I was asked to write the research report by one of my seniors in the faculty. I refused... because I know his bad track record... suddenly he threatened me that he would not let my career progress. I was afraid if he was going to prove what he said (FA, Junior).

On the other hand, SUL (Mid-career) mentioned that she felt insecure in obeying her seniors’ instruction that resulted in ambiguity about the situation and identity:

These people (seniors at the faculty and department) are always asking for my help and I always feel it is an obligation for me to fulfil their requests, even if I don’t want to do it. Sometimes I want to reject their requests, but I am worried, because I used to be their student in here. I don’t want them to think that I am not a good academic. I just don’t know how to put myself in my faculty. Should I act as a former student or as their academic colleague?

Apparently, SUL felt insecure because she had to keep her identity as a former student in order to maintain her academic identity in front of her seniors. SUL hesitated to authentically construct her own professional identity as an academic because she felt that she is still a student in her senior’s eyes. In this research, there are eight participants who were former students in their universities. It was found that their academic identities were not authentically constructed as the dominant part of their identity as former students is still attached to their present, professional identity as academics, as illustrated by SUL’s quote above. This result suggests that identity work is a consequence of the insecurity that is experienced by the participants.

Regarding their identity as a woman, the research participants also admitted that they constantly felt insecure when they began to construct their authentic academic identity. Again, it confirms that their gender identity as a woman conflicted with their efforts in constructing their authentic academic identity. As HLO (Mid-career) states:

Probably doing those demanding tasks in campus, doing research and publishing papers were not as hard as people perceived. Maybe I can do all of that... But what I am worried about is the issue that I am a single woman. People around me keep bothering me with the same stupid question and comment like, "When you are going to marry? Even though you are the smartest employee in your work or you got a PhD from abroad... You are not a complete woman if you are not married yet". Their constant treatments made me feel that I was a worthless woman because of my single status, even at work.

It is clear that participants' main concern is about how their struggle to overcome the social pressures regarding their gender identity is greater than the struggle to deal with performativity pressures. This leads to an understanding that as it is hard for participants to change the embedded patriarchal values, their desire to seek authenticity in their academic identity and their efforts should be channelled to the alternative trajectories somewhere within the field of the dominant discourses.

The following excerpt indicates how insecurity from the past echoes back to the present time and shapes this participant's academic identity work and her future prospective career:

I came back to Indonesia just because of my mother. Because of the 1998 riot, I was not sure that I would call Indonesia my home or not... it was very different. I used to be paranoid about everything during my early years. Since I came back to Indonesia, I felt insecure with the public space; I felt that I can be victimised anytime and anywhere. I needed time to rebuild my trust with Indonesia. So as I got back to my job as an academic and I just consciously tried to keep a low profile because I did not want to make a problem here and maybe because those incidents had really haunted me until now and I really, really don't want to experience it anymore (IMG, Mid-career).

An interesting case of insecurity is IMG. To avoid the negative impacts of the 1998 mass riot towards *WNI Keturunan* (Indonesian Citizen of Chinese descendants), IMG and her sister fled to Japan (anonymised place) to stay with her uncle and became an academic in there. Her mother stayed in Indonesia because "*my mother was a Pribumi and our savings only could afford two tickets to Japan*". She came back to

Indonesia in the year 2008 after being persuaded and assured by the Indonesian ambassador in Japan. IMG was convinced that the general situation in Indonesia was better than before and she was informed that she will get the similar privileges that she received in Japan, which included the latest vascular surgery facilities. She agreed to come back to Indonesia because it was her late mother's last wish.

IMG found out that the situation was much better than in the past. The facilities were constructed as promised, but she felt that the working atmosphere as an academic was not conducive. She encountered several unpleasant incidents at work, such as “(I) had to create payment receipts for a fake research project by my senior colleagues” and “bright career means you were successful not only in your work but also successful in making enemies”. Despite the fact that she was well-known in such an area of expertise where she was working in Japan, she felt that she had to suppress her authentic academic identity when she returned to Indonesia, because she feared that her outstanding achievements would create jealousy among her peers, which would eventually jeopardise her safety. Now, as her mother has passed away, she feels that it is time to reconsider her career in Indonesia and perhaps return to Japan. In IMG's case, she had to sacrifice her career by not exposing her authentic academic identity in the workplace. Similar to the case of ASM earlier, IMG intentionally had to compartmentalise her authentic academic identity because she was far more concerned about her and her family's safety.

IMG's academic identity was also overshadowed by her cultural identity as a half *Pribumi*-half Chinese woman. IMG mentioned that as a *Pribumi*-Chinese woman, she felt that her Chinese identity was more salient compared to her *pribumi* identity in the society. As a result, she still had to conform to the Chinese patriarchal values. She mentioned that “*this culture not only happened in Pribumi's culture but also in Chinese culture. That's why I said earlier that by being a Chinese woman, I was a minority in the minority itself*”. In addition, she also stated that she was alienated by the society during her childhood, because “*nobody wanted to befriend me because I am a Chinese*”. Her dominant identity as a Chinese made her felt inferior and later, insecure in her life as an adult woman and an academic. A possible explanation for this is that because during the New Order era under Soeharto' presidency, people of Chinese descent (*Warga Negara Indonesia Keturunan/WNI Keturunan*) in Indonesia

were discriminated against. Their social rights were limited in the society and their Chinese identity was suppressed during his 32 years of regime. IMG stated that:

We were nobody during the New Order. Every Chinese identity, symbol, and culture was eliminated during the period... we can't do anything freely because everything must be reported to and authorised by government department. We can't go to public university, can't be a PNS [government employee]. We were required to change our names in to something that sounds Indonesian... My (Chinese) family name is Goh and we had to change it into Gazali.

The above excerpt from IMG exposes the traumatic events during her childhood that peaked in the mass riot in May 1998 significantly shaping her identity, even at work. Interestingly, the excerpt from IMG above confirms Pick, Symons and Teo's (2015) work on identity work as a chronotopic process. It was found that IMG's sense of authenticity in constructing her academic identity was strongly influenced by particular events at a particular place and time, especially her past. IMG's identity work process and future career were shaped by the 1998 riot and her childhood chronotope. In relation to her childhood chronotope, IMG uses her childhood story as an inferior little girl, who was always alienated by her surroundings, added with the traumatic event of the 1998 riot to reaffirm her insecurity in her academic identity and the passive behaviour towards her future career. IMG's narrative of those events explain the ground reason for her particular behaviour to not expose her outstanding academic identity in her current workplace; also, this behaviour should not be understood as a weakness, but rather as something that is essential to her identity.

5.2.3.1.2 Shame

The experiences of the conflicting social identities also generated identity work in the form of shame. Shame as mentioned by the participants, is associated with insecurity as has been explained earlier.

I have to be a respected academic; therefore, I can be rich and knowledgeable. We used to be very poor; I don't want my children to experience the same (KO, Mid-career).

The status of being an academic is highly respected and commonly associated with wealth in Indonesian society. Most of the participants admitted that they had poor origins. As a consequence, it is a struggle to become academics to lift their social status and wellbeing. Moreover, the shame associated with poor background is relevant in the academic identity work, which influences their career. This result also

exemplifies the chronotopic nature of identity work. The childhood chronotope works as an impetus, as it recalls desires for the participants, and also can be deployed as an explanation for significant changes in the academics' career trajectory.

Even if the participants succeeded in working as academics, shame was still encountered. This time, the shame was generated from unpleasant events that they encountered when dealing with senior academics in their workplace.

I was very embarrassed because that senior was scolding and insulting me in front of my other colleagues, just because I refused to do his research report (ER, Junior).

I felt ashamed of myself, there was a student who didn't deserve to pass my class, but this professor, as the unit coordinator, told me to pass the student (TS, Senior).

The above excerpts illustrate shame felt by the participants in their workplace related to their powerlessness in relationships with senior staff. The sense of authenticity in academic identity is impeded by seniority in their academic culture. As mentioned by ER and TS, they felt ashamed because they were trying to be true to themselves and doing their job based on academic rules and ethics. But they felt shame about their inability to resist unfair decisions made by their seniors. This undermined their dignity and authority as academics, not only in front of their fellow academics, but also in front of their students.

I was humiliated in my student seminar, and many students were there. This senior professor acted as the principal examiner, I didn't know what I had done, but during the question and answer session, my student's answer seemed to dissatisfy him and then he started to attack me by questioning my capability as a student supervisor. What I really regretted was that he mentioned about my personal matter on this occasion. My reputation as a good academic was ruined because of him (FA, Junior).

FA's quote above illustrates that shame gets accentuated when private matters are brought into one's career identity. This is also echoed by HLN (Junior):

There was a research grant competition in my university and I felt that I was going to win it. But when I presented my proposal in front of the university selection committee, the Vice Head of Research Centre mentioned that I should not be the winner of this competition because I am a divorcee. He told me that "a divorcee status has shown one's inability in managing a simple responsibility like the household, so do

not expect to take care of a big responsibility like this research competition". I was very embarrassed, because my very personal thing was exposed in front of many colleagues. I know that they called me Mrs. Divorcee behind my back in my faculty. I know nobody will give me fair chances to show who I really am in this place, until I get married again.

In the Indonesian traditional society, being single through widowhood is commonly accepted and represents the credo "till death do us a part", the sign of true love among traditional marriage people; whereas being a divorcee is regarded as a disgrace for a woman, while a man is free from this judgment. It is considered as a taboo and a sign of a woman's incompetence in managing her family matters. Women who are divorced will more likely encounter cynical perceptions and will be gossiped about behind her backs, both in her working and social environment. HLN's quote above expressed that she was not only actively engaged in identity work in constructing her academic identity, but also in recreating her identity as a woman by combating the stigma of being a divorcee at the same time.

The dissonance experienced by participants trigger the repositioning or depositioning. This finding of identity work processes is best understood using Deleuze-Guattari's concepts of rhizomes. As argued by Deleuze and Guattari (1987), there is no single discourse that creates a reality; instead "rhizomes are associated with heterogeneity of reality" (1987, p. 7). As a consequence of their identity work, it was found in this research that, when the participants were divided into three major groups, the first two groups (groups 1 and 2) seemed to reposition and reinforce the dominant discourses while the third group (group 3) seemed to adopt a minor discourse, which added as a resistance by depositioning the dominant discourses.

5.2.3.2 Repositioning Identities

The occurrences of the identity dissonance triggered participants to reposition their academic identities as their endeavours in the identity work process. At this stage, despite identity work being a continuous process in the constructing and reconstructing of one's identity, the participants repositioned and restrengthened their academic identities by confirming to one out of the three available options. It should be highlighted that the available social identities in this research context did not offer many choices to the participants.

According to Watson (2008, p. 129), identity work “involves the mutually constitutive processes whereby people strive to shape a relatively coherent and distinctive notion of personal self- identity and struggle to come to terms with and, within limits, to influence the various social-identities which pertain to them in the various milieu in which they live their lives”. However, in the context of this research, the availability of social identities is limited by the dominant discourses. As a response to their identity work in dealing with the identity dissonance, participants were divided into two major groups. They are as follows:

1. Accepting their gender identities and rejecting masculine academic identity;
and
2. Rejecting their gender identities and accepting masculine academic identity

5.2.3.2.1 Accepting gender identities and rejecting masculine academic identity

This group predominantly consists of participants who are categorised in the Mid-career (five out of seven participants in Mid-career: HLO, KO, SAAT, SUL and TNSD) and senior academics (four out of seven senior participants: IZM, MMM, TS and YR) and one young academic was categorised into this group (ASM). They were categorised into this group on the basis of their statements regarding accepting and integrating those conflicting social identities. Henceforth, this group is called as group 1.

As mentioned earlier, participants performed observation and conformed to their seniors during their early years as academics. However, as time went by, participants in this group seemed that they could not align their gender identities with their professional identities as academics. They experienced work-family conflict that resulted from the incompatible dual responsibilities of women at work and at home, especially during the childrearing stage.

Moreover, participants thought that they had to reject the notion of a contemporary academic as prescribed by DIKTI, because the enacted values of performativity were not in accordance with their perceived intrinsic and authentic values of being a woman. As a result, most of the participants embraced the prescribed traditional female identity and subordinated their desire to pursue their academic career by weakening their academic identity.

I don't know if I can call myself an academic, because I didn't come to campus for a year after I gave birth to my first daughter. My husband, my parents and my mother-in-law asked me to stay at home to look after my baby. All of my teaching schedules were assigned to other lecturers (TNSD, Mid-career).

So I decided that I should be able to make sacrifices for the sake of my family, even though it was hard and I had to give up my career. At least in my life I have felt how it feels to be an academic (YR, Senior).

I said to my husband, I will reject that scholarship opportunity as long as he promises me not to divorce me (ASM, Junior).

According to the excerpts above, it seems that there is a tendency for women in this group to voluntarily give up their academic career. The enduring performativity pressures added with the future career uncertainty and discrimination against women in the workplace forced most of participants to reconsider their academic identity and progression in their career trajectories. The excerpts below demonstrate the various responses from participants.

I mean... I deserve to get stuck in this level, because I realise that I don't have enough publication to advance my career, all I know is only teaching in class, because I am a teacher, not a researcher who is able to create a proper publication and attract funding. And my time is mostly occupied with my responsibilities to take care of my family. That's more than enough for me, I already feel grateful to be at this condition (SAAT, Mid-career).

It would be useless if I focus on my career at campus, but I still don't get the opportunity to develop. My parents are very old now and they need me, so I would rather put my energy to take care of them (HLO, Mid-career).

I thought that maybe it would be better for a woman like me just to be a regular and average academic... like most of woman academics here... Just do whatever I am told to do and my status as a government employee will be safe, where I can still get my monthly salary without going extra miles or achieving standard performance. And the most important thing, I can spend more time with my children and my husband will be happy (SUL, Mid-career).

Even though I feel it wrong, I still have to accept the unreasonable commands from my seniors and be a good girl in this faculty because I really need their good evaluations so I can continue my status as a lecturer here (IZM, Senior).

Interestingly, SAAT's quote above indicates her identity confusion between being a teacher and a researcher. Her statement also reinforces the idea that most of the Mid-

career and senior academics' teaching identity is more salient than research identity. It should be highlighted that the pressures to include the research identity to Indonesian academics were enacted by DIKTI in 2008. As a result, many mid-career and senior academics who have been accustomed to teaching felt that they are not being able to incorporate being a researcher and deal with the pressures of being a researcher.

All of participants in this group believed that their career was not their priority in life. Instead, family is more important. Thus, participants felt authentic by strengthening their gender identities as prescribed by society, because their values of family were in line with the role in the societally prescribed gender identities. This result was strongest on Mid-career academics. This is understandable as Mid-career academics, as perceived by IZM (Senior), are at a “*so close but yet so far*” level. This could explain why most of the participants are stuck in this level, because all of academics who worked in public universities are predominantly Permanent Government Employees or *PNS*. The status of being *PNS* is highly respected in Indonesia because it offers job security and stable income regardless of one's performance. This situation contributes to the phenomenon of “*being a regular and average academic*” as mentioned by SUL above. The phenomenon refers to a situation where most female academics are satisfied with their status of being public servants and decided to not focus on their careers. In the case of IZM, it can be translated as their way in securing their status. Despite IZM's level being categorised as a senior academic, her status as a temporary academic makes her position precarious. Her position in the faculty depends on her performance reports, which are assessed by her seniors (Unit Coordinator), the Head of Department, and the Faculty Dean. Moreover, according to the participants it was found that most of the female academics in Indonesia have a Master's degree. This occurred because:

That's the golden age of marriage and to get pregnant. 20 years old to 40 years old is the period of the golden age of marriage and to get pregnant. Over the period, the chances are slim. Therefore, many women are focusing on their family aspects at this level (TS, Senior).

People in my neighbourhood expect every woman to be perfect. I felt depressed because I had to deal with this kind of problem. My Master's degree was wasted because I can't even write research papers anymore. No matter how high your degree is or where you got your academic degree, in America, Australia, Japan, Europe, they (society)

still expect you to become a woman... a complete woman. I feel powerless in dealing with society because I am never able to confront them because I was always taught that society is my extended family and I don't want to ruin my relationship with them by making it big deal. I have to Nrimo (accept it) (MMM, Mid-career).

Nrimo (acceptance and be satisfied with current status) as one the New Order's values are strongly embedded in the participants in this group. Participants, who experienced conformity, tend to accept such treatments in order to create security and harmony within the particular group to which they belong to, in order to minimise the conflict with the majority. This conforms to the New Order's credo of '*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*' (Unity in Diversity).

It was found that the New Order's *State Ibuism* discourses influenced participants in their academic identity work. As their gender identities were more salient than their professional identities, participants referred to the image of the ideal woman as defined by the New Order's discourses in building their identity. In addition, most of the participants in this group were found to largely supportive of the discourse of *State Ibuism*, as they were raised and educated during the New Order regime and these values remain embedded.

I have these vivid memories about perfect image of a woman that significantly impacted my way in seeing myself as one. My mother was very elegant... and everyone in our village respected her. She was a perfect woman to me. She dedicated her life for our family, I really admire her patience. Even though she used to be a teacher, she had to resign because she married and followed my father to be relocated to the transmigration area. She was an exemplary who showed me that career is nothing compared to the family... and I don't want to let her be disappointed in me (TNSD, Mid-career).

As an Eastern (sic) woman, I must downplay my superiority in front of my husband. Even if I am a famous architect, I have to be a woman that I was taught to be, to be the image of State Ibuism woman... I must adhere to the notion of kodrat, that men are destined to be the leader (KO, Mid-career).

TNSD and KO's narratives suggest that they profoundly connected and interpreted gender identity based on State Ibuism values during the New Order era upon their identity work, which eventually influence their way in seeing their own academic identity and career trajectory. As a part of the participants' professional life narrative, identity work process is grounded in the space and time contractions, where a

particular part of the narrative in the past is resonated back in the present time to justify a specific decision or situation towards career.

These findings suggest that participants in this group still maintain identities as prescribed by dominant discourses. Despite most of participants acknowledging the normative authenticity in their gender identities, they cannot easily escape the social pressures and reconstruct their own identity. It is apparent that some participants would give up their chances to progress their career as part of their female identity of *nrimo*.

It can be argued that the community and collectiveness values are highly regarded by the participants in this group. It also reifies the influences of relationship orientation and connection with other people and social groups in determining one's authenticity in her identity work process. Participants may have their own set of values in their way seeing their relationship with their society. As for this group, being connected and closely related with their surrounding society is translated as their authentic attempts in constructing a coherent academic identity.

Also, it was evident that the State Ibuism and Fatherism discourses complement and reinforce the Western-based performativity and managerialism discourses. Together, they blur the boundaries of local cultures, national culture and Western-based performativity cultures. In addition, they also provide such limited social identities for female academics to conform with. Moreover, the dominating masculine values in the work domain lead female academics to voluntarily giving up their academic career prospects.

5.2.3.2.2 Rejecting gender identities and imitating success of academic identity

Group 2 consists of three senior academics (JH, GAKS, and FD) and a Mid-career academic (JD). They are categorised into this group on the basis of their statements regarding their academic identity work and gender identities. An interesting finding revealed that in this research, the participants in this group hold strategic positions in their respective universities. Three senior participants achieved their professorship and JD currently holds a position as the Dean in a male-dominated faculty. All of them state that they managed to achieve the strategic position because they rejected the idea of gender identities of the New Order's State Ibuism and at the same time they strengthened their academic identity by embracing performativity values as

defined by DIKTI. Moreover, the power of performativity discourse is substantially shaping who can be categorised as an authentic and successful academic.

Compared to the participants in the previous group, participants in this group tended to ignore the social pressures of the Indonesian ideal woman and undermine the socio-collective values. The participants agreed on what was exemplified by JH (Professor) that “*whether you do something or you don’t do something, people in the society will come up with their judgments upon you; society is the judge, the executor, and the god. So I thought why I don’t take the opportunity [to advance], because after all we got the same risk of being judged*”. The metaphor of the society as the judge, the executor and the god, showed that social pressures are inevitable and participants risked their gender identity. Participants in this group denied these pressures, as concerned by GAKS (Professor): “*Yeah, it is very easy for them [society] to judge us, but who will feed my children if I do not work this hard? Are they [society] going to give me money and stop judging me if I quit my job? NO*”.

Another interesting finding in this research is that the participants in this group believe that their husbands are very supportive regarding their careers. Based on the interview data, the participant’s husbands currently hold or previously held prestigious positions in a private or a public organisation. Prestigious positions in an Indonesian organisation are strongly associated with privileges, facilities and good remuneration. Hence, this enabled participants to enjoy their husbands’ position privileges to ease their domestic responsibilities, such as hired a housemaid to cook, to clean and wash at their homes. Moreover, it was found that the participants’ parents or parents-in-law had died a long time back. Participants at this level only have fewer children in their late 20s or older. This combination allows participants in this group to put more focus on their career. Despite the participants in this group being raised and educated during the New Order era, they rejected the notion of State Ibuism because they perceived that the image of a submissive and a passive woman was not their authentic identity.

It should be highlighted that participants in this group seemed able to escape the socially assigned identities and pressures because they have economic and social resources. Moreover, these resources were obtained from the position held by the participants. Several career strategies were employed by participants, ranging from

imitating the masculine appearance and behaviour to actively engaging in the office politics (including negotiation and lobbying in the high level) and impression management (which is frequently translated by participants as interpersonal skills) to advance their careers.

All of the participants in this group perceive that they constantly display and negotiate their own identity as their efforts in embodying this dominant identity at work and at home. What differentiates the participants in this group from the participants in the previous group is that these participants embody the image of a successful masculine academic as their identity, as exemplified by JD (Mid-career):

To be recognised, I have to be different. The higher the target, the more difficult it would be... so I never say no to any challenging job assigned to me and I proved it by the number of research grants and external projects that I brought in to my Faculty, that's why people chose me as the Dean of Faculty. That is why I have to act and leads like a man in my faculty, because people only adore man as the leader. Sometimes I feel my femininity was about to cloud my decision-making but I always use my self-monitor in my every behaviour consciously. So I have many choices of identity I can display. It depends on the situation... when they need a man styled decision making, I am ready... and whenever they need a woman's touch in nurturing a subordinate, I am also ready... I can really use my dual behaviour as advantages in managing people.

The self-monitor as mentioned by JD exemplified the constant conscious identity work process in regulating and selecting which behaviours are appropriate to display at a particular moment. Moreover, in order to advance the career:

One must not only be "Pintar" (clever, intelligent/ IQ), but also "Pintar-Pintar" (being a smart worker and perform sly interpersonal-political skill). If you are stupid, you will be stuck forever as the worker. If you rely only on being intelligent or clever, you will be the bitterest person in the room. But if you are smart, you will be able to see the beautiful view from the top. Interpersonal skill is very important in progressing my career. Because, even though I am a genius like Albert Einstein, I am going nowhere if people in the workplace don't like me. You have to build networks to help your career progress. In my case, being idealist is not good enough, you won't survive. You have to be able to look at the opportunities and grab them. Now, I am familiar with networking activities such as golfing, "ngopi-ngopi" (having coffee, usually with the influential person), and "jalan-jalan ke Pusat" [networking with influential person in Jakarta. Jakarta is translated as Pusat (centre) to symbolise the centre of the power and location of the top level decision maker]. (JH, Law).

I don't know why some people think that politics is bad. For me, politics is essential... Not because I am a professor in Political Science, but let's be honest... everything is political, right? For me, I had to combine my intelligence and the authority, in order to make myself stand out without alerting the others. I call my strategy "Tunduk Tunduk Menanduk" [just say be polite to everyone and when the opportunity comes, then we should strike as fast and as hard as we can] and be "Pintar-Pintar". In order to secure my position, I expanded my network to smooth my things and I built my credibility among my peers. I tried to mingle in every strategic group to make myself visible by the decision makers. As I got my Professorship, I boldly tell my colleagues and students to address me as Madam Professor (FD, Jakarta).

Quotes from JH and FD above emphasise the importance of having political skill such as being *Pintar-Pintar* in the workplace; being adaptive to a particular situation. The participants were constantly experimenting with particular identities from their identity repertoires to identity work. This reveals a lot about the importance of strategic approaches in advancing one's career. These participants believe that they will be visible and receive recognition through personal approaches directly to the top level people. Moreover, the fact that FD wants to be addressed as *Ibu Professor* (Madam Professor) in her working environment shows that she believes in strengthening the power and autonomy of her academic identity and therefore, she expects that people in the workplace would not only respect her title and academic achievements, but also acknowledge her gender identity.

Moreover, by gaining power and autonomy, participants mentioned that they deployed available resources to deal with work pressures. They tend to use the help from younger academics in doing their job. As explained earlier, senior academics justify that what they do to their juniors is the part of empowerment and mentoring programme and would be beneficial for the junior's career. Moreover, the excessive task delegations to young academics were also considered by these professors as the part of their organisational culture.

The participants in this group also felt that they were able to deal with performativity pressures by modifying their standards of academic freedom. It can be seen from the following excerpts:

You know... I had to change my favourite research topic just because the Head of the research centre did not like my proposal. He wanted something more mainstream and left me with no option. It was a take-it or leave-it situation... so I changed it! (JD, Mid-career).

We should be smart in our work... otherwise, you will be stuck forever. We can have different papers based on one old research, you know? All you have to do is modify and polish it everywhere so it looks like a new idea (GAKS, Professor).

Now, I am a more target-oriented person... because I have to fulfil the professor's standard of productivity, I don't care about the impact of the research anymore... let me ask you a question, can you fulfil those requirements in an honest way? (JH, Professor).

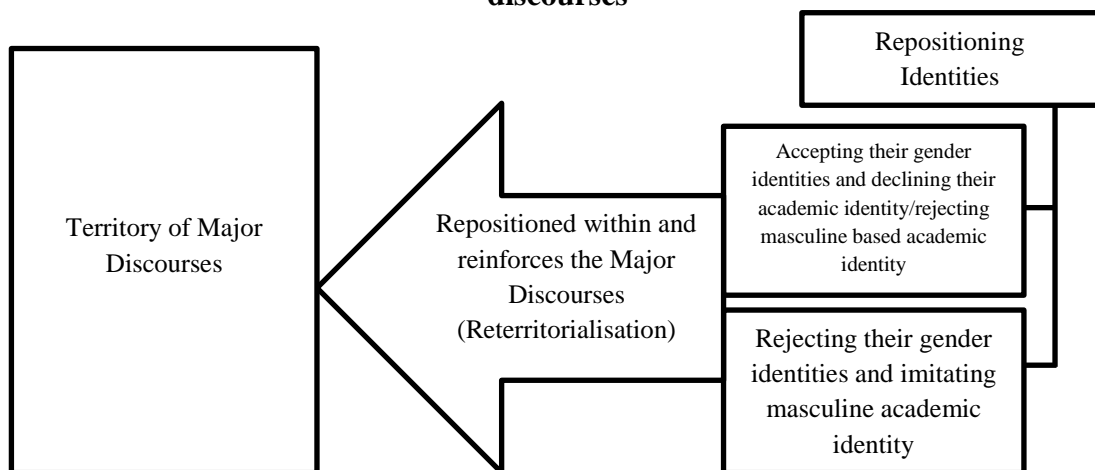
However, it should be highlighted that participants in this group are still imitating the masculine behaviours in the workplace to strengthen their academic identity at work. According to the above quotes, it seems that academic freedom as a part of academic identity seemed to be compromised in order to survive or to excel in their academic career. This result is somewhat ironic, because the more the participants strengthen their academic identity, the less academic freedom they show in their academic identity. Participants in this group intended to secure strategic positions in the university, because by securing strategic positions, participants perceived that they would be able to become more secure and authentic in the workplace.

To sum up, participants at this group were able to deal with social pressures as they have adequate supporting resources. Moreover, by imitating masculine behaviours, participants seemed successful in escaping the society prescribed gender identities, whereas at the same time they exploited it to climb up the career ladder. However, participants still had to sacrifice their academic freedom in order survive or excel in this career. This paradoxical result shows that more the participants strengthened their career identity as a successful academic, the less actual academic freedom they showed in their academic identity.

According to the findings, these two groups are **repositioned within** the territory of major discourses. At the same time, these two groups also **reinforce the hegemony of the major discourses** (reterritorialisation). Even though the way participants repositioned their academic identities seem to have different flows, in the reality, these two groups reinforce the major discourses. Deleuze and Guattari's concepts and metaphor of **reterritorialisation** seem appropriate in this research to understand the identity work process among the participants in groups 1 and 2. The following Figure 5.6 depicts how those who are categorised into these groups flowed back to the territory of major discourses by reinforcing major discourses. Inadvertently, the

participants considered as minority in groups 1 and 2 eventually become a part of majority of the female academics in the following group, as the latter's position is marginalised within the population of the female academics itself. The following section explores the younger academics as the minority within the minority and how the Deleuze-Guattari's concepts represent these academics' identity work, especially in rejecting the dominant discourses.

Figure 5.6 Repositioning identities and contribution to the territory of major discourses



5.2.3.3 *Depositioning Identities*

5.2.3.3.1 *Challenging the Status Quo both on Prescribed Gender Identities and Performativity's Definition of Success*

This group (group 3) is dominated by young academics (DW, ER, ELW, FF, FA, HLN, LM, and SSS) with one participant from Mid-career (IMG). They are categorised into this group because they rejected those conflicting social identities, and due to the ways they deal with performativity pressures. In their accounts of the events surrounding their academic identities work, the participants acknowledge the importance of having authentic identities in terms of gender identity and academic identity.

As mentioned earlier, participants in this group aim to be accepted as a member of the academic profession. It was found that participants in this group reject the socially prescribed New Order's gender identities and values. Following the downfall of the New Order regime, State Ibuism and Fatherism values also lost some of its institutional power, and thus, the interpretation of State Ibuism and Fatherism were

also decentralised. By currently at loss for institutional means and power to enforce meaning, the patriarchy-based career system, which was embedded within the New Order's concepts and values, is being reconceptualised and challenged in different aspects, including social identities. It can be seen that the embedded values of State Ibuism and Fatherism were deterritorialised by the available counter information for younger participants. Moreover, it is noticeable that most of these participants have come from outside Java Island, whose cultures are different from the dominant one.

Javanese woman must be submissive to her husband, whether he is right or wrong, as a woman, one must devote all of her time to take care of the family... woman should be calm and be patient and never outrank her husband... It is so ridiculous to impose a totally different culture into ours. I will never be an ideal woman as they like, because my youth really gave me this hatred feeling for ideal Indonesian woman image. People in my tribe were slaughtered by TNI [Indonesian National Army] during the New Order period and we are still expected to become one of them? (ER, Jayapura).

In Manado, we are taught to express ourselves. That is why I never accept National Ibuism (sic) as the part of my identity. I'm stuck at IIIb level since the last five years just because I refused to attend the national ceremonial and wore Kebaya [Javanese women uniform] as demanded (ELW, Manado).

Moreover, it was evident that the younger academics rejected the image of the passive woman as promoted by the New Order regime through State Ibuism and Fatherism. A possible explanation for this is that because most of the younger academics were raised and educated during the democratisation or after the reformation era, where there is more personal freedom and access to information, or they were student activists in mass protest against the New Order regime. Participants at this group were able to obtain alternative choices and counter-information. In addition, participants also reject the seniority and patriarchy-based academic career trajectories. Participants say that they reject the non-academic-based appraisals in determining the progression in an academic's career trajectory, such as office politics, cronyism and "yes-man" culture.

Similarly, the major discourse of Western based academic capitalism was also rejected by younger participants in their struggle for their authentic academic identity for moral and ethical reasons. This standard of productivity is considered as the essential element in one's academic career, which is used as the criteria for a

successful academic. However, these pressures were perceived by participants as an academic degradation of knowledge creation. It was found that young participants rejected the notion of performativity, the values of managerialism and marketisation, because these were not in line with the essences of their notions of authentic academic professionalism.

We are experiencing academic degradation. During the New Order era academics were strongly prohibited in their free thinking, but the 1998 Reformation brought the freedom to us to be free as we want. Finally, academics can be free to have their own standpoints... But now, it is gradually faded... What happened to the creative and free thinking? Why there are no spontaneous, intellectual challenges and fun in teaching and learning anymore? What is with these standardised measurements and publication targets? I only see modern academics as no more than a human robot (HLN).

The creation of knowledge should not be confused with capitalistic management style. Otherwise, knowledge would not be as pure as it should be, because it will be trapped in the conflict of interests. Every year my university recruits more and more students so it is expected to generate more income, but education quality is sacrificed because we are instructed to be more lenient in giving marks, so they can graduate as soon possible and we can attract more and more students (DW).

People keep saying said that if we put strict rules to the students then potential students will be not interested to study in our faculty because they only want to get the degree without the knowledge... less students intake means less faculty income. This is very dangerous for our dignity as academics. I have an experience... One of the professors in my faculty told me to pass this student... I thought... that's it... Enough! I am sick and tired of it and I don't want to do it anymore, either my way or the highway. I don't want to be a dirty academic anymore. Academic is a profession with a big responsibility. Academics are allowed to be wrong but they must not lie, this is the opposite of being a politician. Politicians are allowed to lie but they must not wrong (SSS).

As the freedom of speech of academics was prohibited during the New Order era (32 years), the reformation era in year 1998 brought Indonesian people to experience the freedom of speech and to gain access to information everywhere. However, from 2008, performativity pressures began to affect higher education and changed the landscape of the national higher education system. From 2008 to 2010, the Ministry of National Education through DIKTI enacted numerous policies and regulations on standard productivity measurement on academics in order to improve the national education quality and increase its competitive advantage within the regional and international context. However, up till now, the Indonesian higher education system

is still searching for the right forms in dealing with this super complex situation. Consequently, there were several revisions of those policies and regulations, which occurred every time the Minister of National Education was changed.

Moreover, the participants rejected the intervention from their seniors. SSS eventually expressed her anger directly towards her senior as one of the professors frequently interfered with her academic freedom for the marketisation reason as exemplified above. She perceived the interventions from her senior as threats to her independence and critical citizenship in knowledge creation, which is a privilege to an academic and is strongly associated with the profession.

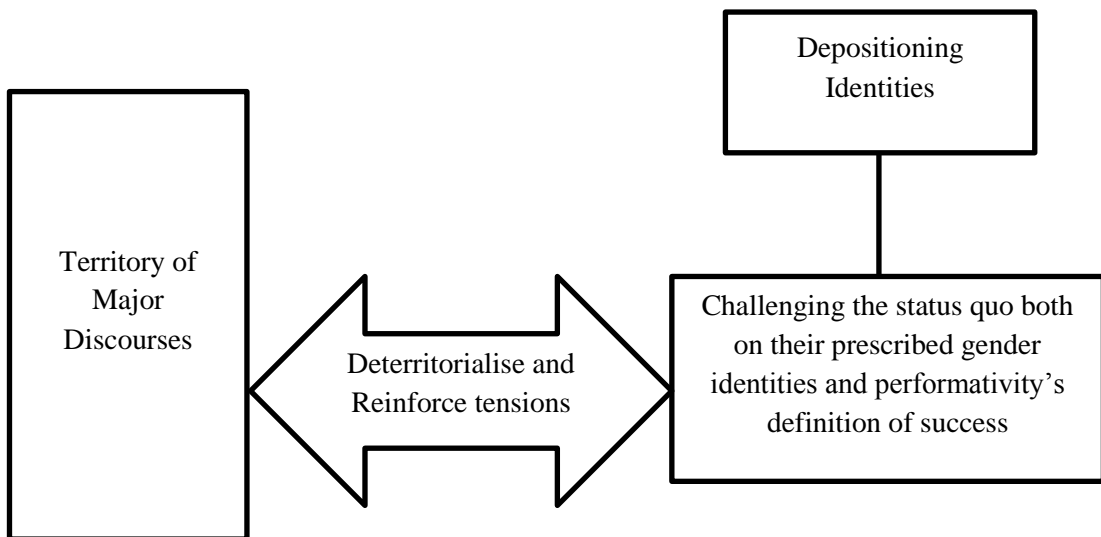
At some point, SSS argues that she accepted her senior's behaviour in her early years as part of her effort to be accepted in the profession by being a "*nice girl and never say no to seniors*". As the time went by, she found it "*very unethical and I felt sinful, because I betrayed the profession's nobleness*". Moreover, as she actively struggled in her identity work process, she gradually discovered her authentic side over time. Hence, she refused to obey her senior's instruction as she found it not in accordance with the profession's ethic. This finding confirms that ethics were employed as moral rules in guiding a participant's behaviour and identity work process. Furthermore, the ethics of the academic profession was understood by participants as the universal values of the freedom in the knowledge creation and humanity reasons. By taking a resistance stance towards the status quo, participants in this group embodied their struggle in their identity work. The next section focusses on their struggles in redefining the success concept and establishing an authentic academic identity.

5.3 The minor discourse of young academics

Similar to the real world's territory, the territory in organisational life has been, and perhaps will always be dominated by major discourses. As their efforts in searching and constructing an authentic academic identity, younger academics' resistances towards dominant discourses can be understood as a 'minor discourse', which engages in a 'deterritorialisation' process as a response to the hegemony of the major discourses (Figure 5.7). Drawing upon Deleuze and Guattari's theory of 'minor literature', this research is similar with Pick's study (2015) in the way it employs their theory to capture the micro process of participants' identity work and depicts how the hegemony of the dominant discourses were challenged and deterritorialised

at the individual level. Deleuze and Guattari's concepts and metaphor of **rhizomes**, **major and minor discourse and deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation** seem appropriate in helping this research to understand the participants' identity work process in constructing their authentic academic identity.

Figure 5.7 Depositioning identities and the responses towards the territory of major discourses



The concept of “becoming” is based on the view that everything in the world and the world itself is in a constant state of change (Deleuze, 1993). Becoming is also closely linked with the minority, as “becoming is the movement by which the line frees itself from the point” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 294). The point on this definition can be understood as the hegemonic majority. The point is the territory which is constituted and regulated by standardised norms and standards where they are defined by the dominant discourses. Moreover, it is important not to confuse ‘minoritarian’ as a becoming or process, with ‘minority’ as a quantity or an aggregate. It refers to a determining power in relation to which counter entities can be defined as majority, which reside within the majority and use the majority language.

Minor discourse can be characterised in three general conditions. They are the as follows: 1). deterritorialisation of language, 2). the linkage between individual and the political and lastly, 3). the collective values (Deleuze & Guattari, 1986). Young participants in this research displayed similar characteristics. By using the need of authenticity as in the major discourse, participants expressed their own languages of

authenticity. As exemplified by FF above, participants believe that their authentic academic identity was not about materialistic things anymore as they felt something missing such as “*empty, like there was a hole in my soul*” (ER) during their retrospection stage in the identity work process. In short, the struggle for authenticity for younger participants is a separation from a given purpose of the authenticity as defined and understood within the major discourses’ territory.

Second is the linkage between the individual and the political. In a major discourse, social fields act as a background in which individual utterances are inserted. The major discourse’s connection to politics is mediated and dissolved into the background. The individual is inseparable from the social context, the subject linked to the political: “its cramped space forces each individual intrigue to connect immediately to politics. The individual concern thus becomes all the more necessary, indispensable, magnified, because a whole other story is vibrating in it” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1986, p. 17). Furthermore, a minor discourse is always an inner political dialogue with the major discourse. For example:

Why do we must change ourselves into something that we are not? I am happy to be a Minangkabau woman, don’t force me to be a Javanese woman who always regards herself as Konco Wingking (companion at the house). It is very demeaning to our dignity as women who have our own strength, potential and power (DW).

And

I don’t understand how government sees us as academics. We are expected to be stand-up comedians in the class, experts who are able to compete in the ASEAN region and entrepreneur in attracting money at the same time and you know what [tone sounds sarcastically] ...? They compensated us with a labor wage level (IMG).

DW’s excerpt above represents her identity work in rejecting the notion of the ideal woman according to the dominant Javanese culture. Moreover, DW politically deterritorialised the major discourse by borrowing the term of *Konco Wingking* in her identity work. *Konco Wingking* is one of the concepts that were glorified by the New Order’s government to assign women’s role in the domestic place.

Next, in IMG’s excerpt, her identity work was evident as she is concerned about her identity confusion. By mentioning those expected identities and roles that an academic should accept, and at the same time the pay being low, she challenges the

major discourse and destabilises its regulated trajectories of a contemporary academic.

The third characteristic of the minor discourse is the collective value. Both excerpts from DW and IMG above represent the third characteristic of the minor discourse, as their excerpts subliminally deterritorialised the dominant discourses. Moreover, as can be seen from the excerpts, there were several changes in the usage of “I” into “We”. This shows that DW and IMG tried to convey their message as the collective voice of women, even though there are women who do not agree with their message.

Participants mentioned that in one’s academic identity work, the concept of success is not about symbolic material reasons; instead it is more about the ethical way in knowledge creation and the real contribution to society. A possible explanation for this is that younger academics are dissatisfied with the current situation, as there are no better improvements in the organisational and social dimensions. Moreover, despite identity work being a personal project of an academic, deterritorialisation can bring new meaning (potentials) to academic identity as they deterritorialise the dominant discourses. Deterritorialisation aims to “slice a territory out of the milieu,” and then to “operate in zoned of decoding of the milieu” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1984, p. 8). To sum up, the resistances from the younger academics reinforce the tensions between major and minor discourses, as the major discourses and the minor discourses continuously deterritorialise each other.

What the participants in this group did in their identity work can be understood as being grounded in the minor discourses, as participants can be categorised as minority within the minority itself, because the academic territory is predominated by the established academics in the two groups mentioned earlier. As younger academics enter the academia territory, their academic identities are **deterritorialised** by the dominant established academics. The interview data suggests that participants rejected the dominant discourses of the socially prescribed identities of woman and the performativity based successful academic notion. Thus, this stance allowed them to embody their struggle for authenticity. At this point, participants started to redefine the success concept and at the same time, create resistance as a part of their identity work in establishing authentic academic identity. To summarise, what this group did was to **deterritorialise** the major discourses in

order to create a place for their own identity of choice, which allows them to make the alternative identities be available within the major discourses territory and eventually, in the social identities categories. At this point, deterritorialisation from younger academics and reterritorialisation from older academics generate tensions. This is because while younger academics deterritorialise the dominant discourses, at the same time the older academics reterritorialise and reinforce the territory.

5.3.1 Redefining the success concept

Identity work can be understood as a becoming process, as the participants' desires are the main impetus in seeking the authentic sense of their academic identity. Also identity work is not a fixed, static entity, but a constantly moving set of potential connections. Their similar responses about an authentic academic identity have a potential to open up new deterritorialisation movements, where the multiplicities of individual's resistances are connected to each other. It is the participants' desire to escape the hegemony of the major discourses that leads them to redefine success. Participants remake their own world by creating new trajectories.

However, the reality of organisational and social life is not as simple as that. Participants perceive that redefining success will have a significant impact on their academic identities. When the participants realised that their efforts in constructing their academic identity did not concur with the dominant values and norms, they decided to expose it covertly and gradually.

All of the women academics in my department felt the same. We could not create or publish our work because we were limited by the appropriateness and norms. So we planned to create an art festival in campus, but we discreetly infiltrated some feminist agenda and several pro-LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender) programmes in it. Dean of faculty was angry when he saw the festival. He reprimanded and suspended us, and prohibited the similar programme to be held in our campus. Last year, we successfully hosted the 2nd festival outside the campus with supporting fund from NGOs. The festival was highly appreciated and warmly welcomed by people, especially women. They felt that they were more confident after attending the festival and the seminar. I felt that we were really able to become academics during this festival, because at some point, we could educate, enlighten, and empower women (SSS).

In my class, I always emphasise equality and encourage my female students to be more active and participate... so they don't feel inferior in the class. I also empowered women in my neighbourhood as the part

of my community service programmes as an academic. So I established a social community, which is a place for them to create something... it is important because when we empower women, they will consider themselves as recognised, valued... Therefore, their confidence will grow (ELW).

Me and my (women) colleagues met a group of young women academics from other universities in this city and we decided to set a weekly meeting on every Wednesday and we call it "Reboan" (The Wednesdays). We discuss anything from knowledge sharing, information sharing... especially regarding our profession as academics. We encourage critical thinking and they can be themselves at the meeting without any judgment (DW).

Now I spend much of my time in educating homeless and jobless persons in my neighbourhood. We have daily meeting in my house yard. It has been six months now and many of them are able to work or create something that benefits them economically. I am very proud about this and this is my work... not much money but I feel the pride in it (ER).

All of above excerpts show that the young participants are actively deterritorialising the major discourses through their identity work. The activities conducted by them are efforts to provide more alternative social identities for them to choose from. In addition, it is evident that their academic identity is more salient and authentic whenever they are outside their professional habitat.

According to the interviewed participants, the primary impetus was an alarming or threatening experience of their identity rather than a set of liberating ideas per se. In addition, the liberating ideas were only generated and elaborated after an event of retrospection. According to the data, it was the participants' authentic desire to escape the status quo that led them to resist. Their desire for authenticity drives the identity work to deterritorialise. It should be remembered that resistance was not just intended to fight the domination, but also to be free from it.

Realising that their professionalism is not appreciated by the government and the chances in developing their career are limited by the domination of masculine values, the participants started to redefine success. The dominant definition of success, which was strongly associated with the bright academic career in the university and prestigious positions gradually faded in the eyes of the participants. Most of participants expressed their redefinition of success based on how the academic profession should contribute to greater humanity, not based on symbolic materialism. This is represented by FF's quote as follows:

We like money and fame, who doesn't like them? But, it is time to give back to our people now. I decided to forget my dream to be the "academic idol", because even if I put extra efforts to fulfil those [DIKTI] requirements, I won't be excelled and accepted as a true academic. I just realised that I used to waste my energy in pursuing citation and grants than to contribute to the society. I must admit that I did this because I didn't get the chances to excel in work. I was in the limbo and it made me stop for a while to think and realise the meaning of life, the meaning of the true success.

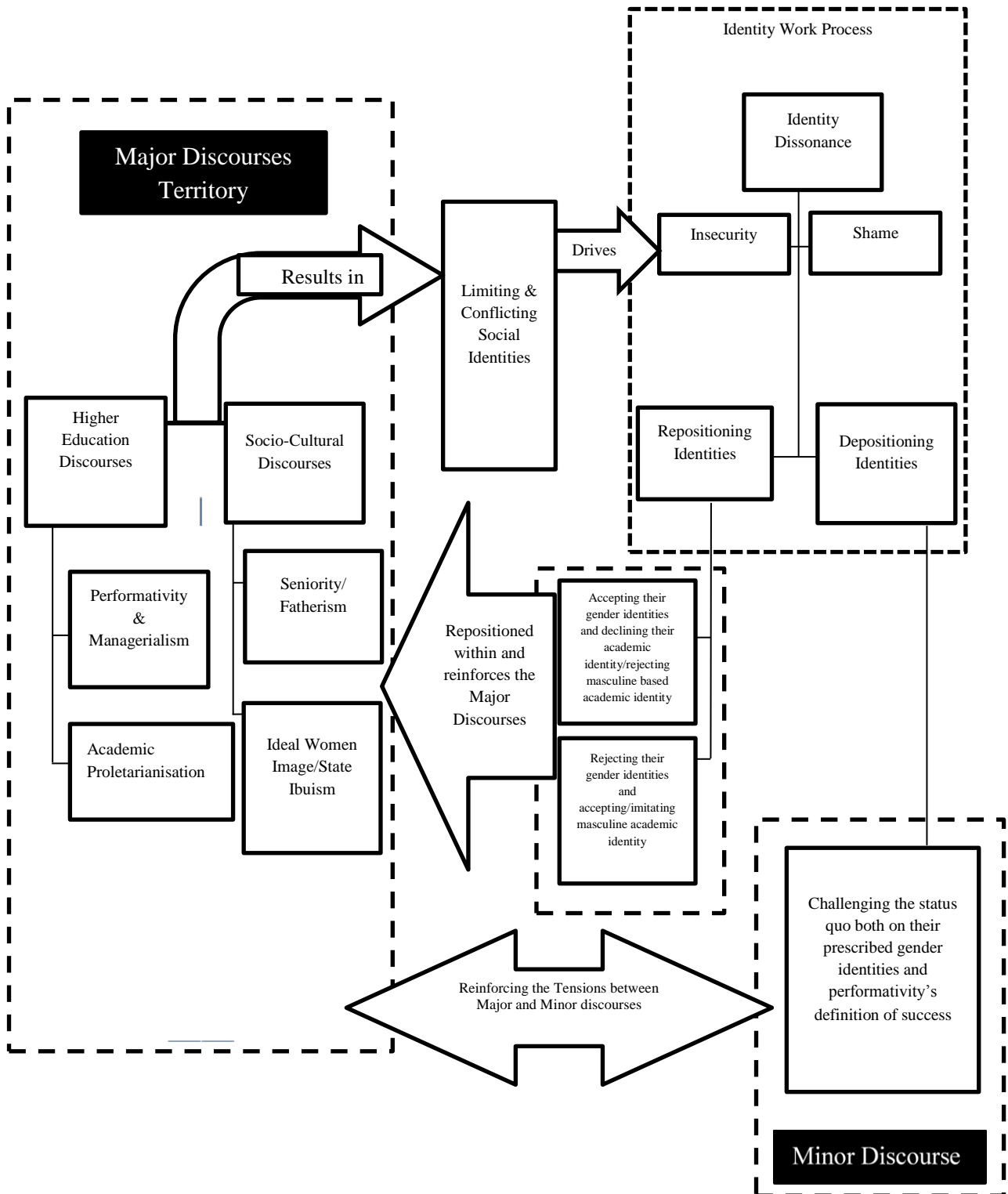
The above extract from FF indicates a breaking down of expectations and explains the transition. FF enunciated her feelings about how the contemporary academic profession is no more than a reputation contest as FF used metaphors like academic idol (compared to the reality TV show programme) in her respective field of expertise. Despite the tempting potential reward, FF claims that something is missing in her academic identity. FF's statements mention that the formative events of a lack of opportunities to excel in her academic career forced her to rethink and made her realise the meaning of her life as an academic. All of the participants in this group encountered similar experiences that FF experienced during the liminal stage. When the participants in this group looked at the events of their experiences in retrospect, it became a kind of self-discovery of potentialities and this self-discovery helped them in their identity work process. When they were struggling to face challenges in dealing with the performativity based success and socially prescribed gender identity, they were actually working on their potentialities to re-discover their authentic identities, the identity that was not offered and available in the dominant discourses territory. The resolution of the crisis is coming to terms with these new identities. This happened as they reflected on counter-information based experiences and developed an understanding when the changes in their definition of success has taken place, from institutional to the embodied, and when they perceived that they were able to achieve their authentic goals after this concept redefinition.

5.4 Conceptual model

Based upon the data analysis, the following conceptual model has been developed (Figure 5.8). This conceptual model shows how the different career flows among female academics are the results of their identity work process in Indonesian public universities. This model also shows the multiple factors that shape the identity work process among female academics; they are the Indonesian higher education

discourses and the socio-cultural based discourses, which have all been elaborated in detail in this chapter.

Figure 5.8 The conceptual model of Indonesian identity work process among women academics



The model conceptualises that the participants have their career trajectories not only based upon their academic identity work process, but also their social identity as a woman. This is captured by the application of Deleuze-Guattari's concepts, such as minor discourse and major discourse, and deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation in explaining the identity work process. According to the model, there are three different flows: 1) the group which is dominated by female academics who accept their socially prescribed gender identities and reject their academic identity; 2) the group that is dominated by those who reject their gender identities and imitate masculine academic identity; and 3) the group which is dominated by those who challenge the status quo both on prescribed gender identities and performativity's definition of success.

Despite the latter group being bigger than the others, it was found that the younger academics who fall into this group were a minority within the minority. This represents the minority discourse as conceptualised by Deleuze-Guattari. Moreover, as the hegemony of the major discourses (higher education discourses and socio-cultural discourses) dominated the field of Indonesian academics, deterritorialisation as a reaction from the younger academics is inevitable. Younger academics believe that the performativity based career trajectories and the gender based limitations upon them as women in the social environments are not their authentic academic identity. Younger academics perceive that academic success cannot be measured by the materialistic factor anymore; instead, academic success can be achieved by giving back to the society and be more concerned about the humanitarian values.

5.5 Conclusion

The purpose of this research can be summed up as a response to questions about the meaning of being a female academic in Indonesian public universities in relation to her career trajectories and her academic identity work process. The findings of this research reveal some of the problems and challenges faced by female academics in their career, which ignite and fuel the identity work process. Moreover, the research discovered the research participants' struggles during the identity work process in order to construct an authentic academic identity. Although the main focus of this research is the struggles of female academics in their academic identity work, this research discovered the results of different flows of career trajectories from different groups that shed light on the problem of underrepresentation of female academics in

senior university positions. The use of the Deleuze-Guattari's concepts, such as minor and major discourses, and deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation, were beneficial in explaining the academic identity work process and career trajectories of female academics in Indonesian public universities. Also, it was found that those female academics in groups 1 and 2 were not only contributing back to the major discourses hegemony, but they were also reinforcing it. On the other hand the younger academics in group 3 were trying to create an authentic academic identity by challenging the hegemony.

The above mentioned findings also have policy and practical implications for Indonesian higher education. There were major concerns stated by the participants on the socio-cultural barriers in constructing their authentic academic identity. Moreover, the participants mentioned about performativity pressures, poorly executed Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) policy, added with the poor salary and remuneration structure and lack of state of the art facilities and laboratories. These combinations put the participants in a complicated position, as they admitted that they were demotivated by these combinations. Consequently in the higher level, these problems simply put Indonesian higher education in a precarious situation as it was not able to attract and to retain its talented human resources, especially the female academics.

The next implication is that the generational differences among young, mid-career and late-career female academics on their academic identity could add the complexity of the identity work process in the long term. Thus, it should be kept in mind that this generational differences problem represents the tensions (deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation process) between minor and major discourses, which might influence the work atmosphere in the long term. It is debatable whether the minor discourse successfully deterritorialises the major discourses' territory. Could it be a matter of time until the minor discourses of resistance are easily dismissed and repositioned by the major discourses?

The following chapter discusses these findings by placing them in context of the literature in order to assess the theoretical and conceptual contributions to our current understandings. The next chapter also includes an examination of the policy and practice implications of this research.

6 DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

In this research, the researcher has explored the academic identity work process among female academics in Indonesian public universities. These participants enunciated their stories, experiences and perspectives based on their personal and professional experiences as academics. Their stories emphasised not only the unique challenges faced by them, but also their endeavours (identity work) in constructing an authentic academic identity and their career trajectories.

The contributions of this research consist of major and minor contributions. The major contribution is the development of a model of identity work that incorporates Deleuze and Guattari's concepts, which explains the identity work process. Watson's three-step model (2008) assisted in capturing the dynamics of the identity work process, particularly how major discourses produce limiting and conflicting social identities, which function as central factors within the territory of major discourses to which female academics made references to in their identity work. Along similar lines, concepts from Deleuze and Guattari (rhizomes, minor-major discourses and deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation) were employed to conceptualise the identity work process as there are calls from scholars to develop new ways of developing theories in organisation and management studies. Particularly, these concepts helped to explain how female academics' identity works in relation to their career trajectories, their concept of success and the underrepresentation problem.

In addition, discussion about minor contributions highlight how the findings of this research answers the need for more academic identity work in the developing nation setting. Also, the research findings reveal the influence of organisational and national-cultural contexts on identity work among female academics and their career trajectories. Additionally, the research findings also provide confirmations to the extant literatures, especially on the career trajectories of women and the underrepresentation problem in senior organisation positions. This chapter discusses the limitations of the research as well as the practical and policy implications.

6.2 The meaning of becoming an Indonesian women academic

In this research it was found that Indonesian female academics are significantly different compared to the female academics in Western countries in their identity work process and perception towards career. A complex interwoven setting from two dominant discourses put Indonesian female academics in a precarious position, which leads them to struggle constantly and engage in the identity work process. As emerging managerialism, meritocracy and performativity also occur in Indonesian public universities, academics are expected to become more actively engaged in global competition and to seek alternative external funding. This would influence academics, especially female academics in dealing with such pressures from the workplace. This fact strengthens the argument that this phenomenon occurred globally as argued by several scholars (Altbach, 2012; Barnett, 2000; Fanghanel, 2012; Henkel, 2010; Marginson and Considine, 2000; Marginson, Kaur, and Sawir, 2011; Shin and Harman, 2009; Taylor, 2010; Welch, 2011). At the same time, it was found that Indonesian female academics were also dealing with the pressures from socio-cultural based discourses regarding the ideal woman. From the analysis, it was found that Indonesian higher education discourses added with socio-cultural based discourses significantly shape identity work among female academics. These combinations of pressure influenced female academics to engage in their academic identity work, which in turn influenced their career trajectories.

As argued by Ylijoki and Ursin (2013), changing realities in academic settings are creating tensions between emerging multiple identities. In this research, it is the tension between academic identity and personal identity. In addition, Ylijoki and Ursin (2013) categorise the academic identities based on the academic's narration into three groups. They are regressive storyline, progressive storyline and stability storyline. The findings of this research exemplify Ylijoki and Ursin's study. Firstly, group 1, dominated by the mid-career academics, was similar to the stability storyline, as they displayed strong family-centred values over their career. Participants in this group were struggling to construct themselves as the ideal woman according to the New Order values of State Ibuism. Hence they downplayed their ambition to progress their career, despite wanting to.

Secondly, the progressive storyline. As indicated by Ylijoki and Ursin (2013), this kind of academic identity emphasises on success narration. Group 2 in this research

was dominated by the senior academics who rejected the notion of the State Ibuism and independently struggled to construct their authentic identity as a successful academic. It was found that despite managing to achieve either an academic key position (Professor) or a managerial key position (Dean), participants in this group were imitating particular characters, especially the masculine styled academics, as their identity. This confirms Fotaki's research that all these discourses' stigma on 'the woman' mean that "when we look at ourselves as academics we adopt a masculine subject position ineluctably, that of the academic who looks at herself as a woman and sees that self as immanent to her body, struggling to speak and be heard" (2013, p. 1270). As a result, they also actively engaged in strategic activities, such as lobbying, office politics and impression management in order to smoothen their career.

Lastly, the regressive storyline. Younger academics dominate group 3 were considered as representatives of this regressive storyline. Younger academics not only rejected the performativity based success, they also rejected socially prescribed gender identity (State Ibuism). They rejected both of these discourses for moral and ethical reasons (Ylijoki & Ursin, 2013). The pressures of performativity, managerialism and marketisation are perceived as threats to "academics' ability to contribute to social justice and critical citizenship" (Smith, 2010, p. 156). Participants in this group could be considered as minority within the minority and "Shakespearean fools" (Smith, 2010), because they challenged the dominant academic territory, which is predominated by the established academics in the two groups mentioned earlier. This fuelled identity work among younger academics. It is argued that the constant pressures encountered by them can negatively affect motivation, self-efficacy, commitment, job satisfaction and effectiveness (Winter & O'Donohue, 2012), which could eventually influence one's career trajectories. As a result of their resistance storyline in identity work, younger academics tended to deviate from what is considered to be as normal academics because they have their own definition of success.

Similar to the real world territory, the territory of organisational life has been, and perhaps always will be dominated by the major discourses. As their efforts in searching and constructing an authentic academic identity, young academics' resistances towards dominant discourses can be understood as the "minor discourse",

which engages in the “deterritorialisation” process as a response to the major discourses hegemony upon them. Drawing upon Deleuze and Guattari’s theory of “minor literature”, this research confirms Pick’s study (2015) in borrowing their theory to capture the micro process in participants’ identity work and also depicts how the dominant discourses hegemony not only reinforces and reterritorialises, but also challenges and deterritorialises at individual level. Deleuze and Guattari’s concepts and metaphor of minor discourse, and deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation seemed appropriate in helping this research to understand the participants’ identity work process in constructing their authentic academic identity. The following section discusses the contributions of this research, both major and minor contributions.

6.3 Contributions

6.3.1 Major Contributions

According to Watson (2008), personal identity work actors can influence, within limits, the various socially prescribed social identities that pertain to them. In other words, individuals’ notions of who and what they are, are achieved through agentic act of identity work, as individuals may contribute back to the available social identities of who or what any individual might or should be. According to Watson’s three-step model (2008), within the dominant discourses there are particular available social-identities which people make reference to in their identity work. Still, as argued by Watson (2008), social identities are treated as elements of discourses and “being recognised as influences on individual self-identities, as opposed to the discourses themselves being treated as influences” (p. 128).

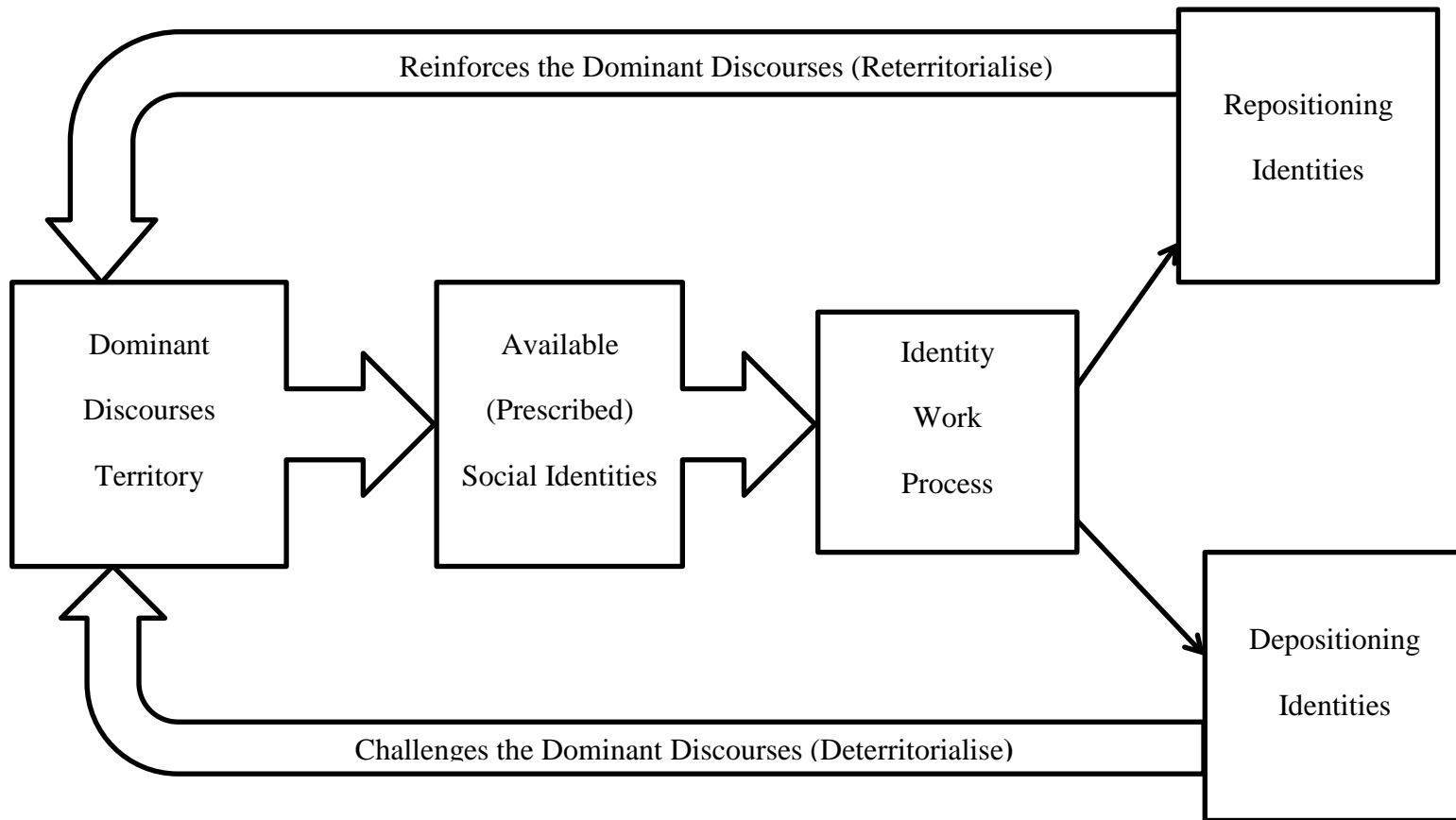
This research acknowledges the importance of social identities in influencing the identity work process as argued by Watson (2008). However, it was also discovered that there are a limited number of available social identities as these identities are prescribed by dominant discourses. Consequently, rather than contributing back to the social identities, it was found in this research that identity work among participants is connected back to the dominant discourses territory, either to reinforce or to challenge it. According to Pick, Symons and Teo, for “someone working as an academic, becoming an academic is central to their identity” (2015, p.15). However, it was found that for a woman who works as an academic where the social identities are predefined by dominant discourses, becoming an academic may or may not be

central to their identity, “as the subject positions are made available in a number of competing discourses” (Watson, 2008, p. 124) between socio-cultural based discourses (surrendered to one’s *Kodrat* as prescribed by the New Order values and voluntarily give up her career) and performativity and managerialism discourses (rejected the socially prescribed gender identity and emphasising her career).

As suggested by the findings of this research, instead of being connected to social identities as argued by Watson’s three-step model of identity work process (2008), participants either reinforce or challenge the dominant discourses (Figure 6.1). The arrows pointing back to the dominant discourses territory represent the identity work among participants. These arrows also represent different career trajectories for participants. For participants who were categorised under group 1 (dominated by mid-career academics) are female academics who believed that they should aspire to their socially prescribed gender identity and *Kodrat* as a woman; consequently they voluntarily gave up their academic career. Hence, their identity work merely reinforced the dominating socio-cultural based discourses.

Group 2 was dominated by senior academics who rejected the socially prescribed gender identity and emphasised their identity as successful contemporary academics. Consequently, their career trajectories appeared to conform to the notion of the ideal “success” by achievers – the seemingly impossible professoriate and managerial positions in universities. Participants say that they were able to achieve the key positions due to the supporting resources. The more resources they have, the better they can resist other social pressures and people’s perceptions upon them. This corresponds with Killian and Johnson’s (2006) work. These resources act as participants’ capital in resisting and redefining their role and image. As a consequence, this also reinforces the other dominating discourses in Indonesian higher education. Altogether, group 1 and group 2 reinforce and reterritorialise the dominant discourses territory. On the other hand, younger academics do not believe in gender identity as prescribed by society (socio-cultural discourses) and at the same time, they also question the performativity based concept of success in academic career (higher education discourses). Both group 1 and group 2 are in line with Fotaki’s study (2013), which stated that women often consciously contribute to their own marginalisation in academia.

Figure 6.1 Development of Watson's three-step model



According to the Figure 6.1, younger academics tended to choose different paths compared to their senior counterparts in the sense that they resist the dominating discourses. This suggests the second major contribution of this research, that identity work processes are rhizomatic movements. In accordance with Deleuze and Guattari's work (1987), this research found that the dominant discourses territory create multiple realities for female academics. This heterogeneity of reality means "that there is no single discourse that creates a reality, instead there is the possibility of a dominant discourse that can take power within a multiplicity of minor discourses" (Pick, 2015, p. 5). It can be argued that identity work process is rhizomatic as it encompasses constant movements, mutations and connections. Moreover, identity work process is not a fixed, static entity, rather a constantly moving set of potential connections. As a consequence of the multiple realities and their identity work, it was found that these participants had potentially different career trajectories.

According to the findings mentioned earlier, these female academics were divided into three major groups. Both group 1 and group 2 reinforced and restrengthened the dominant discourses territory; whereas group 3 emerged as the minority discourse, which acts as a form of resistance to the dominant discourses. These different flows and career trajectories may represent the potentialities of multiplicity (of identity work) that connected to each other. A woman who was raised and educated during the New Order era may embrace the State Iduism values (past), and at the same time she downplays her desire to progress her academic career (future) into her identity work process. This assemblage of the past and the future unfolds potentialities, which lead the participants to voluntarily giving up their career prospects and surrender to *Kodrat*. This means that her identity work process reinforces a discourse within the dominant discourses territory where the women's underrepresentation in senior university positions is preserved. Additionally, she is not alone in this as there are many female academics who may possess similar potentials like her. Thus, they altogether may constantly reposition and restrengthen the hegemony of major discourses. This flow eventually allows alternate routes to be taken, as in every actualisation enables counter actualisation. This finding of this research also exemplifies Eveline's work (2005) that identity is the unfinished assemblages, which will "create new surfaces of movement and activity – new interpretations, new connection, new realities so to speak" (Pick, 2015, p. 5) for participants.

As a result, these constant movements of identity work process mean that there are potentialities of relations and trajectories that may connect and disconnect to the dominant discourses. A disconnection from the dominant discourses does not mean that the potentiality is stopped; instead it “starts up again on one of its old lines or creates new directions” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 9). This reminds us of group 2 and the younger academics in group 3. It is possible to contend that resistance to dominant (major) discourses can appear anywhere and everywhere as a rhizome may be broken, but it will start up again on one of its old lines, or on new lines (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Hence, it can be argued that group 2 was the counter actualisation of group 1 as academics in group 2 rejected the notion of the socially prescribed identities and challenged their *Kodrat*. The performativity based values and career system, which was introduced in year 2008, may fuel the identity work among participants in group 2. Combined and connected to the other potentialities (feminism, Western-based individuality and supporting resources) may generate different career trajectories for participants in this group. This also indicated that the dominant national State Ibuisism discourse was deterritorialised by Western based academic performativity culture which gradually reterritorialised the field and became a major discourse within the territory.

On the other hand, identity work among younger academics represents resistance of the minor discourse towards the hegemony of major discourses. In other words, group 3 was the combined counter actualisation of group 1 and group 2. Identity work among younger academics as minor discourse also represents deterritorialisation in action. As every little actualisation enables counter actualisation, the hegemony of major discourses enables deterritorialisation among younger academics. They create their resistance movements as a part of their identity work in establishing their authentic academic identity. To summarise, what these participants did was reterritorialise the major discourse in order to create a place for an identity of their choice, which allows them to make the alternative identities available to choose from. In addition, it was discovered that young academics’ identity is more salient and authentic whenever they are outside their habitat, i.e. university. This may represent the active endeavours of the younger academics in deterritorialising the major discourses territory. At this point, deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation intensely generate tensions within the dominant discourses

territory, which can be seen from the apparent generational differences among participants.

According to Archer (2008), academic identity is also understood as sophisticated processes that not only consist of becoming but also unbecoming. Archer argues that becoming an academic is “not smooth, straightforward, linear or automatic, but can also involve conflict and instances of inauthenticity, marginalisation and exclusion” (2008, p. 387). As the identity work process is an ongoing project that also entails potentiality, therefore, it seems fair to suggest that academic identity work processes not only consist of becoming and unbecoming as argued earlier by Archer, but also re-becoming. Unbecoming an academic may be displayed by participants in group 1 who voluntarily underplayed their academic identity.

Younger academics in group 3 are no different. As they also reject the notion of performativity based academic success, they also experience the threat of unbecoming academics (Archer, 2008). The professional journey of participants both in groups 1 and 3 may appear not in line with the success image of contemporary academics. However, they may not be stopped at all. They may re-become in the future with all of their potentialities. Then, several intriguing questions remain: *will* the minor discourse successfully deterritorialise the major discourses’ territory and fulfil its potentials to become the new major discourse within the territory? Or is it only a matter of time until the minor discourse is easily dismissed and repositioned by the dominant discourses as argued by Thomas, Mills and Mills (2004)? We only know that the minor discourse of younger academics have the potential to become the major discourse. There are conditions under which the minor discourse has the potential to become the major discourse and conditions under which the minor discourse *does not* have the potential to become the major discourse. These conditions do not belong to the *internal constitution* of the minor discourse, but rather, are shaped by the relations of the minor discourse responses (identity work) to its environments and contexts: type of organisations, organisation’s conditions, formative events, national-cultural context, gender, etc. as identified by Brown (2014). Different combination of factors generate different rhizomatic movement and trajectories, as different combinations (assemblages) on female academics generate different identity work process and lead to the different career trajectories.

Women, while quantitatively large, remain to be marginalised. Findings in this research represent the problem encountered by women globally. In this research it was found that regardless of location, ethnicity, religion and culture, women still encounter challenges both in personal and professional domain. In particular, it was also found in this research that even though the Minangkabau society in West Sumatera is known as a matriarchal society, women are still underrepresented in the strategic positions, especially in public organisations. A common view amongst the participants was that their local cultural values on female identity did not represent its authenticity anymore due to the hegemony of State Ibuism values that came into existence during the New Order period. According to the Deleuze and Guattari's perspective, this finding represents how a matriarchal society in Minangkabau was deterritorialised and infused by the forces of dominant national patriarchal cultures during the New Order era. Not only that, the local matriarchal culture has been infiltrated by the performativity culture since 2008, which reinforced the masculinity based success concept from the national patriarchal culture in the workplace. The dominant discourses territory blurred the boundaries among local cultural values, the national cultural values of State Ibuism and the Western based academic performativity values and they became integrated. They reinforced and reconnected with each other to become a multiple, strong, dominant discourses territory in influencing identity work of female academics and their career trajectories.

6.3.2 Minor Contributions

6.3.2.1 Filling Gaps in the Extant Literature.

The findings of this research also fill gaps in the existing literature. Firstly, this research helps in filling the need for more research on academic identity work in the context of the developing nations. Despite Gordon and Whitchurch's compilation (2010) of academic identity issues being insightful and significant, it still lacks perspectives from developing countries. For instance, this research found that in developing countries, particularly in Indonesia, academics are still struggling with "their own set of national and regional forces that impact upon their institutional structures and procedures" (Azman, 2012, p. 389). As a result, higher education institutions in these countries still have to deal with reconceptualisation, restructuring and realigning within the system, which eventually influence one's academic identity work. In addition, this research responds to "the need for more thinking and

discussion on the academic identities in the context of the developing countries” (Azman, 2012, p. 389). Azman is not alone in her view. Along similar lines, Morley (2013a) encourages for the need to collect good global data on the problem of underrepresentation of female academics in senior positions in higher education institutions “which would inform analysis of the barriers which have been encountered by those women who have attained leadership positions as well as the ‘structures of inequality’ which militate against the entry of larger numbers of women into these roles” (p. 1). As claimed by White, Bagilhole and Riordan (2012), career trajectories and the underrepresentation problem of women in higher education management starts at the level of associate professorship and becomes even more prominent at the full professor level. However, this research found that the problem of underrepresentation of female academics in higher education institution starts at the lecturer level (young academics) and their underrepresentation in academic and managerial positions become more apparent in every upward level. The findings of the research confirmed the connection between a woman’s career trajectories in academia and academic identity work process. Consequently, it enhances our understanding of the reason why women are underrepresented in senior academic positions in universities.

Moreover, Hill and Wie (2012) argue that academic promotion in Indonesia is dominantly based on seniority and is governed by an “extremely complex system developed by DIKTI and known as the ‘KUM’ (academic credit point) system. The weightings employed in the KUM system bear little relationship to usual academic practice” (2012, p. 247). However, those are not enough. In this research, it was found that being actively engaged in office politics eases one’s career. As mentioned by a participant, she was not only required to be “*Pintar*”, but also to be “*Pintar-Pintar*” in order to progress her career. Despite her credit points in the KUM system being above standard, she argued that she still had to perform several non-academic networking activities such as *ngopi-ngopi* (having coffee, usually with the influential person), and *jalan-jalan ke Pusat* [networking with influential person in Jakarta. Jakarta is translated as *Pusat* (centre) to symbolise the centre of the power and location of the top level decision maker]. Consistent with the civil service culture of state university administration, recommendations for promotion at the middle and senior academic levels must be approved by DIKTI in Jakarta.

In this research, it was discovered that particular organisational and national and cultural contexts influence the identity work of female academics and their career trajectories. Regardless of their ethnicity and location, it was found that female academics were struggling to construct an authentic identity as the notion of an ideal woman identity is strongly defined by the New Order's government. In addition, the authoritarian government has been constantly indoctrinating Indonesian people through the *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) credo for 32 years, where everyone is not encouraged to be different. *Nrimo*, as one of the New Order's values, are strongly embedded in the participants in group 1. Participants, who experienced conformity, tend to accept such treatments in order to create security and harmony within particular groups to which they belong, in order to minimise the conflict with the majority. As a result, female academics, especially the younger ones, are expected to obey what they are told to do, to respect and not to question or debate with senior academics. The effect of power distance is significant on identity work among younger academics as this creates insecurity and shame among participants, which eventually fuel their identity work process. Lindawati and Smark (2015) found that women in Java Island were struggling to pursue their career as a result of being a proper or good Javanese woman. This research extends their study and Brown's (2014) as it develops our understanding that a dominant national and cultural context is not only influencing identity work of the Javanese, but also most female academics in Indonesia.

Though the authoritarian government of the New Order era ended 16 years ago, the concept of State Ibuism is still felt by female academics as they endeavour in their identity work. Younger women, who were raised and educated during the democratisation or reformation era where there is more personal freedom and access to information, were student activists in mass protests against the New Order regime (Nyman, 2006). However, according to Suryakusuma (2012), despite the New Order regime having fallen, women's roles are still being manipulated for political purposes. Meanwhile, older and more experienced participants are found to largely support the discourse of State Ibuism as they were raised and educated during the New Order regime and these values remain embedded within them.

The Indonesian general national culture is to respect older people. In this research, it seemed that older (mid- and late-career) academics were manipulating the national

culture in order to exert control over younger academics. However, younger participants felt that this culture is very disempowering and is limiting their academic freedom. The multiple pressures faced by the female academics in this research are complex because “individuals are not read by others in terms of a single social-identity but in terms of several” (Watson, 2008, p. 136). In this research, the social-identities overlapped between social-category, formal-role, local-organisational, local-personal and cultural-stereotype (Watson, 2008).

The analysis suggests that while identity work at the individual level shows agency and resistance, forces at the organisational level tend to work against agency. According to Watson’s (2008) definition of identity work that emphasises the role of agency, it appears that participants in this research actively engaged in their identity work, as their endeavours to challenge and to change the dominations of major discourses. In particular, young academics’ agentic endeavours were only performed individually and occurred at the local level. As a result, their resistance tends to be minor, indirect and can be dismissed easily by those who support and benefit from the status quo (Thomas, Mills & Mills, 2004) because “an organisation expects its members to become functionaries of the system and ambassadors of the status quo” (Jackall, 1988, as cited in Saayman & Crafford, 2011, p. 2). Tensions between minor discourse and major discourse are inevitable and might influence the minor discourse in fulfilling its potential to become major discourse within the territory.

Many studies argue that particular religious teachings are blocking women’s career (Chaves, 1999; Constantine et al., 2006; Dahlan, 2000; Greely, 1963; Jaschok & Shui, 2013; Melman, 2016; Murniati, 2012; Richie et al., 1997; Wolf, 2013). However, the participants suggest that their faith and religious teachings were not blocking their career. Participants from various religious backgrounds admitted that a woman’s status is highly respected in their faith and religion, respectively. Rather, the teachings were merely being misinterpreted and exploited by the New Order government to preserve the hegemony of patriarchy, not only at the national level but also at the local level.

In a study of promotion and tenure practices in the USA, female faculty members identified themselves as being able to perform feminine work, displaying normative motherly behaviour and conforming to the status quo (Lester, 2008). However, in

order to achieve top positions, participants in this research mentioned that they need to reject the gender based identity and not display feminine behaviour in the workplace and at the same time they have to embrace the performativity values. In addition, most of the participants (group 2) in this research who achieved senior academic positions in universities acknowledged that they were expected to adopt a particular, expected set of values and behaviours (imitating success of academic identity), which are mainly based on masculine values. Moreover, in order to advance their career trajectories, they had to engage in office politics by being adaptive and using impression management to develop a high profile among peers and key decision makers at the higher levels. This reflects one of the Alvesson's (2010) seven images of self-identity (the strategist), that being "the individual tries to craft a sense of self (collective identification) that is then to be mobilised for the accomplishment of a personal or collective objective" (p. 212).

As a result of the overwhelming influence of Indonesian higher education discourses, it seems that the participants in group 1 and group 3 are unable to enact an authentic identity as their organisational context offers specific identities to be adopted (the image of a successful and productive academic). These specific identities are derived from their organisation's vision and objectives. To progress in their career, the identities of the women in this research had to be congruent with the dominant values and culture of the university. Consequently, the continuous processes of identity work and various responses due to the relative strengths of institutional influences and individual agency led the female academics in this research to be limited in their ability to establish distinct female academic identities that varied from the established institutional norms.

According to Nikunen's study (2012), managerialism, performativity and meritocracy bring academic freedom. Her study also argues that meritocratic system creates a competitive and demanding environment, which frequently results in gender inequality when the talk turns to careers. In this research, it was found that senior academics (Professors) compromised their academic freedom in order to survive or to excel in their academic career. This result is somewhat ironic, because more the participants strengthened their academic career identity (Professorial identity), the lesser academic freedom they had in academic identity work. Participants had to compromise their academic freedom, e.g. by changing their

research focus into something that is more marketable and actively engages in office politics in order to quicken their professional career, both at the academic and managerial level. At the same time, senior academics imitated and embodied masculine values into their academic identity. This is because masculine values are strongly associated with leadership and key position. The stagnated career trajectories and the problem of underrepresentation of female academics in senior academic positions are still depicted by the findings of this research. At the same time, the findings contribute to the global data on the problem of underrepresentation of women in senior academic positions as recommended earlier by Morley (2013a).

It can be argued that the concept of Western-based academic performativity is in some ways irrelevant to the Indonesian context, particularly with regard to cultural and social aspects. Based on the findings, it can be seen that the performativity notion is perceived as individualistic values contrasted to the collectivistic culture in Indonesia, which more suited with traditional academic values and academic freedom. Consequently, academics who adopt the performativity values then will be considered as an ambitious and selfish academic, let alone if the person is a female. Consequently it would lead female academics to less prepare and lacks of desire to actively participate in the competitive process of career progress (Pinto, 2013), as displayed by group 1 and 3, which contribute to the underrepresentation problem. Moreover, the concept of academic proletarianisation remains relevant to the Indonesian context, as the legal basis of academic profession in Indonesia is changing as the Minister changed. Unlike academics from different countries (Ylijoki & Henriksson, 2015), there is no permanent regulation on academic profession which can be advocated to ensure Indonesian academic's wellbeing.

These findings answer the call by Brown (2014) that we need to develop an understanding of how particular organisational and national-cultural contexts influence an individual's identity and identity work, as identity work "may occurs differently in cultures that vary on indexes such as individualism/collectivism, power distance and masculinity/femininity" (Brown, 2014, p. 12). In addition, these study findings also address the so far under-researched questions about the part played by "social structures, cultures and discourses within which the individual is located"

(Watson, 2008, p. 122). The following section discusses the second minor contributions of this research, which provides confirmation to the existing literatures.

6.3.2.2 Confirming the Extant Literature

Several findings of this research confirm the existing research about identity work among women and the connection to their career trajectories. One of the main findings from this research is that Indonesian academic women differ from female academics in the Western context in terms of career. As argued by Luke (2000), in the Western context, women are encouraged to have a sense of independence, ethos of individualism; goal directed self-promotion and is self-motivated towards their own career trajectories. Women are expected to be able to voice their interests and articulate their own argument in public domains. However, in this study, it was found that the participants are still struggling to deal with the socio-cultural pressures, and at the same time they have to deal with the performativity pressures from their profession as academics. As a result, female academics, regardless of their academic qualification and competencies, frequently perceive themselves as inferior to men and senior counterparts at the workplace and to their husbands at the domestic domain. Most participants believe that they must not breach social expectations and norms. To do otherwise will bring social sanctions. This finding is not only in accordance with other studies (e.g.: Bussey, 2011; Luke, 2000; Metz, 2011; Zhang, 2010), it also confirms the unevenness of the relevance of Western research to non-Western women's identity work and career (Tu et al., 2006; Xian & Woodhams, 2008).

In addition, it was found that the participants' social identity as a woman was far more salient than their identity as an academic. This exemplifies the works of Archer (2008), Faulkner (2009, 2011) and Lindawati and Smark (2015). Regardless of their actual work performances, female academics are still regarded as women in terms of the biological aspect. It was found that female academics are not visible in the workplace and at the same time their identity as academics are seen inauthentic. Women are also perceived as inauthentic as soon as their identity as an academic in the work, social and domestic domain has been performed.

In respect of the national values, Javanese values serve as foundations in constituting the ideal image of a woman and this remains embedded even today. The findings of

this research confirm that women are hindered to advance their career trajectories as a result from the State Ibuisism and Fatherism values imposed during the New Order era. This would make women struggle in constructing their own identity, not to mention the endeavours they should take in order to progress their career. It is hard for Indonesian academic women to excel authentically in the workplace as there are limitations on them imposed by the socio-cultural aspects.

Moreover, men remain are strongly associated with leadership in Indonesia; this significantly creates unchallenged gender leadership gaps. In this research, it was found that many female academics, especially mid-career academics, voluntarily compromised their own career trajectories, especially “when transitioning from middle to senior management as they surrender to their *Kodrat*” (Andajani, Hadiwirawan & Sokang, 2016, p. 108) and actively contribute to the “leaking pipeline” phenomenon by voluntarily became such average academics. This also contributes to the problem of underrepresentation in senior academic positions because it would reduce women academics availability in the pool of talents.

Not only that, this research has confirmed that the contemporary university system of careers and rewards are profoundly gendered as argued by several scholars (Currie, Harris & Thiele, 2000; Eveline, 2005; Harris, Thiele & Currie, 1998; Learmonth & Humphreys, 2012), and even for the developing country such as Indonesia. Men and senior academics, e.g. tend to be more focussed in the research field whereas their female counterparts are emphasised in the teaching role, as the research performances are pivotal in continuing employment or career trajectories (Barret & Barret, 2011; White, 2012).

Additionally, Pick (2015) argues that there is a possibility that resistance to a dominant (master) discourse can appear anywhere and everywhere. It can be seen from the findings that as a result, force (resistance) unfolds on the hegemonic state of the dominant discourses. This research confirms his argument, as the female academic identity work (the younger academics) as minor discourse resistances occur in various place in public universities in Indonesia.

In addition, Hill and Wie suggest that academic profession in Indonesia is strongly associated with “the inadequate and inappropriate structure of incentives, particularly material incentives, prevailing in the state universities and research institutes” (2012,

p. 247). Not surprisingly, this would eventually lead academics to seek and devote their time for extra income in external activities. These activities may include research projects, consulting and additional teaching often in another institution (Suryadarma, Pomeroy & Tanuwidjaja, 2011). The participants in this research are no different. Despite the social status of being an academic is highly regarded as a noble profession in the Indonesian society, all of the participants stated that the salary structure of the academic profession is not adequate to cover their living costs. The problem of poor compensation exacerbated their academic identity work process. For example, one of participants questioned her own academic identity because she was too busy handling her fashion business. As a result, her academic responsibilities on campus got neglected, which meant that it will have negative consequences for her career.

Ylijoki and Ursin (2013) argue that in order to maintain an authentic identity as an academic, ironically an academic needs to leave academia. This research has confirmed their argument. Realising that their career's chances to excel in a university is limited, the participants had to actualise themselves in external environments and at the same time, redefine the concept of success. The following section presents the implications, both policy and practical.

6.4 Policy and practical implications

Although these research findings can be applied only to the studied female academics in Indonesian public universities, the findings of the present research do have relevant implications. They are: policy and practical implications.

6.4.1 Policy Implications

This research suggests that the current Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) policy in Indonesia, particularly in higher education settings, is not making the anticipated impact (Donnelly, 2015). Though there is a supporting policy regarding gender equality in the Indonesian context such as Indonesia President's decree No. 9 year 2000 – which is still being drafted to upgrade it into the gender equality national law, the implementation is still far from the expected result (Robinson & Bessel, 2002). The theoretical arguments for this justification suggest the need for policy review, which will urge the policy makers to understand the identity work process among

female academics and the influencing factors in connection to their career trajectories.

Not only in gender equality and fairness policies, this research also encourages global review on academic career promotion policies, including the compensation system. An advanced level of transparency regarding HR policies in recruitment, selection, performance assessment, training and development support the practices of merit-based compensation and promotion system (Ambrose & Schminke, 2009; Bowen & Ostroff, 2004; Lavelle et al., 2009; Lehmann-Willenbrock et al., 2012). The present research encourages the establishment and implementation of fair and transparent human resource policies in order to minimise the ambiguity in one's career trajectory and to assess one's career based on fair actual performances.

Also, it was found that the minor discourse of the younger academics emerged as a form of resistance to the dominant discourses. Policy makers should be aware of it and be able to formulate relevant policy that may accommodate their aspirations. If higher education institutions are serious about attracting and maintaining potential academic staff, a viable solution regarding these above mentioned issues needs to be formulated. This research is not alone in finding this. There are plentiful of evidence to support that the tensions regarding identity have negative impact on commitment, work motivation and morale, work satisfaction and productivity, if poorly understood and managed (McInnis, 2010; Winter, 2009; Winter & O'Donohue, 2012). This eventually influences an academic's career. Until these issues are addressed, on the problem of stagnated career trajectories of female academics and their authentic identity constructions are likely to continue to be a major concern in the higher education sector globally. It would be a loss for higher education institutions if they cannot retain their potential human resources.

6.4.2 Practical Implications

From a practical point of view, a number of suggestions have been provided based on the findings of this research. In addition to the review of the relevant policies, it is important to ensure the implementation and the control of the policy itself. Despite the regulations being present, it was found that violations still occurred. Performance requirements should be fair, clear, and enforceable. In addition, supporting programs should be fairly established and allocated in every university in Indonesia by

considering its characteristics, priority programmes and courses and the readiness of the human resources. Gender is often associated with and seen as a demographic variable rather than a subject of productivity. In a human resource management context, male and female academics are the backbones of the higher education organisations and therefore, it will be a waste if the women's potentials go unused. Therefore, universities must encourage micro actions, such as initiatives and practices that assist in generating and sustaining positive attitudes towards female academics. Instead of treating women as second class citizens, they should be fairly valued and treated as important as their male counterparts. Women are also a part of the human capital in an organisation, which possess its own competences and potential in its own field of expertise. Even though the culture is difficult to change (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005), female academics should be given more opportunities and be encouraged to take part in the decision-making process, and the relationship among academics should be based on professionalism and mutual respect, regardless of their gender, culture, race and seniority (age). In regard to Indonesian context, The Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education through DIKTI should acknowledge the obvious tensions among young, mid-career and late-career female academics, as this may influence productivity at the workplace in the long run. The following section provides limitations and future avenues of the research.

6.5 Limitations and future avenues of the research

While this research has generated some significant findings, it has certain limitations as well. Interviewing participants in their native language was labour-intensive and resource consuming to a certain extent, as this process consisted of transcribing, translating and re-translating the language to fit in the particular context. As this research involves sensitive issues as concerned by two academics who withdrew their participation, it should be highlighted that for some of the academics, to mention the New Order's era is a taboo in some cases. This is understandable because during the 32 years of Soeharto's presidency, mentioning the New Order or discussing it would have affected one's safety and life. Hence, an appropriate approach is needed to be employed in the future research in exploring similar sensitive topics. In addition, it was a geographic issue that made it difficult to undertake a comprehensive nationwide research, as Indonesia is a multi-cultural country that has seven major islands (Sumatera, Java, Bali, Kalimantan, Sulawesi,

Maluku and Papua) and almost 10,000 inhabited small islands. Even in a major island, like Sumatera or Kalimantan, different cultures exist. Therefore, it is hard to generalise the findings. The researcher conducted research in 19 public universities and interviewed 23 Indonesian female academics.

While data saturation was reached, these 23 academics certainly do not represent Indonesia as a whole. In addition, the small number of participants necessarily limits the degree to which the research findings can be generalised to represent all female academics. Any generalisation of the findings to other contexts should be undertaken with caution. However, the model offered through this research explains similar problems in other nations. As previously noted, the primary objective of the research was to interpret the experiences, perceptions and descriptions of this cohort of participants in this particular context.

In spite of these limitations, this research raises questions worthy of further research and has important implications for policy and practice. In addition, it will be an opportunity for future researchers to conduct further research on academics not only in the other islands of Indonesia, but also in other nations, to obtain more comprehensive results. Future investigations of Indonesian female academics, particularly the younger academics, are needed to answer the remaining questions of *whether* these younger academics deterritorialise the dominant discourses and become the new major discourse within the territory as the time goes by or *whether* the minor discourse can be easily dismissed by the dominant discourses as argued earlier by Thomas, Mills & Mills (2004).

Moreover, these findings raise intriguing questions. As this research is only limited to female academics, future comparative research may investigate and focus on male academics, particularly within the perspectives of the majority. Therefore, the following questions considered important in conducting future research. Are the male academics being advantaged by similar discourses? How do particular dominant discourses shape their identity work processes? Do the pressures of being a man influence their career trajectories?

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter presents a discussion of the findings on this thesis in relation to the research context and the literatures reviewed in chapters 2 and 3. The findings of this research are confirmed by researchers whose work has been cited. The research provides new insight on how strong and dominant discourses shape the identity work process among female academics in Indonesian public universities. The discussion focusses on major concerns of the research. Firstly, it discusses the meaning of becoming a female academic in an Indonesian public university, which depicts their struggle in constructing an authentic identity as dominant discourses act as an obstacle in their career trajectories and how these discourses contributed to the women underrepresentation in senior academic positions. Secondly, it presents theoretical contributions to the body of knowledge, both major and minor. Major contributions present on how Watson's three-step of identity work process (2008) is developed by employing literary theory, Deleuze-Guattari's concepts of rhizomes, major and minor discourses, and deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation. Next, the minor contributions of this research fill the gaps and confirm previous findings in the extant literatures. Thirdly, the findings of this research offer implications on both policy and practical implications. Lastly, limitations of this research also assess and raise stimulating questions for further research. The following chapter concludes this thesis by revisiting the research aims and questions, and also sets out a future research agenda.

7 CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This thesis investigates the under-theorised topic of identity work process among female academics in relation to their career trajectories, particularly to the problem of underrepresentation of women in senior academic positions at Indonesian public universities. The aims of this thesis were twofold. Firstly, it was to examine and understand the identity work processes among female academics and how these connected to their career trajectories, which in turn influenced the problem of underrepresentation problem in academic key positions at Indonesia public universities. The second aim of this thesis was to explain and to understand the identity work process by using a conceptual tool from the literary theory that is concepts proposed by Deleuze and Guattari.

This thesis made a contribution to the extant theory of identity work among academics through an empirical study of Indonesian female academics. This was accomplished by developing Watson's three-step model by using literary theory, Deleuze and Guattari's concepts of rhizomes, major and minor discourses, and reterritorialisation and deterritorialisation. Qualitative research design was employed in order to answer the research questions, whereas phenomenology was employed in order to capture the lived experiences of the female academics in their identity work process and their career journey narrations. The research revealed the identity work process as a rhizomatic movement and how this rhizomatic movement in identity work processes generated multiple career trajectories among female academics and also explained the problem of underrepresentation in senior academic positions. In addition, the present chapter provides a conclusion of the thesis by revisiting the research questions and research sub questions. The final remarks have been drawn at the end of this chapter.

7.2 Revisiting the research questions

The main idea of this research was to explore the experiences of female academics during their identity work process and the connection to their career trajectories. These conclusions are the essence of the lived experience of the participants during their professional journey as female academics in Indonesian public universities. Based on the comprehensive literature review and the discussions on the problems

faced by the Indonesian female academics, the main research question of this study was formulated, which is as follows:

- How does identity work of female academics connect to their underrepresentation in senior academic positions at Indonesia public universities?

According to the findings, it was found that identity work process among female academics significantly connect to their career trajectories and eventually contribute to the problem of their underrepresentation in senior academic positions at Indonesian public universities. Available major discourses are limiting women in their academic identity construction. Eventually these women academics were struggling to construct their authentic academic identity, let alone their career aspirations. Consequently, women are expected to conform to their prescribed traditional role and they voluntarily gave up their career potential, which contribute to the women underrepresentation problem in senior academic positions.

Also, it is found that the concept of Western-based academic performativity is somewhat irrelevant in Indonesian context, particularly on cultural and social aspects. Based on the findings, it can be seen that performativity notion is perceived as individualistic values contrasted to the collectivistic culture in Indonesia, which more suited with traditional academic values and academic freedom. Consequently, female academics who adopt the performativity values then will be culturally and socially judged as an ambitious and selfish academic. Consequently it would lead female academics tend to less prepare and lacks of desire to actively participate in the competitive process of career trajectories advancement, as displayed by group 1 and 3, which contribute to the underrepresentation problem. At the same time, group 2 successfully managed to achieve senior academic positions due to the economic and social resources and particular political strategy implementation combined with masculinised behavior at work. The following section addresses the research sub questions regarding the main research question above in detail.

7.2.1 Addressing Research Sub Questions

Thus, in answering the research question above, the following sub questions have been addressed:

- What does it mean to become a female academic in Indonesia?
- What shapes female academics' identity work process?
- How is female academics' identity work explained by using a conceptual tool from literary theory, Deleuze-Guattari's concepts, through empirical study?
- What are the effects of the identity work process on career trajectories?

7.2.1.1 What does it mean to become a Woman Academic in Indonesia?

The purpose of this research can be summed up as a response to the question of how identity work of female academics connect to their career trajectories, which in turn contributes to their underrepresentation in senior academic positions at Indonesia public universities. In answering that question, it is important to capture the meaning of being a female academic in Indonesian public universities, in relation to their academic identity work process and career trajectories. The analysis of this thesis revealed some of the problems and challenges faced by the participants not only in their professional domain, but also in their private one, which ignite and fuel their ongoing identity work process. Moreover, this research discovered that the research participants constantly struggled during their identity work process in order to construct an authentic academic identity and in order to resolve those challenges.

As a result of the competing discourses, participants experienced such pressures upon them. The participants felt that they could not authentically construct their own identity as their social identities were predefined by the strong discourses of Soeharto's New Order government, which are embedded in the people even today. Women were required to display their feminine identity, instead of their professional identity as an academic in the workplace. Hence, their actual performance, competence and ability are overshadowed by their physical appearance and their predestined identity as an ideal Indonesian woman. On the other hand, younger people were also required to respect the older people, not only in the family and society, but also in the workplace. Younger people are taught that they must not express any ideas that may contradict their parents or older people. This creates tensions as younger academics feel that they have to compromise their authenticity

and academic freedom, even if this means they have to comply with unreasonable and irrelevant requests from their seniors; otherwise their careers will be stuck. In contrast, this was perceived by the older academics as a form of discipline and a part of empowerment and mentoring programme.

At the same time, the participants also felt that the academic profession is more demanding. Performativity and managerialism brought their own values, which contradicted with the traditional academic values of professional autonomy. The participants mentioned about their struggles in managing the various duties they had to undertake at work, not to mention their duties at home as a daughter, a wife and a mother. Also, the prescribed social-identities limited women only to the domestic domain. As a result, constant engagements in the identity work process are inevitable. In this study, participants mentioned that the practices in the workplace are still gendered and the academic profession is getting proletarianised.

These conditions as argued above by participants brought varying consequences to their career trajectories and eventually contribute to the underrepresentation problem. For example, participants in group 1 voluntarily compromised their career trajectories as they consciously embraced the socially predefined gender identities into their identity work process. For the participants in this group, being conformed to their gender identity and underplaying their career is the manifestation of their authentic identity work by voluntarily give up their career prospects. Moreover, senior academics, who dominated Group Two, felt that the socially prescribed gender identity is not in line with their authentic aspirations; therefore they rejected the New Order values of the ideal image of a woman. At the same time, participants in Group Two emphasised their identity work process as successful contemporary academics by deploying strategic approaches to progress their career. Consequently, their career trajectories appeared to excel as most of these participants achieved the seemingly impossible professoriate and managerial positions for female academics. In addition, participants mentioned that they were able to achieve the key positions due to the supporting resources. These responses from both Groups One and Two reinforce and reposition the hegemony of the dominant discourses.

On the other hand, participants in Group Three chose different paths compared to their senior counterparts from the previous groups and mentioned their resistance

against the dominating discourses on authenticity, moral and ethical reasons. Participants in this group were dominated by the younger academics. Moreover, the participants' desires to escape the hegemony of the major discourses led them to innovate and redefine the success concept. They mentioned that their academic identity was more authentic whenever they enacted it outside the academic environments. When they struggled in dealing with the performativity based success and socially prescribed gender identity, they were actually on their way to re-discovering their authentic identities, the identity that was not offered and was not available in the dominant discourses territory. Despite being categorised into different groups, all of the participants' identity work was based on the search of authenticity in their identity construction and reconstruction.

7.2.1.2 What Shapes Identity Work Process among Women Academics?

According to the findings, it was found that there are two identified major discourses that significantly contribute to the identity work among female academics. They are: higher education discourses and socio-cultural discourses, which were strongly embedded during 32 years of Soeharto's New Order presidency. The above, identified major discourses appear significant in generating a complex multidiscursive environment in which the participants attempted to negotiate and manage the tensions around their academic identity. These obvious tensions are as follows: (i) between performativity and managerialism, and traditional academic values, (ii) between pressures to engage in global competition and the academics proletarianisation, (iii) conflicting relationship between senior academics and junior academics, as a result of the cultural factors and pressures from the performativity and (iv) ambiguity of identity between gender identity and professional identity. Consequently, the contradictions among female academics' social identities are inevitable. These limiting and conflicting social identities eventually shape their identity work process. Moreover, by exploring these limiting and conflicting social identities, it can be seen that female academics encounter identity dissonances in their identity work process. In addition, female academics struggle in dealing with academic fragilities (insecurity and shame) as the consequences of identity dissonances brought by performativity pressures and the complexity of contemporary higher education system, added with the demanding socio-cultural discourses. The findings exemplify Ylijoki and Ursin's work (2013) on global academic fragilities

and identity work process as the agentic responses.

In this research, fragilities among the participants were evident and varied. For mid-career academics as well as the senior academics, who were raised and educated during the New Order period, their identity work process was mainly influenced by the State Ibuism values. However, the senior academics were able to ignore the social pressures of being an ideal Indonesian woman as glorified by the State Ibuism values. It is understandable, because mainly these women's husbands are currently holding or previously held a prestigious position in a private or a public organisation. Prestigious position in an Indonesian organisation is strongly associated with privileges, facilities and good remuneration. Hence, these resources enabled participants to ease their domestic responsibilities and to ignore the social pressures, which also influenced their identity work process. In addition, their identity work process was mainly influenced by performativity and managerialism values. At the same time, younger academics rejected the image of the passive woman as promoted by the New Order government through its State Ibuism. A possible explanation for this is that most of the younger academics were born, raised and educated during the democratisation or after the reformation era, where there was more personal freedom and access to information, or they were student activists in mass protests against the New Order regime. Participants in this group were able to obtain alternative choices and counter-information. In addition, younger academics also rejected the success concept based on performativity and managerialism for moral and ethical reasons. The combination of rejection towards both dominant discourses made the identity work process among younger academics more dynamic because it made them a minority within the minority.

7.2.1.3 How are Identity Work Processes of Women Academics Explained by Using a Conceptual Tool from Literary Theory, Deleuze-Guattari's Concepts, through Empirical Study?

A theoretical model (Figure 6.1) was presented earlier in the "Discussion" chapter of this thesis. This theoretical model is a development from Watson's three-step model (2008), which was useful in analysing the experiences of the participants in their identity work process, and the connection to their career trajectories, and how it connects to the women underrepresentation in senior academic positions. Watson's three-step model was developed by using Deleuze-Guattari's concepts of rhizomes,

minor discourse and major discourse, and deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation. This theoretical model shows how the different career flows experienced by female academics are the results of their identity work process in Indonesian public universities. This model also shows the multiple factors that shaped the identity work process among female academics; they are higher education discourses and socio-cultural discourses, which have been elaborated in detail in the previous chapter. It was found that these dominant discourses significantly defined the identity work among female academics.

Based on Deleuze-Guattari's concepts, it was found that the identity work process is a rhizomatic movement. Identity work process among female academics encompasses constant movements, mutations and connections. Moreover, identity work process is not a fixed, static entity, rather a constantly moving set of potential connections that are made by the participants as desiring machines. Despite the number of people in group 3 being bigger than the other groups, it was found that the younger academics who fall into this group were a minority within the minority. This represents the minority discourse as conceptualised by Deleuze-Guattari. Moreover, it was found that group 1 and group 2 reinforced back to the dominant (major) discourses territory. Thus, their identity work process can be translated as the reterritorialisation acts as they merely reinforced the hegemony of major discourses.

The previous question asked in the literature review section is that when everything is predefined by the dominant power, is there any place for minority to construct their own authentic identity? Based on the findings, it was found that hegemony of the major discourses (higher education discourses and socio-cultural discourses) dominated the territory of Indonesian academic and then deterritorialisation as a reaction from the younger academics inevitably emerged. Younger academics believed that the performativity based career trajectories and the gender based limitations imposed upon them are not their authentic academic identity. Younger academics perceived that authentic academic success cannot be measured by the materialistic factors anymore; instead, success can be achieved by giving back to the society by being more concerned about humanitarian values, and at the same time spending time with their families or the people they love and working as an authentic academic.

7.2.1.4 What are the Effects of the Identity Work Process on Career Trajectories?

In this study, it was found that Indonesian female academics are significantly different compared to the female academics in Western countries in their identity work process and perception towards career. In the Western literatures (e.g. Crowley-Henry & Weir, 2007; Gerson, 1986; Luke, 2000; Rosener, 1990; Tharenou, 2010), women are encouraged to have a sense of independence, ethos of individualism, goal directed self-promotion and be self-motivated towards one's career trajectory. Women are expected to be able to express their own voices, articulate their own argument in public domains. However, in this study it was found that women are still struggling to deal with socio-cultural pressures, whereas at the same time they still have to deal with the performativity pressures from their profession as academics. A complex interwoven setting from two dominant discourses put Indonesian female academics in a precarious position which leads them to constantly struggle and engage in the identity work process. Based on the findings, it can be seen that performativity notion is perceived as individualistic values contrasted to the collectivistic culture in Indonesia, which more suited with traditional academic values and academic freedom. Consequently, female academics who adopt performative values will be culturally and socially judged as an ambitious and selfish. This could lead them to avoid being categorised as high-achiever by voluntarily give up their career aspirations.

Consequently, female academics' actual competences in this study remained invisible in their workplaces. Female academics' gender identity as a woman is highly visible, whereas at the same time their identity as a professional academic is invisible. In addition, the participants in this study also experienced gender inauthenticity in their academic career, as the progression in academic career trajectory is perceived authentic only for their male counterparts. Also, the success in academia is mainly based on masculine values. As a result, the participants felt helpless in developing their career.

These constant pressures from competing dominant discourses enable participants to engage in their academic identity work, which eventually define their career trajectories and its progression. Academic identity work is an ongoing personal project focussed in constructing a relative coherent and authentic notion of personal self-identity and their efforts to influence the various social-identities, which affect

them in the various milieu in which they live their lives as academics. As a consequence of the various pressures on the limiting and conflicting social identities, which created multiple realities for participants, it was found that these participants had different identity work process and career trajectories. According to the findings mentioned earlier, in their identity work process, these participants experienced identity dissonances, such as insecurity and shame. Those identity dissonances experienced by participants trigger the next stage in identity work process, which is to either position or deposition. This finding reminds us Deleuze-Guattari's concept of rhizomes. As argued by Deleuze and Guattari (1987), there is no single discourse that creates a reality; instead rhizomes are associated with heterogeneity of reality. As a consequence of their identity work, it was found in this study that the participants were divided into different career trajectories where the first two groups (group 1 and 2) seemed to reposition and reinforce the dominant discourses and the third group (group 3) seemed as a minor discourse, which resisted against the dominant discourses. The dominant success concept, which was strongly associated with a bright academic career in the university's prestigious positions, gradually faded in the eyes of the group 3 participants. Most of these participants expressed their redefined success concept, which was based on moral and ethical reasons and how the academic profession should contribute to greater humanitarian reasons, and not based on the symbolic material reasons.

In terms of minor discourse and its career trajectories, it was the participants' desire to escape the hegemony of the major discourses that led them to innovate and redefine their success concept. Participants remade their own world based on creative new trajectories. However, the reality of organisational and social life is not as simple as that. Realising that their efforts in constructing their authentic academic identity were not in line with the dominant values and norms, participants decided to expose it covertly and gradually. In addition, it was evident and ironic that their academic identity was more salient and authentic whenever they were outside their habitat, i.e. the university. The use of the Deleuze-Guattari's concepts of rhizomes, minor and major discourses, and deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation, were fruitfully beneficial in explaining the academic identity work process and career trajectories of female academics in Indonesian public universities. Also, it was found that the participants in groups 1 and 2 not only contributed back to the major

discourses hegemony, but they also reinforced it. On the other hand, the younger academics in group 3 created their own authentic academic identity by challenging the hegemony. For what happened to the younger academics is something we do not know yet and it may be a direction for further investigation as to whether the minor discourse of these young academics have successfully deterritorialised the major discourses territory or not. The following section presents the final conclusion of this thesis.

7.3 Final remarks

This chapter presents the conclusion by revisiting the research question and at the same time addressing the research sub questions. The findings of the research confirm the connection between academic identity work process among female academics and their career trajectories. Consequently, it enhances our understanding of the reason why women remain underrepresented in senior academic positions in public universities. It is because the identity work process enables the participants to achieve the definition of success as they define their own sense of authenticity. Moreover, this research offers a new way of theorising the identity work process by using literary theory, Deleuze-Guattari's concepts of rhizomes, major and minor discourses, and deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation.

The findings of this research also confirm the problem of underrepresentation of female academics in senior academic positions as the findings contribute to the global data on the problem of underrepresentation in senior level positions, particularly in higher education settings. According to the findings, many participants admitted that they voluntarily gave up their career aspirations due to the socio-cultural pressures. At the same time, these female academics are not deal with the pressures of performativity and managerialism which coupled with academic proletarianisation.

Another finding is that for several participants who successfully managed their way to achieve key positions such as professoriate and structural-managerial positions such as Dean of Faculty, admitted that to be considered as a successful academic, a women needs to imitate and adopt the masculine values. It is unfortunate that the success concept in academia must be achieved at the expense of their academic freedom.

What is interesting in the findings of this research is the how the younger academics positioned themselves as counter actualisation towards the major discourses hegemony (territory). The struggle of this minority group can be seen as deterritorialisation towards the major discourses territory as participants started to redefine the success concept and at the same time created their resistance movements as a part of their identity work in establishing their authentic academic identity. The deterritorialisation is performed in order to create a place of their own identity of choice, which allows them to make the alternative identities be available within the major discourses territory and eventually, in the social identities categories. According to the results, it was the participants' desire to escape the status quo that led them resist the hegemony. Their desires for authenticity drive the identity work to deterritorialise the dominant territory.

The findings of this study reflect practical implications for future research. As El Khawas confidently argues that “how can tomorrow’s academic careers be established in a way that can be satisfying, able to attract motivated, talented individuals? And second, how can emerge academic roles be structured to meet the university’s needs for a flexible but stable workforce to be able to perform effectively in today’s competitive environment” (2008, p. 140). Talent management is a crucial HR function in higher education, as academics are the backbone of knowledge creation in universities. It is too perilous to the pool of human resources in the higher education system if female academics’ actual competencies and potentials remain invisible and marginalised in the workplace. This has been argued by Guzmán-Valenzuela and Barnett that by managing one’s fragility as an academic “therefore, it turns out that, in some senses, one is actually managing the higher education system” (2013, p. 218).

The findings have important theoretical, practical and policy implications that need to be developed in further investigations. The study provides an opportunity for future investigations to expand on the findings with similar research settings. Developing Watson’s three-step model with the help of Deleuze-Guattari’s concepts may assist academics from different regions of the world to explore different trajectories as academic identity work is a rhizomatic movement, where there are potentialities of relations and career trajectories that may connect and disconnected to the dominant discourses. Also, further investigations may expand into the

quantitative paradigm on the possibilities of measuring the deterritorialisation of the minor discourse (younger academics) in Indonesia, whether they successfully triumphed over the major discourse territory or not. In addition, future comparative investigations may also look at the male academics by using Watson's three-step model from the major discourses perspective.

In terms of practical and policy implications, Watson's three-step model developed by Deleuze-Guattari's concepts assist policy makers in public universities and the higher level decision makers to review their existing policies regarding Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) and at the same time to implement the fair academic career promotion system. In addition, the Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) policies in the higher education context should not only be a formal ornamental document but must also be implemented fairly and comprehensively. At the same time female academics should be given more opportunities and be encouraged to take part in decision-making, whereas the relationship among academics should be based on professionalism and mutual respect, regardless of their gender, culture, race and seniority (age). This condition will lead to the improvement of organisational performance, where in the long run it will enhance the national education quality as projected in Indonesian Higher Education Vision Year 2025. This study has the potential to provide a contribution to the improvement of the quality of the Indonesian higher education sector.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Participation Invitation Letter



Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH PROJECT:

I am a PhD student at Curtin University, Australia. I would like to invite you to participate in research I am undertaking as part of my studies. The research project has been approved by the Curtin University's Human Research Ethics Committee (SOM-02-14).

My research project explores on how female academics see their career progression during their tenure in Indonesian public universities. You are being invited to participate as you meet with the sample criteria. You do not have to decide today whether or not you will participate in the research. Before you decide, you can talk to anyone you feel comfortable with about the research.

If you are willing to participate in this research, please let me know by emailing me at [i.haeruddin@postgrad.curtin.edu.au / ikhwan.maulana@yahoo.com.au] or by calling me on [+61431 670396 (Aus.) / +6281242445256 (Ina.)]. Alternatively, I will contact your office in a few days to establish if you are willing to participate in this research and arrange a convenient time to meet with you. Your participation in this research consists of a face to face interview of up to 90 minutes, with your permission, the interview will be recorded on a hand held audio recording device and I will also be taking notes.


Your participation in this interview is entirely voluntary. If you choose not to participate, you do not have to explain your reason. If, after the interview, you decide that you no longer wish to be involved in the research project, you can withdraw your participation at any time up to the point where the research has been written up. No reason is required to withdraw from the research as there will be no consequence for refusing or withdrawing.

Thank you for considering your involvement in this research.

Yours sincerely,

M. Ikhwan Maulana Haeruddin
PhD Student
Student ID: 14818556
School of Management
Curtin University, Australia

Appendix 2: Information Sheet

**Curtin University**

Curtin Business School
School of Management

GPO Box U1987
Perth Western Australia 6845

Telephone +61 8 9266 4301
Facsimile +61 8 9266 7897
Web www.business.curtin.edu.au

Information Sheet

I am conducting research on how identity work among female academics connects to their career trajectories in Indonesian public universities. This research is being carried out as a part of completing PhD degree at Curtin University and invites you to be participating on this research. You are being invited to participate as you meet the sample criteria. The criteria are women who have been working as a lecturer in Indonesian registered and accredited public university for at least 12 months.

Your participation in this research consists of a face to face interview of up to 90 minutes, with your permission, the interview will be recorded on a hand held audio recording device and I will also be taking notes. You are encouraged to discuss and/or express any concerns or questions regarding this study with investigators at any time. You should feel confident and secure about your involvement in this research project as your participation in this interview is entirely voluntary. If you choose not to participate you do not have to explain your reason. If, after the interview, you decide that you no longer wish to be involved in the research project, you can withdraw your participation at any time.

The information you give at the interview will be anonymised. Unless you agree, your name will not be published or noted in any report or publication relating to the research. De-identified information will be recorded and analysed alongside other de-identified interviews on the same topic using NVivo Version 10 software. This software is a tool used by researchers to identify themes from qualitative research. An executive summary of the aggregated research results will also be offered to participants. All the data collected (transcripts, records, and relevant documents) during this research will be stored and locked in a secure location in my supervisor's office at Curtin University for 7 years following the completion of the thesis. Great care and responsibility will be given to all collected information. Access will be only available for the researcher and members of the thesis committee. The study is being overseen by Associate Professor David Pick and Dr Htwe Htwe Thein of the Curtin University School of Management. This research has been approved by the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval Number SOM-02-14). If needed, verification of approval can be obtained either by writing to the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee, c/- Office of Research and Development, Curtin University, GPO Box U1987, Perth, 6845, Australia or by telephoning [+61 8 9266 2784](tel:+61892662784) or hrec@curtin.edu.au.


For further inquiries about the study or any matter in relation to this research, please contact:

<i>Assoc. Prof. David Pick</i> Email: David.Pick@cbs.curtin.edu.au Phone: +61 8 9266 2705	<i>Dr. Htwe Htwe Thein</i> Email: Htwehtwe.Thein@cbs.curtin.edu.au Phone: +61 8 9266 1295
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Researcher: M. Ikhwan Maulana Haeruddin
Email: ikhwan.maulana@yahoo.com.au / i.haeruddin@postgrad.curtin.edu.au
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Appendix 3: Consent Form

**Curtin University**

**Curtin Business School
School of Management**

GPO Box U1987
Perth Western Australia 6845

Telephone +61 8 9266 4301
Facsimile +61 8 9266 7897
Web www.business.curtin.edu.au

CONSENT FORM

Title of research project:

**IN SEARCH OF AUTHENTICITY: IDENTITY WORK PROCESSES
AMONG WOMEN ACADEMICS IN INDONESIAN PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES**

Name and position of researcher: *M. Ikhwan Maulana Haeruddin*, PhD Student, School of Management, Curtin University, Australia.

Please tick box

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. I agree to take part in the study.	<input type="checkbox"/>

I _____ (participant's name) agree to participate.
I consent to my interview being audio recorded and understand that all content remains confidential.
I understand I can withdraw at any time and that any information I have provided will be destroyed.

Signature: _____

Participant: _____ Date: _____
Researcher: _____ Date: _____

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Appendix 4: Interview Questions

The following questions were asked to participants during the interviews:

1. Please tell me about yourself! (Ice-breaking, Introduction)
2. Why did you choose to become an academic?
(Prompt: Any particular formative events that influence your choices? Can you be more specific about this particular event? To what extent your choice is influenced by your family, parents, or spouse? How can you say that?).
3. Can you tell me your career journey from the very beginning up to present day?
(Prompt: how do you see yourself as a female academic? why do you feel that way? So, based on your experiences, what are the factors that might be blocking the progress of your career trajectory? Is there any unwritten law or guide imposed upon you that regulate your behaviour or physical presence in the workplace? Is it related to particular social cultural or religion values? Why you felt that way? Can you give me an example?).
4. How do you feel to be an academic in this competitive globalised world, where everything is measured by productivity?
(Prompt: Why you felt that way? or how did this thing happen? How did you manage it? Are you satisfied with the compensation structure as academic?)
5. What is your own definition of academic success?
(Prompt: why you said that? How you are going to achieve that academic success? What is your strategy?)
6. In term of work life balance, have you found yourself in a conflict with yourself as a woman and as an academic?
(Prompt: Any example you can give me about it? How did you feel about it? How did you manage it?)
7. In term of identity, which identity is more salient in your workplace? You as a professional academic or you as a woman? Why did you feel that way? What did you do about it?

If any statement related to New Order or Soeharto's government was mentioned by participants during the interview, then the following question was asked:

8. Why you mentioned it? How did you feel about it? Any example you can give me about it? How did you manage it?