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#### WOMEN IN POLISH POLITICAL SCIENCE. From Diagnosis to Cooperation

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## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

| INTRODUCTION  |
|---|
| METHODOLOGY   |
| STEREOTYPES, OR PRETTY FACES, WORKER ANTS, DECORATIONS, AND THE USE OF FIRST NAMES            |
| 2. Conflict of roles  |
| THE POSITION OF WOMEN POLITICAL SCIENTISTS: DECISION-MAKERS MENTORS, OR SELF-CRITICAL NOVICES |
| 1. Position and self-appraisal  |
| 3. Women of power in political science  |
| ACADEMIC DEVELOPMENT: A CONTINUAL PROCESS, FULL OF PASSION AND DIFFICULTIES                   |
| 1. The three Ps: process, pressure, and passion   |
| 4. How do we manage?4   |
| DMSM: DISCRIMINATION, MOBBING, SEXISM, MOLESTATION  |
| 2. Mobbing       4         3. Sexism       4  |
| 4. Sexual Molestation   |
| CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS58   |
| Recommendations for Polish Women Political Scientists   |
| GLOSSARY62  |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY62  |
| FOOTNOTES63   |

## INTRODUCTION

This year (2018) we are celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the emancipation of Polish women. Over the course of a century the place and role of women in Poland, and in the world, has evolved. The last fifty years in particular have brought qualitative changes to the question of the equal rights of men and women. The perception of women has changed in many areas of public life, including in scholarship in general, and in political science. Gender is still a factor influencing access to power at institutions of higher learning, hampering the advance of academic careers, and affecting other areas of socio-economic life. From research it emerges that women in academia are still struggling with a "glass ceiling" (the invisible barrier encountered on a woman's career path), and a "sticky floor" (women are assigned to less prestigious and worse paid occupations). Some women are also impacted by the "Matilda effect" (women's contributions to science are ignored or overlooked, and women scientists' findings are ascribed to men).

The role of women in Polish political science is growing. There are increasingly more of us among the group of post-doctoral degree-holders and full professors. With ever greater frequency—if still too rarely—we are holding positions at institutions of higher learning, in departments and institutes, and also in scholarly associations. We are increasingly to be found as directors of teams and research projects. Thanks to the persistence and determination of women political scientists, Polish political science is ever more feminized, in spite of many adversities.

The present publication, A Report on Women in Polish Political Science: From Diagnosis to Cooperation, is based on research conducted from January 2017 to January 2018 and is an attempt to diagnose the situation of women political scientists employed at 22 public institutions of higher learning in Poland.

We hope that the findings will allow us, women political scientists, to better understand each other, strengthen collaboration, and—above all—to show what we have to overcome and how to deal with the challenges on a nationwide basis. We also hope that our findings will lead to further discussion about Polish political science, women political scientists, and women in scholarship.

The present report could not have been produced without team work. We would like to thank Dr. Joanna Gajda and Dr. Adrian Gorgosz for their support in regard to the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the research results. Joanna Gajda also collaborated with us in planning the research and wrote the methodological part of the present report.

We would especially like to thank all the people who accepted our invitation and were willing to grant individual in-depth interviews and take part in our survey. Each conversation and every completed survey questionnaire was an invaluable source of knowledge about the Polish political science environment.

We would also like to express our gratitude for the positive reception of the project and the words of support that we received at our step of our work. The suggestions we received, and the words of constructive criticism, were invaluable.

The present research was conducted with the support of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and the Izabela Jaruga-Nowacka Foundation. The Polish Political Science Association, the European Political Science Association, the University of Jan Kochanowski in Kielce, the Pedagogical University in Kraków, the Women Scholars Foundation—the Polish Women's Network, and the Women's Congress were sponsors.

Agata Włodkowska-Bagan and Małgorzata Winiarczyk-Kossakowska

## **METHODOLOGY**

Our research was part of a project entitled "Women in Polish Political Science: From Diagnosis to Cooperation." The basic aim of the project was to describe and diagnose the situation of women employed in the political science field.

The research was explorative in nature, aimed at gathering basic information and hearing the experiences and opinions of the group under study. The research plan rested on an initial use of existing data and the collection of the first qualitative and quantitative data. The research process consisted of four stages:

- I. Initial stage
- II. Qualitative research stage
- III. Quantitative research stage
- IV. Data analysis and archiving.

Below, the activities undertaken in each of the stages is briefly described, along with the results.

#### INITIAL STAGE—ANALYSIS OF EXISTING DATA—DESK RESEARCH

In order to investigate the political science milieu, an acquaintance with the basic numerical data was needed. The coordinators began the research process by collecting data on the subject of Polish women political scientists and by reviewing publications with data on the political science field.<sup>1</sup> Information was gathered from the official websites of institutions and departments employing women political scientists, as well as from the Nauka Polska-Ludzie Nauki database. In this phase we were able to collect the publicly available affiliations and email addresses of scholars; we could thus estimate the size of the population being studied, send invitations to participate in interviews, and distribute survey questionnaires.

The collected data was also the foundation for creating a database of Polish political scientists. It is available at http://www.kobietywpolitologii.pl/baza.

## THE QUALITATIVE STAGE—IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH POLISH WOMEN POLITICAL SCIENTISTS

In the qualitative phase, the aim was to obtain a clearer picture of the situation of Polish women political scientists; thus we concentrated on 22 public institutions of higher learning at which studies were offered in political science, international affairs, European studies, journalism, social policy, and internal, national, or international security.<sup>2</sup>

45 individual in-depth interviews were conducted with women who are at present or were in the past employed at the institutions below (in two cases the interviews were conducted on Skype). The respondents chosen for the in-depth interviews were women who were identified as key sources of information during the initial or interview phase of the study. The interviewees are women with experience in organizational and academic work and currently or previously holding posts at higher learning institutions, and in national and international academic societies. Their ages vary. All the higher learning institutions were represented.

The selected representatives of the milieu agreed to allow at least part of their interviews to be recorded and archived.

In order to obtain the respondents' opinions, a qualitative approach was used: the technique of individual in-depth interviews.

The individual in-depth interview (IDI) is a technique that allows expanded information on a given topic to be acquired, and that limits excessive interference by the researcher, who is supposed to moderate the responses of the respondent and allow the respondent to freely express her views on a gi-

ven question. An IDI is a face-to-face conversation. It can also be conducted by the use of an internet communicator, for instance, Skype. The technique is suitable when a researcher is seeking in-depth answers to interesting questions. It can be used when the respondents have their own opinions and are willing to express them. The interviews were conducted on the basis of a list of key questions. The list was an aid for the interviewer, not a closed catalogue of questions.

In the first phase, the coordinators identified 45 persons fulfilling the criteria. 33 interviews were arranged. The following question was asked during the interview in order to verify the method of selecting respondents and to become better acquainted with the population studied: In your opinion, who among women political scientists will be the best source of information about the subjects we are discussing? If a number of respondents named the same persons, these were taken into account in the second round of selecting respondents. On the basis of the conversations, we decided to interview some of the men named

by respondents as playing or having played an important role in shaping the political science milieu in Poland. This decision resulted from our desire to broaden our view by adding a male perspective. Interviews were conducted with persons who wanted to take part in the research and were able to meet with us.

The report below is an introduction to possible analyses of the research material. We concentrated on the most important research questions, without exhausting the potential uses of the extensive database. Analysis of the situation of women in the political science field was defined as a picture of conditions from the perspective of women working in that environment.

In order to achieve as in-depth an understanding as possible of the topics analyzed, we concentrated on the following:

- \* perceptions of the position of women in academe in general and political science in particular
- \* the dominant stereotypes and their influence on women political scientists' professional and academic life



## DURING THE INTERVIEWS AND IN THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES, WE SOUGHT TO UNDERSTAND CONCEPTS AND RESPONSES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

- perception of the respondent's own situation in the world of scholarship (terms, definitions, examples)
- motivations for choosing to work in academia, research interests (motivations and decisions)
- perception of success in the world of scholarship—how do respondents define success, their position, influence and power
- defining a person destined to succeed in academia—character traits, actions, skills
- academia and gender—disciplines and problematics
- the significance of a woman political scientist's age (perceptions of youth and age—opportunities and challenges)
- the world of academia and participation—

- opportunities and challenges, the costs and benefits for men and women—successive stages of career development
- women in the world of political science, the status of women scholars, perceptions of the causes for the underrepresentation of women in political science
- the cooperation of women in the academic milieu—how much do they make use of the literature of other women researchers, exchange ideas
- definitions and examples of discrimination and inequality (even abuse) in academia in connection with gender
- recommendations for eliminating the underrepresentation of women in political science.

- \* women political scientists' ability to advance and develop in academia
- \* the challenges and problems faced by women political scientists.

#### THE QUANTITATIVE STAGE—THE SURVEY RESEARCH

In this stage, we conducted a quantitative study of the women political scientists' milieu. We were thus able to reach all the members of the milieu who wanted to participate in the diagnosis, and to make a statistical description of the milieu. The aim was to reach at least 30% of the population of women political scientists in Poland.3 The quantitative research was conducted online (CAWI) using an internet survey tool sent to the email addresses (acquired earlier) of women political scientists throughout Poland. The Webankieta.pl system was used. A database of addresses had been prepared in the initial stage and was completed during the interviews. In the end, 408 email addresses were collected.4 A pretest of the research tool was conducted and the necessary alterations introduced.

The survey questionnaire could be answered in the period from November 1 to December 3, 2017 using an individual link sent through Webankieta.pl. The respondents were reminded three times that they could fill in the questionnaire. The questionnaire contained both closed and open questions; the latter allowed the respondents to respond freely on a given topic. The research sample was of the population type—the request to fill in the questionnaire was sent to all the women political scientists whose addresses were in the database.

The internet survey was completed by 158 women political scientists, of which 135 questionnaires were answered in their entirety. Our analysis made use of all the available data, regardless of whether the questionnaire had been completed or not. The answers in the survey were initially coded and treated to statistical analysis. The analysis presented in this report uses elements of statistical description—frequency, averages, and so forth.

#### DATA ANALYSIS AND ARCHIVING

The respondents (men and women) signed an agreement to participate in the research and allow their data to be used in a spreadsheet for repeat analysis. The agreement specified which

data was to remain anonymous and how the data could be used in later analyses.

The qualitative data was organized and analyzed using the Maxqda program, which allowed all the data to be placed in one collection. The program enabled work with textual data and audio data, and also the creation of a metrical database. Using the program, an ordered collection of all the documents related to the recordings, metrics, and transcriptions was created. At the initial stage, the transcriptions of 21 interviews were analyzed as a basis for creating a code key. Then, 37 full interview transcriptions were analyzed. The recordings of the interviews were listened to before coding and during analysis.

The analysis was conducted on the assumption that it was not necessary to know the respondents' personal data: the respondents' opinions were important and not their personal characteristics. The remaining data and interviews were to form the material for testing hypotheses and repeat analysis. The initial analysis of the transcriptions of the interviews allowed us to create a fuller choice of answers and to ask more precise questions in the quantitative research.

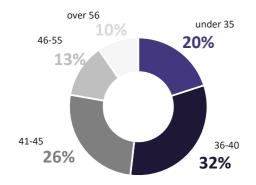
Archiving of the qualitative data was conducted on the assumption that the collected or created data is a photograph of reality at a given moment of time—one that had never happened before and will never happen again. Without prejudice to the respondents and researchers, we think the data should be considered for use in answering further research questions and supporting other scholarly projects<sup>5</sup>.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

158 Polish women political scientists participated in the qualitative research,<sup>6</sup> and of these, 135 filled in the questionnaires in their entirety. The average age of the respondents was 42 (n=135).<sup>7</sup> In presenting the results in age divisions, women in the 36 to 40 group were the most numerous group of respondents. Women over 56 were the least numerous group. The findings are based on data from all the age groups.

Among all the respondents, women political scientists with a doctoral degree were the most numerous group. Among the interviewees, the distribution of academic degrees and titles was a little different. On account of

FIGURE 1. AGE OF THE WOMEN POLITICAL SCIENTISTS SURVEYED (N=135)8



the sample being purposefully selected, women political scientists with a post-doctoral degree (habilitation) were the most numerous group. Comparison of the structure of the samples studied by the different techniques is presented in the table below. The average length of time spent between individual stages on the academic ladder was calculated on the basis of the questionnaires and metrics from the interviews.

In the questionnaires, the respondents were asked about their academic interests. Political scientists could choose from a broad range of fields that are generally recognized<sup>8</sup> in the political science environment. The interests most frequently chosen from the list were international relations, international security, and communications. The least frequent fields were national security, political theory, and the theory of international relations. It is worth noting that the

TABLE 1. COMPARISON OF RESPONDENTS IN THE ONLINE SAMPLE AND THE IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

| Technique             | Dr    | Dr hab. | Prof.<br>dr hab. |
|-----------------------|-------|---------|------------------|
| Online survey         | 65%   | 27%     | 8%               |
| Individual interviews | 28.9% | 48.9%   | 22.2%            |

FIGURE 2. WHAT IS YOUR PRESENT ACADEMIC RANK OR TITLE? (N=158)

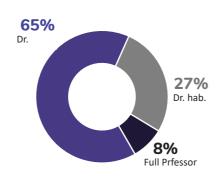


TABLE 2. AVERAGE TIME BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL STAGES OF THE ACADEMIC CAREER (IN YEARS)

| STAGE   | Average time Data from the questionnaires | Number of responses | Average time Data from the interviews |
|---|---|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| From master's degree to doctorate                     | 6.6                                       | 86                  | The question was not asked            |
| From doctorate to post-doctoral degree (habilitation) | 11  | 28                  | 12.1<br>Median 12.5                   |
| From post-doctoral degree to full professor           | 9.4                                       | 8                   | 13.8<br>Median 12                     |

most popular answer was "other," which could suggest that the "generally recognized" fields are somewhat less interesting to the respondents.

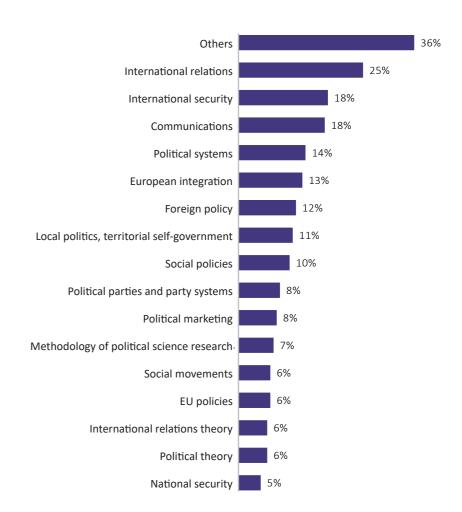
The respondents were also asked what other research areas they would like to be engaged in (the data below is presented quantitatively, not in percentages). Some of the political scientists (50 persons) indicated that they are presently involved in the areas they want to be in—they are not seeking new ones. The areas that the respondents found inspiring are as follows:

- \* politics (23);
- \* international relations (13)
- \* communications (11)
- \* gender studies (8)
- \* security (8)
- \* social sciences (7)

- \* migration (7)
- \* political psychology (6)
- \* foreign policy (4).

The posts held by the respondents show the great potential of women political scientists. They are active in Polish and foreign academic milieus, act as experts in ministerial teams, are members of the editorial boards of Polish and foreign journals, and are engaged in the Polish Academy of Science and the Polish Political Science Association. However, at institutions of higher learning they are less likely to hold the position of dean or director. They are more often deputy deans and deputy directors; they are directors of teams and committees engaged in international cooperation; they prepare new courses of study and strategies for

FIGURE 3. WHAT IS YOUR PRESENT FIELD OF INTEREST? (N=154)

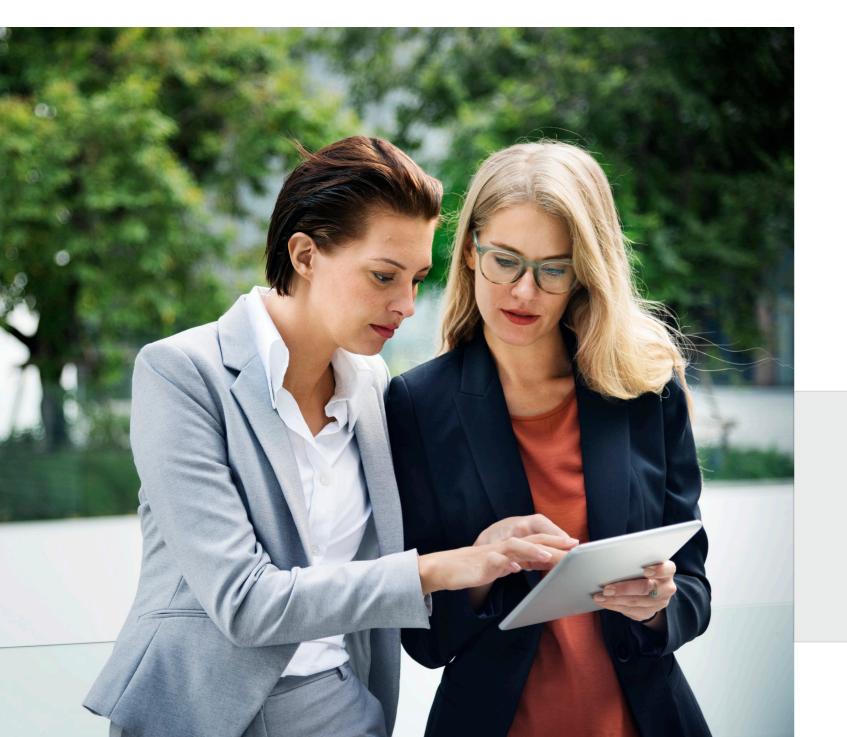


the development of courses. They also act as directors of studies at the undergraduate and graduate level or as advisers for student internships and for students admitted in a specific year. They are ombudsmen and members of the Senate and department boards.

#### DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED DURING OUR STUDY

The creation of a database for our research showed how difficult it is to obtain up-todate and operational email addresses, and how much inaccurate and out-of-date information is contained on the internet sites of academic institutions. Another difficulty was that academic institutions' servers sometimes blocked receipt of emails from Webankieta.pl, particularly when they were sent to a larger number of respondents.

It is also worth remembering that women political scientists in Poland have a limited amount of time at their disposal and, as respondents, are a rather inaccessible group. Thus there were difficulties with scheduling interviews. Unfortunately, it was not possible to arrange interviews with all the women who are important for Polish political science.



# STEREOTYPES, OR, PRETTY FACES, WORKER ANTS, DECORATIONS, AND THE USE OF FIRST NAMES

The study showed that stereotypes concerning gender impact the situation of women in the political science milieu. This is not, however, a problem specific to political science or the academic environment but rather a general social problem resulting, among other things, from how girls and women are socialized and the culture's dominant gender models, which are maintained by the mass media.

The aim of a stereotype is to simplify reality. The force of a stereotype, and in consequence our tendency to make use of it, depends on whether it is resistant to change regardless of the presence of information that does not confirm it. Women are stereotypically perceived as emotional, caring, submissive, indecisive, and willingly devoting themselves to others. It is considered that they easily relinquish their own goals on behalf of their family, particularly their children, and that they pursue an education for their personal satisfaction rather than to have a career.

Men are stereotypically perceived as competent, decisive, dominant, and com-

petitive, with their professional career being a priority and the public sphere their domain.

Various gender stereotypes and convictions function as social norms, determining the rules of behavior or acting considered proper for a given gender. Stereotypes are formed as a result of men and women having specific social roles in a given society's division of work.

In spite of the changes that have been occurring, men still appear decidedly more often than women in the role of successful person (as authorities, experts, outstanding scientists, or doctors). Women act as caregivers and as beautiful and quiet accessories



#### AMONG THE DOMINANT STEREOTYPES ABOUT WOMEN IN POLITICAL SCIEN-CE, THE RESPONDENTS MENTIONED:

- women are more willing to perform tedious, less prestigious, and underappreciated organizational and administrative work;
- women are more careful and responsible in performing tasks;
- professional activeness is determined by gender (mothers have other responsibilities);
- women are suited for the performance of
- traditional women's work—administrative and organizational work, didactics, student advising
- women are moody and have rapid changes of emotion
- women are unprepared to perform certain tasks, such as, for instance, making decisions, directing.

to men; we less often see them in the role of decision-makers and experts.

Stereotypes are mentioned as one of the factors affecting the position of women in political science. 17% of the respondents considered that stereotypes were a barrier that had to be overcome in the course of their academic development.

In addition to stereotypes, difficulty in combining family and professional responsibilities (50%), and differing standards for the appraisal of work by men and women (18%), were also mentioned as factors affecting the position of women in political science. Both questions directly involve stereotypes. The

women interviewed confirmed that in comparison to men they have to have greater achievements in order to receive the same recognition. This was the opinion of 60% of the political scientists answering the survey questionnaire. A positive point is that the majority of the women political scientists (54%) had not met with inflexibility on the part of their employer in regard to family responsibilities. Only 17% of the respondents had experienced such inflexibility themselves; 14% claimed that someone they knew had encountered it, and 15% had heard of such cases.

## 1. SCHOLARS, OR ONLY ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF?

In the opinion of the respondents with whom individual in-depth interviews were conducted, there is a division of roles and tasks in political science circles into those that are typically male and typically female, particularly among the older generation of political scientists.

the 50-plus generation are attached to a more traditional division of male and female roles. It is difficult for them to accept a situation in which women have power. The role of stereotypes, or ascribed roles, is very clear in this generation. The situation is changing and I experience it as an invigorating current. When I meet with a group of employees in the 40-plus group, it's no problem that a management position is held by a woman. There is an understanding of the common goal, an acknowledgement of competence, and even trust in that competence.

According to the results of the survey, 62% of respondents had encountered, either directly or indirectly, the influence of gender stereotypes on decisions connected with the allocation of specific tasks.

In the opinion of the respondents, men are treated more like scholars, managers, decision-makers, visionaries, and strategy creators, while women are more often seen as administrative and organizational staff.

My assumption is that it is easy to give women duties that are tedious and without prestige (...). For instance, if one looks at the position of a deputy dean for student affairs, or a deputy rector for student affairs, they are most often women. This is the area most burdened with a mass of administrative work and it is comparatively lacking in prestige.

TABLE 3. HAVE YOU ENCOUNTERED THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF DISCRIMINATION IN ACADEMIA? (N=143)

|  | No  | Yes, it happened<br>to someone<br>I know | Yes, in person | I've heard of such cases |
|--|-----|--|----------------|--------------------------|
| The influence of gender stereo-<br>types on decisions to perform<br>specific tasks | 38% | 16%                                      | 28%            | 18%                      |

As to directing studies, I have the impression that it is usually done by women, not men. Men may be deans, or directors, but directors of student affairs are usually women and directors of research are usually men.

Vision and strategy. My colleague [claimed]—I think it was when a new course of studies was being created—that he could provide the vision and strategy. And the provision of work? It would be necessary, physically, to do things, write, fill things in, sit at the computer for weeks—but no, he was to provide vision and strategy.

One of the women interviewees mentioned that due to knowing foreign languages she had often acted as a translator for her superiors:

partner, a colleague, but also as a translator. In faithfully translating the words of my superiors, I very often wanted to add something on my own account, to say what I thought, but that was not possible and it often bothered me a great deal. It gave me the feeling that I was there solely to convey the thoughts of my bosses and I could not express my own opinion.

According to the respondents, it happens that the authority of a woman who holds a position is undermined when other academics address her by the diminutive form of her name or title.

often takes the following form. A full professor approaches another full professor in public and calls her 'Kasieńko' (Katey). If she were to come to him and say 'Michasiu' (Mikey), everyone would look at her as if she was an idiot. (...) Men try to slightly marginalize or show the second-ranking position of a woman through smirks, irony (...) There is a hidden element—I wouldn't say of underrating, but rather of fear. (...) [It's] a kind of placing a woman in the role of a child. And how do women react? I don't react, but I say to myself, 'the next time, I'll call him Mikey.' (...) but I never do it, for various reasons.

The respondents pointed out that in the opinion of the male part of the political science milieu, women political scientists are less destined for academic development and more

for acting as quiet decorations—pretty, pleasant, and smiling. Women academics are still not seen as authorities or experts, and their knowledge or opinions are not taken into consideration.

men in society. Women are rather placed in the position of decorations—in our group there is a woman too. But there is a lack of agreement for that woman to have a real influence on conditions. Women themselves have not been sufficiently determined to strive for influence, and those who did often paid a price. When there was a situation to be resolved, men rather looked to their male colleagues and not their female ones.

It is worth emphasizing that the topic of organizational-administrative work turned out to be important for the respondents. The respondents note the overloading of Polish academics with organizational and administrative tasks. They also observe the tendency to give this type of work more often to women, although voung academics of either sex (assistant and associate professors) are also selected. The academics listed the following kinds of organizational work as part of their professional obligations: creating new courses and programs of studies, activities related with the National Qualification Frameworks, student advising, advising for internships, advising academic clubs, committee work, directing studies, writing protocols, preparing papers for superiors, writing reports, tables, or memoranda, editing a journal, organizing a conference, and so forth. All the above work is described by the respondents as being of the worker-ant variety, lacking in prestige, time-consuming (at the cost of their private life or academic development), and requiring considerable engagement, diligence, and timeliness. In spite of the effort required, such work is not at all appreciated.

Drudgery requires patience. Women are better for work where there is no gratification—in the sense that women get discouraged less quickly and are more exact (...) Men more often (...) expect gratification.

From the research it appears that a stereotype-based allocation of organizational work to women is not the sole reason for women academics' being burdened with these kinds of tasks.

The women's lack of assertiveness or absence of skill in refusing to do such work is also significant. According to the respondents, women often lack determination in drawing attention to the unequal distribution of these tasks between men and women and younger and older academics.

In the opinion of the respondents, men have an easier time refusing to perform less prestigious tasks. The women scholars point out that men have methods for avoiding organizational work, and if they receive it, they often apply for their other responsibilities to be restricted, for instance, a reduction in their teaching hours. One of the respondents called it the tactic of the third broken glass:

**55** They often use the principle of the third broken glass. (...) Little Stasio's mom asks him to wash the dishes. Stasio says, "I don't want to wash them," and breaks one. Mom says, "Stasio, be careful." Stasio thinks, "Darn, it didn't work," [and breaks] a second glass. What's a glass? A trifle...the sky won't fall. Mom: "Stasio, (...) or I won't let you wash the dishes." So what does Stasio do? Breaks the third glass. In the end, Mom says "Anna, you wash them, because he doesn't know how." And then Anna washes dishes to the end of her life. The male academics fill in a schedule wrong once or twice; the third time they don't do it at all because they forgot—and then no one ever again asks them to do something like that. Women are asked more often, in my opinion, because they are more careful and more eager to finish a task, to complete some piece of work successfully, and for them, that organizational work is significant. They are probably more sensitive to its value. And men, as I have noticed, are not sensitive to the value of organizational work. They assume it happens on its own. (...) My male colleagues think that everything gets done on its own.

It is worth emphasizing that there are institutions of higher learning in Poland where the women employees do not feel that there is a problem with excessive administrative work, or where the tasks are distributed by rotation.

DWe have a [man] director who delegates tasks, and who is aware of the problem and sometimes if one reminds him he will indeed say that one is right and delegate the tasks to others. However, most of the time, either from the force of things, or from custom, a woman is sought for such tasks as adviser for the year's students. This is also the reason why we don't write scholarly works. We are weighed down by the organizational tasks they load on us.

**55** At my institution, I don't see the problem of women being excessively burdened with work.

It is not solely academics who have stereotype-based views. They can be seen among the students as well.

**95** It's fairly common for male students to be surprised that a woman, a political scientist, should be engaged in such things. (...) The male students said "women simply are not suited for management on account of their gender; they're worse at it than men." It was more often students who said such things than one of the staff members.



#### 2. CONFLICT OF ROLES

#### 2.1. A WOMAN PROFESSOR—NEITHER A WOMAN NOR A SCHOLAR

Stereotypes connected with gender can also be found in the jokes and commentaries that women scholars hear both in their workplace and at conferences. Some of them have a sexist subtext.

kind professor, whom I value greatly, told me a joke—probably without thinking. He asked me, "What is the difference between a guinea pig and a woman professor?" The point was that a female scholar is like a guinea pig—neither Guinean, nor a pig. Neither a woman, nor a scholar. Neither this, nor that.

When I was doing my doctorate, a certain dean who is no longer alive, and whom I very much respected and who liked me too, used to call me 'Doctoress'. He never spoke that way to his younger colleague. I called his attention to it, but he turned it off with a joke. After my post-doctoral (habilitation) colloquium, there was a dinner, attended by the dean. I thought to myself that now he wouldn't call me 'Doctoress' any more. Then he raised his glass and said 'To your health, Professoress.' I decided I would just have to live with it... That dean was very open to women; he considered himself a 'feminist,' and boasted that he did not discriminate.

#### 2.2. A FEMALE SCHOLAR—NEITHER A SCHO-LAR, NOR A MOTHER, NOR A WIFE

The majority of the respondents are caregivers for their closest kin. From the survey it emerged

that 30% of the participating political scientists have one child, 34% two children, and 3% have three. The survey proved that half of the participating political scientists have difficulty in combining family and professional responsibilities. The difficulty is closely related to the political scientists' need to manage a conflict of roles: mother and scholar, wife and scholar, or daughter or daughter-in-law and scholar.

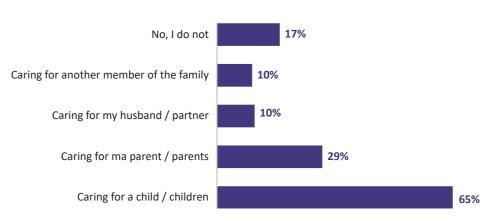
**55** If we devote ourselves to scholarship, we must be bad mothers.

The conflict of roles is also connected with the stereotype of "Polish mothers," that is, women combining professional work with household responsibilities. The stereotype results in an excess of responsibilities and the pressure to meet the social norms of ideal mother and professionally active woman: in this case, the good scholar.

As mentioned above, social pressure, including from family members, is sometimes linked to a conflict of roles between being a wife and being a scholar. Some of the respondents signaled that an active woman in the academic field may be perceived as threatening the position of her partner. In this connection, some women decide to restrict their achievements and potential.

My marriage was a successful union, but there was still a price to pay. In general, at home and in my family my interests were not discussed. And when they were, I noticed that there was fear—

FIGURE 4. IN ADDITION TO YOUR PROFESSIONAL WORK, DO YOU HAVE TO CARRY OUT ANY OF THE TASKS MENTIONED BELOW? (N=145)



because suddenly my husband lost his priority, his authority in the family. It must be a clever girl who can manage that situation; she has to know how to pretend and allow him to go two horse's lengths ahead of her.

A conflict of roles also has an impact on relations between political scientists who work together, producing disputes and internal rivalry between women over their fulfillment of social expectations. It is assumed that women who do not have children can be burdened with more responsibilities than those who are mothers.

Pregnant women, or young mothers, are the worst. They come back very quickly after maternal leave, for example, two or three months at most. But because they are young mothers—they have a child, a family—they can't be given any organizational work.

#### 3. HOW DO YOU DEAL WITH STEREOTYPES?

From the research it is clear that negative stereotypes have an impact on the situation of Polish political scientists, and also—as the respondents point out—on other women in academia and women in general. In the Polish political science milieu, the stereotypical perception of gender and gender roles still influences the situation of women scholars. The problem is nationwide; it is not specific to the academic community or to the political science milieu. In the opinion of the respondents, stereotypes lead to women being given a greater part of the organizational and administrative work, among other things. The respondents explain that they are allocated such work because they are stereotypically assumed to be diligent, conscientious, and precise, and because of the still prevailing, erroneous, subconscious belief that women are less "made for scholarship." A woman scholar is less often perceived as an expert or an authority. The situation is changing—thanks, among other things, to women's cooperation and to initiatives such as ekspertki.org (experts.org). To a certain degree, stereotypes and the false perception of women scholars as more emotional and having difficulty making decisions

is responsible for the small numbers of women in decision-making positions at Polish institutions of higher learning.

The two main problems indicated by the respondents in connection with stereotypes were the difficulty in managing family and professional responsibilities, including harmonizing the role of mother or wife and scholar, and the different standards for appraising the work of men and women.

Our research confirmed that women need to have higher achievements than men in order to obtain the same recognition. In the opinion of the respondents, the struggle against stereotypes could be aided by, among other things, greater assertiveness in regard to not accepting organizational and administrative work, a clear and solidary opposition to stereotyping remarks and jokes, insisting on an even division of tasks among employees of both sexes and various ages, consideration of the feminist perspective in research and in courses, and the organization of meetings with women who are models for overcoming stereotypes in the political science milieu.



### HOW THE WOMEN POLITICAL SCIENTISTS SURVEYED DEAL WITH DAMAGING STEREOTYPES

- clear articulation of a lack of acceptance for fulfilling stereotypical roles
- refusal to undertake organizational and administrative work
- calling their superiors' attention to the justifiability of an even division of tasks between employees of both sexes and various ages
- objecting to improper jokes and commentary that stereotype women and men
- didactical activeness—the introduction of the subject of stereotypes and the struggle against them in coursework
- consideration of the feminist perspective in the subject matter of academic conferences and publications
- the organization of meetings with women whose actions and attitudes are models for dealing with stereotypes in the political science milieu.

# THE POSITION OF WOMEN POLITICAL SCIENTISTS: DECISION-MAKERS, MENTORS, OR SELF-CRITICAL NOVICES?

In Poland, women have been part of political science since its beginnings in this country. Their number has grown from year to year, although they still constitute a minority in the discipline.

The position of women in Poland is growing (...) Their quantitative indicators are increasing, which undoubtedly influences their position. The number of women conducting research and participating in conferences is growing.

In public opinion, though, a political scientist is still a man. In the Polish-language Wikipe-

dia, only 32 of the 324 names listed under "Polish political scientists" are women.<sup>11</sup> Even though Wikipedia is not a scientific source—as it can be edited by anyone—it is a kind of mirror of public perception. In spite of the growth in the number of women political scientists among academics, political science is still identified with men.

#### 1. POSITION AND SELF-APPRAISAL

The question of the position of women in the political science milieu was raised in several multiple-choice questions and in questions that could be answered on a numerical scale. In one, the respondents were asked to define their own position in the milieu on a scale of 1 to 10: 1 indicated a novice, while 10 a mentor. In defining their position, the respondents most often placed themselves in the middle of the scale (5.61). It is worth noting that one of the interviewees described this as a "weak" position in consideration of the small number of women in the milieu.

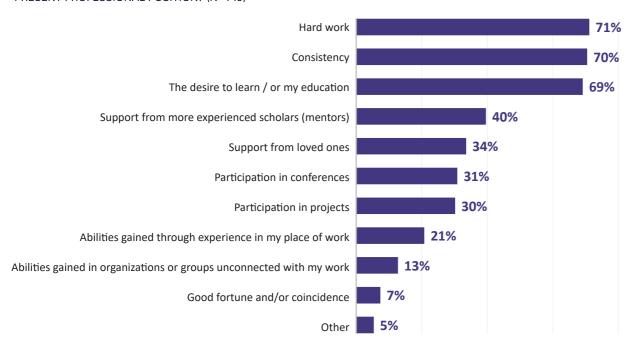
**5** I would define that position as weak, because there are not many of us.

In a further part of the study, the respondents were asked about the factors that had contributed to their present professional position. Over half mentioned hard work, consistency,

willingness to learn, and/or education. According to the interviewees, what women lack—and what could contribute to strengthening their position—is greater confidence in expressing their views and a readiness to take responsibility and to be a leader.

- In my opinion, women are less assertive. A woman has a lot to say; she tries to present her view. And suddenly a man stands up and shouts in a loud voice, "You're wrong!" It's not about a merit-based response, but about the strength of the voice and about shouting about one's own opinion. That girl won't fight for what she thinks.
- 1 think they lack self-assurance; they're too humble. They don't have the feeling, as men do, that they know better about everything. Women rather have the feeling that they don't yet know enough to speak up, or to occupy a position. I think men don't usually have this problem

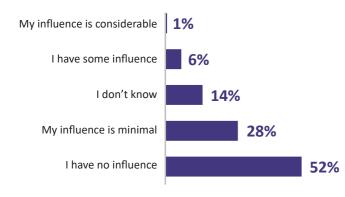
FIGURE 5. WHICH OF THE FACTORS BELOW CONTRIBUTED THE MOST TO YOUR PRESENT PROFESSIONAL POSITION? (N=149)



In the opinion of the respondents, women political scientists need to rid themselves of their excessive self-criticism.

the other women, namely, a significantly greater degree of self-criticism, which means that we are more reserved in formulating our thoughts and we work much harder on our texts. Once I took another look at my post-doctoral book; I looked through it and I noticed that in nearly every paragraph, and particularly where I had drawn conclusions, I had written 'It seems to me,' 'probably,' 'it may be thought.' My male colleagues would have written 'It was thus and

FIGURE 6. WHAT DO YOU THINK IS YOUR INFLUENCE ON DECISIONS TAKEN IN THE POLISH POLITICAL SCIENCE MILIEU? (N=149)



so,' or 'it is clear.' I always try to be objective and I present my thoughts with a kind of timidity.

Another element we researched in regard to women's position in the political science milieu was whether women have any influence on decision-making in that milieu, either on the nationwide scale or within the institutions where they work. Nearly 60% of the respondents answered that they had no or minimal influence on decisions in their workplace. Only 29% considered that they had an influence on this type of decision. The answers indicate a fairly large disproportion. The women political scientists who indicated that they had no or minimal influence suggested that this was a consequence of not being a decision-making person (38%), of decisions being made by a narrow group of persons (11%), without consideration of the opinions of employees (10%), or that decisions were made by the dean (4%). 7% of the respondents were of the opinion that their voice made no difference, and 11% stated that they did not engage in decision-making processes.

In my department it is not academic achievements that determine who has a say but acquaintanceship and social networks—informal decisions are taken outside of official paths.

**55** I am not in the group that holds power.

The conviction prevails that non-independent employees do not have a deciding voice; the position of an assistant professor in the hierarchical structures of departments is low, and by definition assistant professors do not have any influence on decision-making processes.

J I withdrew from participation in decisionmaking processes because they are extremely irrational." In the opinion of the women political scientists, their influence on the Polish political science milieu is even less than their influence in their workplace. 88% of the respondents judged that they had minimal or no influence. At the same time, 79% indicated that men's and women's influence in Polish political science is not the same. Only 11% thought it was the same, and 10% did not have an opinion.

## 2. POWER: A WOMAN WITH MASCULINE FACIAL FEATURES

Even though the words "power" and "political science" are feminine in the Polish language, and even though the number of women in Polish political science is growing, power in the discipline is still held by men. This is the opinion expressed by the respondents in the in-depth interviews and in the survey questionnaire.

The respondents pointed out that it is most often men who are deans or deputy deans for academic affairs, directors of institutes, or the heads of departments or sections. Women are allowed to be deputy directors, deputy deans for student affairs, or advisors for academic clubs or internships.

I am the dean's deputy, which means that I am responsible for the staff and the program of studies, which I now have to change completely. Of course, all that is under the control of the dean for education affairs (...) I am not a deci-

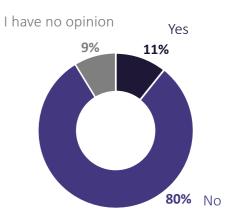
sion-making person; I'm a sort of secretary to the dean for education affairs (...) I do not have autonomy in this direction or this field

**99** Even if the milieu declares its support for women and for equality, equality is really only minimally accepted. A woman deputy director, a deputy dean—fine; the deputy director of an institute—fine; the head of a department—fine; but a woman in a decision-making position—no

The women political scientists pointed out that an important role in professional development was played by a network of contacts or connections.

7 In the highest positions, and there where a woman's contacts matter, where it matters what one person says to another—those networks of various kinds—it's still primarily a man's world.

FIGURE 7. IN YOUR OPINION, DO WOMEN HAVE THE SAME POWER IN THE POLITICAL SCIENCE MILIEU AS DO MEN? (N=149)



Women advance, but only when men consider that they are steerable—look at the prime minister, look at every woman head of a department. When the group of older professors considers that a woman is a person who will carry out their policies precisely, and they won't need to interfere, she will advance. When you look at the various advances of women to independent positions, the women are most often in deputy positions.

By the force of things, men are the dominant group. Consequently, women in these circles are comparatively few (...) I do not remember the present composition of the political science committee—there are women there, but in a decisive minority. I think this is a huge problem. However, there are more women in the younger generation; they are more determined; they have a different family model; their partners also have a different family model and support them better.

The in-depth interviews also provided information about the low degree of recognition for women political scientists in the political

science milieu. The problem is not solely related to Polish scholars. The respondents at times had difficulty in finding the names of other women scholars engaged on (or having been engaged on) similar topics.

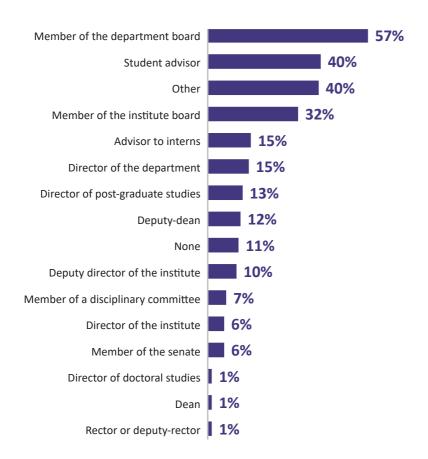
I can not name many women in the discipline. Political scientists have been men forever and ever. It's enough to look at the table of contents of textbooks (...) They're all men.

15 I see how the world of political science is dominated by male professors.

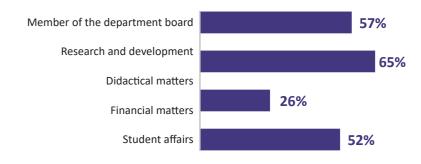
In answer to a question about the positions they hold at their institution, the women political scientists most often stated that they were members of the department board (57%), advisor to a year of students (40%), or members of the institute's board (32%). As many as 11% of the respondents declared that they did not presently hold any such position.

**75** To become a dean, a rector (...) I think that most women don't consider it, perhaps because they have no chance.

#### FIGURE 8. WHAT POSITIONS DO YOU OR DID YOU HOLD IN ACADEMIA? (N=136)



#### FIGURE 9. IN WHICH AREA WERE MOST OF YOUR TASKS CONCENTRATED WHEN YOU OCCUPIED THE PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED FUNCTIONS? (N=23)



In general, the persons invited to these groups are academically independent, or at least have the title of professor. Among the women there are not so many women who have post--doctoral degrees or are full professors in fields even related to politics, though political science was formed thanks to the achievements of male and female lawyers, male and female historians, sociologists, and so forth. I think that we are not dealing here with some kind of discrimination or overlooking of our achievements—it's only that there are relatively fewer women in general in academia. This is changing in the 40-plus generation. I can see such a change clearly. On the other hand, in my generation, there are decidedly more men.

Women political scientists holding the positions of rector, deputy rector, deputy dean, or director of an institute were asked about the main kinds of tasks connected with their position. The majority indicated didactic issues, while decidedly fewer pointed to financial affairs.

The respondents indicated that a change is clearly underway in the political science milieu. Women are applying for and holding positions. Some of the respondents claim that they carry out all their responsibilities independently.

That's why I was chosen for that position; I receive a pay supplement and do everything myself. I have that kind of sense of honesty. I am the deputy dean responsible for a specific area. Since I am the one responsible, I do what's needed.

J I knew that I had to prepare to do that. Fortunately, two or three persons with whom I could collaborate had the same approach. We

saved the institute by our joint efforts (...) I don't know how to issue orders: you do this, you do that. Even when I mentioned doing those study areas, it was on the basis of organizing the work well. We share, because I know that I have limitations and I am not able to do everything, even though I might want to do it. That's my character. I know that I have limitations and I can't do that myself, thus I ask for help. I don't give orders, but only ask for help. I consider that it is an administrative position, which serves others and I was chosen for that and people voted for me for that. They have confidence that I will take care of their interests, that is, the interests of this department.

The respondents observed that many women avoid holding positions on account of the burden of organizational work. Those "other things to do," as one of the respondents defined it, are especially family and maternal duties. Some of the respondents admitted that they had refused a position before.

I think that women don't always want it. For a very long time I defended myself against holding any position. What good would it do me? I only agreed because I had very good relations with the director, and he asked me to. (...) Women often do not want to occupy higher positions, because they have enough other work to do and thus they don't accept those positions. I don't think it is because the positions are very rarely offered to them.

on other positions. This is perhaps the answer, because considering my family situation, my life situation, my husband's professional work—I know that I can't take on anything more.

#### 3. WOMEN OF POWER IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

The women political scientists with whom the in-depth interviews were conducted had varying experiences connected with holding their positions and wielding authority. Some of them had not met with acceptance from their subordinates and co-workers—either men or women.

- When I became dean I very quickly had the painful feeling that I was perceived as threatening to men. 'What, some female is ruling over us here?'—I really felt that.
- **75** Allowing women to be higher on the hierarchy than men is unacceptable to many. A certain male ambition appears, even if they themselves don't have the abilities or potential.

One of the respondents stated that certain men who are the subordinates of a woman were ignoring the official channels and preferred to turn to the woman's deputies, who are men and who are stereotypically treated as being more decisive. As a result of a talk by the [woman] head concerning the unit's hierarchy and division of competences, the situation did not repeat itself.

The respondents emphasized that preparing for and holding certain positions required learning and the expenditure of a large amount of time, which in turn limited the amount of time they could devote to scholarly work and hampered their academic careers. Nevertheless, it was emphasized that holding these positions was a valuable experience which the respondents would not want to have missed.

- yith such a position. Something is continually changing; something continually has to be adapted. I really had to learn a lot and devote a lot of time to it—to the detriment of my scholarly work.
- **75** As to the second turning point, it was when I became a director. I think that I would

still make such a decision, although I know that unfortunately it resulted in slowing my academic career.

In the context of women's collaboration and solidarity in Polish political science, it could be considered disturbing that some of the interviewees stated that women holding positions sometimes meet with lack of acceptance and support from other women.

Mhen I became deputy dean, I think the most painful comments, or the unjustified envy—because it really is hard work—came from other women. I can't understand that. It hurts me a lot (...) Such 'hate' was very unpleasant."

Women's participation in the power structures of the institution and department is key for building a strong position for women in political science.

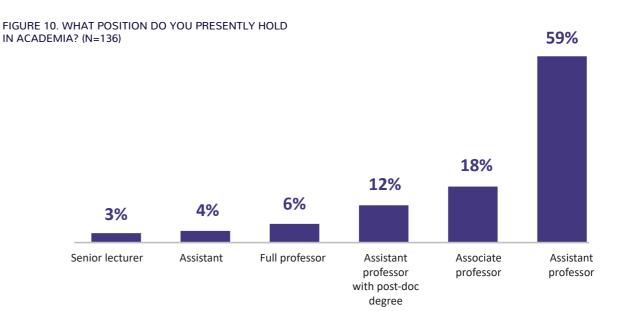
When power is held by women—naturally with the assumption that they support each other—it can lead to various changes, to the promotion of women in scholarship.

The feeling of real support from other women is unusually important for the respondents. They value it and claim it motivates them to work.

were other women—particularly one—who came and said, 'I've been observing your career for a long time and I'm happy that you have this position. I will support you.' From that time our friendship, or acquaintanceship, began to be closer. In difficult moments, I could always pick up the telephone and hear 'Don't worry, keep going.' Thus there were also women who supported me (...) They expressed their support directly, or before an election, saying 'I'm going to vote for you,' which was a bit of a surprise to me, as I felt myself an outsider in my local milieu. Aside from that, it seems to me that

during that year of work I proved that I was defending women, and that in holding that position I didn't forget that I was a woman.

A number of respondents drew attention to the importance of thinking in categories of group interest, that is, of women political scientists. In their opinion, women should hold positions, participate in discussions, and build strong positions for themselves. that there aren't women in expert groups—that, for instance, I am the only woman or there are few of us, because they're all men. It seems to me that we should stop thinking exclusively of ourselves (...) and during such meetings we should loudly ask, 'Why aren't there any women?'.



#### 4. LET'S COUNT OURSELVES!

Presently, 355 women political scientists are employed at 22 institutions offering political science studies. 65% of the women who took the survey had a doctoral degree, 27% had a post-doctoral degree (habilitation), and 8% were professors. Among the respondents, the majority—59%—were employed as assistant professors. Only 6% were employed as full professors. Previous

data on the subject of Polish women political scientists, that is, information contained on the internet pages of departments and institutions and in the Ludzie Nauki database, have been arranged in the table below. The names of the political scientists have been blacked out. The table below reflects the state in 2017.

| #  | Academic institution                        | Rector                                      | Deputy rector  | Name of department *                                  | Dean   | Deputy dean   | Name of institute  | Director of institute      | Assistant   | Women political scientists employed | Men political scientists employed |
|----|---|---|--|---|--|---|--|----------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. | Jan Długosz<br>University in<br>Częstochowa | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Anna Wypych-<br>Gawrońska | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Grażyna Rygał<br>(for student affairs)       | Department of<br>Philology and History                | Prof. AJD dr<br>hab. Agnieszka<br>Czajkowska |   | Institute of<br>Social Sciences and<br>Security                |                            | Dr. Agata Woźniak-<br>-Krakowian<br>(for didactics)   | 3                                   | 7                                 |
| 2. | Pomeranian University in Słupsk             |   | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Danuta Gierczyńska<br>(for student training) | Department of Philology and History                   |  | Dr. Monika Bielska<br>(for scholarship and<br>cooperation with<br>business) | Institute of<br>History and<br>Political Science               |                            |   | 2                                   | 5                                 |
|    |   |   |  | Department of<br>Management Sciences<br>and Security  |  |   | Institute of<br>National Security                              |                            |   |                                     |                                   |
| 3. | Gdańsk<br>University                        |   | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Anna Machnikowska,<br>(for training)         | Department of Social<br>Sciences                      |  | Prof. Dr. hab. Małgo-<br>rzata Lipowska<br>(for scholarship)                | Institute of Political Science                                 |                            | Dr. Beata Słobo-<br>dzian<br>(for didactics)          | 9                                   | 15                                |
|    |   |   |  |   |  | Dr. Anna<br>Kalinowska-Żeleźnik<br>(for training)                           |  |                            |   |                                     |                                   |
| 4. | Adam Mickiewicz<br>University<br>in Poznań  |   | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Bogumiła Kaniewska<br>(for students)         | Department of<br>Political Sciences and<br>Journalism |  | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Magdalena Musiał-<br>Karg (for research                   |  |                            |   | 26                                  | 56                                |
|    |   |   | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Beata Mikołajczyk<br>(for training)          |   |  | and development)  |  |                            |   |                                     |                                   |
| 5. | Jagiellonian Univesrity                     |   | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Dorota Malec<br>(for development)            | Department of International and Political Studies     |  | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Ewa Bujwid-Kurek<br>(for scholarship)                     | Institute of<br>American Studies and<br>the Polish Diaspora    |                            | Dr. Agnieszka Małek (for didactics)                   | 42                                  | 63                                |
|    |   |   |  |   |  |   | Institute of the<br>Middle and Far East                        |                            | Dr. hab.<br>Renata Czekalska<br>(for general affairs) |                                     |                                   |
|    |   |   |  |   |  |   |  |                            | Dr.<br>Karolina Rak<br>(ds. didactics)                |                                     |                                   |
|    |   |   |  |   |  |   | Institute of<br>European Affairs                               |                            |   |                                     |                                   |
|    |   |   |  |   |  |   | Institute of Political<br>Science and<br>International Studies |                            |   |                                     |                                   |
|    |   |   |  |   |  |   | Institute of<br>Russia and<br>Eastern Europe                   |                            | Dr. Agnieszka<br>Malska-Lustig<br>(for didactics)     |                                     |                                   |
|    |   |   |  |   |  |   | Institute of<br>Intercultural Studies                          | Dr hab.<br>Monika<br>Banaś |   |                                     |                                   |

| #   | Academic institution                                   | Rector | Deputy rector   | Name of department *  | Dean                                      | Deputy dean  | Name of institute                                      | Director of institute                               | Assistant | Women political scientists employed | Men political scientists employed |
|-----|--|--------|---|---|---|--|--|---|-----------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 6.  | Jan Kochanowski<br>University<br>in Kielce             |        | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Barbara Zbroińska<br>(for development and<br>finance)           | Department of Law,<br>Administration and<br>Management          |   | Dr. Magdalena Mo-<br>lendowska<br>(for general affairs<br>and finance)       | Institute of International Politics and Security       | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Agnieszka<br>Kasińska-<br>Metryka |           | 13                                  | 13                                |
|     |  |        |   |   |   | Dr. Joanna Grzela<br>(for student affairs)                                   |  |   |           |                                     |                                   |
|     | Jan Kochanowski<br>University in<br>Kielce, Piotrków   |        | Dr. hab. Monika<br>Szpringer<br>(for student affairs                              | Department of Social Sciences                                   |   | Dr. hab. Joanna<br>Majchrzyk-Mikuła  |  |   |           |                                     |                                   |
|     | Trybunalski Branch                                     |        | and training)   |   |   | Dr. Zofia Szewczyk   |  |   |           |                                     |                                   |
| 7.  | Cardinal Stefan<br>Wyszyński Univer-<br>sity in Warsaw |        | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Anna Fidelus<br>(for student affairs<br>and training)           | Department of<br>History and<br>Social Sciences                 |   | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Jolanta Marszalska<br>(for scholarship<br>and development) | Institute of<br>Political Science                      |   |           | 5                                   | 21                                |
|     |  |        |   |   |   | Dr. hab.<br>Anna Czyż<br>(for student affairs)                               |  |   |           |                                     |                                   |
| 8.  | Kazimierz the<br>Great University in<br>Bydgoszcz      |        |   | Department of the<br>Humanities                                 | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Małgorzata<br>Święcicka | Dr. Agnieszka Gołę-<br>biowska-Suchorska<br>(for quality of tra-             | Institute of History<br>and International<br>Relations | Dr. hab.<br>Teresa Maresz                           |           | 6                                   | 13                                |
|     |  |        |   |   |   | ining)   | Institute of<br>Political Science                      |   |           |                                     |                                   |
| 9.  | Łódź<br>University                                     |        | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Elżbieta Żądzińska<br>(for scholarship)                         | Department of Inter-<br>national and Political<br>Studies       |   |  | Institute of International Studies                     | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Małgorzata<br>Pietrasiak          |           | 9                                   | 22                                |
|     |  |        |   |   |   |  | Institute of Political<br>Science                      |   |           |                                     |                                   |
| 10. | Maria Curie-Skło-<br>dowska University<br>in Lublin    |        | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Alina Orłowska<br>(for training)                                | Department of political Science                                 | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Iwona Hofman            | Dr. hab.<br>Beata Surmacz<br>(for training)                                  |  |   |           | 47                                  | 36                                |
|     |  |        | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Urszula Bobryk<br>(for student affairs)                         |   |   |  |  |   |           |                                     |                                   |
| 11. | Nicolas Copernicus University in Toruń                 |        | Pof. Dr. hab.<br>Danuta Dziawgo<br>(for finance and deve-<br>lopment)             | Department of<br>Political Science and<br>International Studies |   | Dr. hab.<br>Beata Stachowiak<br>(for training)                               |  |   |           | 11                                  | 27                                |
|     |  |        | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Beata Przyborowska<br>(for training)                            |   |   |  |  |   |           |                                     |                                   |
|     |  |        | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Grażyna<br>Odrowąż-Sypniewska<br>(for the Collegium<br>Medicum) |   |   |  |  |   |           |                                     |                                   |

| #   | Academic institution                         | Rector                          | Deputy rector  | Name of department *                         | Dean                                     | Deputy dean  | Name of institute  | Director of institute                    | Assistant  | Women political scientists employed | Men political scientists employed |
|-----|--|---------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 12. | Opole<br>University                          |                                 | Prof. Dr hab. Izabella<br>Pisarek<br>(for student training)                            | Department of Social<br>Sciences             |  | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Anna<br>Weissbrot- Koziarska   | Institute of Political<br>Science                          |  | Dr. Barbara Curyło   | 7                                   | 17                                |
|     |  |                                 | Prof. Dr. hab. Wiesława<br>Piątkowska-Stepaniak<br>(for management and<br>development) |  |  | (for research<br>and international<br>cooperation)   |  |  |  |                                     |                                   |
| 13. | KEN Pedagogi-<br>cal University in<br>Kraków |                                 | Prof. Dr. hab. Katarzyna<br>Potyrała (for student<br>affairs)                          | Department of Huma-<br>nities                |  |  | Institute of Political<br>Science                          |  | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Magdalena<br>Mikołajczyk                           | 14                                  | 26                                |
| 14. | UPH Univesrity in Siedlce                    | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Tamara Zacha- | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Anna Charuta   | Department of Huma-<br>nities                |  | Dr. Beata Gałek<br>(for student affairs)   | Institute of Social<br>Sciences and Security               |  | Dr. Malina Kaszuba   | 1                                   | 3                                 |
|     |  | ruk                             | (for studies)  |  |  | Dr Adriana Pogoda-<br>Kołodziejak<br>(for training)  |  |  |  |                                     |                                   |
| 15. | Rzeszów Univer-<br>sity                      |                                 |  | Department of Social<br>Sciences and History |  | Prof. Dr. hab. Marta<br>Połtowicz-Robak<br>(for scholarship<br>and international<br>cooperation) | Institute of Political<br>Sciences                         | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Agnieszka<br>Pawłowska |  | 4                                   | 10                                |
| 16. | Szczecin<br>University                       |                                 |  | Department of Huma-<br>nities                | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Urszula Chę-<br>cińska | Dr hab.<br>Renata Podgórzańska<br>(for training)   | Institute of<br>Political Sciences and<br>European Studies |  | Dr. Monika<br>Potkańska  | 9                                   | 22                                |
| 17. | University of<br>Silesia                     |                                 |  | Department of<br>Social Sceinces             |  | Dr. hab.<br>Małgorzata Suchacka<br>(for training)  | Institute of<br>Political Sciences<br>and Journalism       |  | Dr. hab. Agnieszka<br>Turska-Kawa<br>(for research and<br>promotion) | 22                                  | 27                                |
|     |  |                                 |  |  |  | Dr. hab.<br>Danuta   |  |  | Dr. Katarzyna<br>Czornik<br>(for training)                           |                                     |                                   |
|     |  |                                 |  |  |  | Ślęczek-Czakon<br>(for general and<br>student affairs)   |  |  | Dr. Patrycja Szostok<br>(for training)                               | _                                   |                                   |
| 18. | Białystok Univer-<br>sity                    |                                 | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Izabela Święcicka<br>(for scholarship)                               | Department of History<br>and Social Sciences | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Joanna Sadow-<br>ska   | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Małgorzata<br>Bieńkowska<br>(for scholarship)                                  | Institute of<br>History and<br>Political Science           |  | Dr. Małgorzata<br>Ocytko   | 4                                   | 0                                 |
|     |  |                                 |  |  |  | Dr. Anna Edyta<br>Jurczuk (for didactics)  |  |  |  |                                     |                                   |
|     |  |                                 |  | Department of Huma-<br>nities                |  | Dr. Renata Rozbicka<br>(for student affairs<br>and promotion)                                    | Institute of<br>History and<br>International Relations     |  | Dr. hab. Barbara<br>Krysztopa-<br>Czupryńska                         | ıra                                 |                                   |

| #    | Academic insti-<br>tution                                   | Rector | Deputy rector   | Name of department *   | Dean | Deputy dean  | Name of institute   | Director of institute              | Assistant   | Women political scientists employed | Men political scien-<br>tists employed |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|------|---|--------|---|--|------|--|---|------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|---|---|--|--|--|---|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|---|--|--|--|---|---|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| 19.  | University of War-<br>mia and Mazury in<br>Olsztyn          |        |   | Department of<br>Social Sciences                                 |      | Prof. Dr. hab. Joanna<br>Ostrouch- Kamińska<br>(for scholarship                      | Institute of<br>Political Sciences  |                                    |   | 6                                   | 19                                     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|      |   |        |   |  |      | and international cooperation)   | Institute of<br>History and<br>International Relations                        |                                    | Dr. hab. Barbara<br>Krysztopa-<br>Czupryńska                                  |                                     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|      |   |        |   | Department of Huamanities  |      | Dr. Renata Rozbicka<br>(for student affairs<br>and promotion)                        | Institute of Journalism and Social Communication                              |                                    | Dr. Magdalena<br>Żmijkowska   |                                     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 20.  | Warsaw University   |        | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Anna Giza-Poleszczuk<br>(for development)               | Department of<br>Political Sciences and<br>International Studies |      | Dr. Justyna<br>Godlewska-Szyrkowa<br>(for student affairs)                           | Institute of<br>European Studies  |                                    | Dr. Jadwiga<br>Nadolska (for<br>research and<br>international<br>cooperation) | 70                                  | 93                                     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|      |   |        |   |  |      |  | Institute of<br>Political Sciences  | Dr. hab.<br>Ewa Maria<br>Marciniak |   |                                     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|      |   |        | Prof. Dr. hab. Jolanta Choińska-Mika (for students and training quality)  | _  |      |  | Institute of<br>Social Policy   |                                    | Dr. Aleksandra<br>Zubrzycka-<br>Czarnecka<br>(for didactics)                  |                                     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | _ |  |  |  |  |  | - | - |  |  |  | - | _ |  |  |  |  |  |  | - |  |  |  | - | _ | - |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|      |   |        | 3 , ,,  |  |      |  | Institute of<br>International<br>Relations                                    |                                    | Dr. Dorota Heidrich<br>(director for<br>didactics)                            |                                     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 21.  | Wrocław Univer-<br>sity                                     |        | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Iwona Bartoszewicz<br>(for scholarship)                 | Department of<br>Social Sciences                                 |      | Dr. hab. Marcelina Zuber (for scholarship and international cooperation)             | Institute of Political<br>Sciences  |                                    |   | 43                                  | 50                                     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|      |   |        | Prof. Dr. hab.<br>Wiesława Miemiec<br>(for finances and deve-<br>lopment) |  |      | Dr. hab. Patrycja<br>Matusz-Protasiewicz<br>(for student affairs<br>and development) | Institute of<br>International<br>Studies                                      |                                    | Dr. Marta Ryniej-<br>ska-Kiełdanowicz<br>(for didactics)                      |                                     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|      |   |        |   |  |      |  |   |                                    | Dr. hab. Magdalena<br>Ratajczak<br>(for general affairs)                      |                                     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|      |   |        |   |  |      |  |   |                                    | Dr. hab. Larysa<br>Leshchenko (for<br>international<br>cooperation)           |                                     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 22.  | Zielona Góra<br>University                                  |        | Prof. Dr. hab. eng.<br>Magdalena Graczyk<br>(for training quality)        | Department of<br>Humanities                                      |      | Dr. Nel Bielniak<br>(for student affairs<br>and training quality)                    | Institute of<br>Political Sciences  |                                    |   | 2                                   | 10                                     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|      | nl<br>nen rectors and<br>uty rectors                        | 2      | 25  | Total<br>women deans and<br>deputy deans                         | 5    | 30   | Total<br>women directors and<br>their assistants                              | 5                                  | 24  | 355                                 | 555                                    |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| rect | nl<br>ors and deputy<br>ors among women<br>tical scientists | 0      | 1   | Total deans and deputy deans among women political scientists    | 3    | 9  | Total women directors and their assistants among women politi- cal scientists | 5                                  | 13  |                                     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |  |  |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Analysis of the data presented in the table provides several important findings. First, the data largely confirms the results of the in-depth interviews and the survey questionnaires. Second, women academics who are engaged in studying power rarely hold power in Polish academic institutions. At 26 departments offering political science, the position of dean was held by only three women political scientists:

- Associate Prof. Dr. Hab. Agnieszka Czajkowska at the Jan Długosz University in Częstochowa
- Prof. Dr. Hab. Iwona Hofman from Maria Curie-Skłodowska Unviersity in Lublin
- Associate Prof. Dr. Hab. Joanna Sadowska at the University of Białystok.

Only 9 women political scientists hold the position of deputy deans. Three of them are deputy deans for education affairs, three are deputy deans for student affairs (one of the deputy deans is engaged in development in addition to student affairs), and the three remaining women political scientists are deputy deans for, respectively, research and development, education, and general and financial affairs. An analysis of the data confirms the respondents' opinion that women deputy deans are more often given tasks related to didactics, students, and promotion (18), and less often tasks connected with scholarship, research, and development (12). The situation is worse in regard to the post of director or deputy director of an institute. At 35 institutes offering political science studies, only 5 were directed by women:

- The Institute of International Policy and Security at Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce
- · The Institute of International Studies at

- Jagiellonian University
- The Institute of International Studies at the University of Łódź
- The Institute of Political Science at the University of Rzeszów
- The Institute of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Warsaw

It is worth emphasizing that in each of the cases these are women political scientists. There are decidedly more women holding the position of deputy directors of political science institutes. This position is held by 23 women academics, of whom more than half (13) are political scientists. The data concerning the relation between the number of men and women political scientists working at Polish institutions of higher learning—355 women to 555 men—is interesting. The smallest numbers of women political scientists work at the Department of the Humanities at Siedlce University of Natural Sciences and Humanities (1), at the Department of the Humanities at the University of Zielona Góra (2), at both departments of the Pomeranian University in Słupsk (2) and in the Department of Philology and History of Jan Długosz University in Częstochowa (3). It should be emphasized that at the University of Białystok, women political scientists are a small group of 4 in the political science discipline. The scholars who are employed there are working in other fields and disciplines. The most women political scientists work at:

- The Department of Political Science and International Studies of the University of Warsaw (70)
- The Department of Political Science of Maria Curie-Skłodowska University (47)
- The Department of Social Sciences of the University of Wrocław (43)

The Department of International and Political Science Studies of Jagiellonian University (42).

The second of the above-mentioned institutions is the most feminized political science department in Poland. The number of female political scientists working there is greater than the number of male political scientists (47:36). In addition, the department is directed by a woman; there is a woman in the group of deputy deans. The most masculinized political science departments in Poland are the Department of Political Science and Journalism of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (26:56) and the Department of Political Science and International Studies of the University of Warsaw (70:93). The smallest disproportion between the number of male and female political scientists is at Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce—both at the Department of Law, Administration, and Management, and at the UJK branch in Piotrków Trybunalski (13:13); at the Department of Social Sciences of the University of Silesia (22:27), and in smaller institutions, that is, at the Department of Philology and History of Jan Długosz University in Częstochowa (3:7) and at the Department of Philology and History of Pomeranian University (2:5).

355 female political scientists and 555 male political scientists were employed in the political science departments of the 22 public institutions studied. Not many of the women are in positions of authority. Among the 26 departments offering political science studies, the position of dean was held by only 3 women political scientists, and a scarce 9 women political scientists held the position of deputy dean. Moreover, the women were more often given tasks connected with didactics, students, or promotion. They were decidedly less often

asked to hold positions related to scholarship, research, and development. The situation looks even worse in regard to women holding the position of director or deputy director of an institute. Of 35 institutes offering political science studies, only 5 were headed by women. There are decidedly more women (23) in the position of deputy director of an institute. Over 60% of the women holding such a position are political scientists.

Even though the number of women in Polish political science is growing, the fact that power in the discipline is still held by men has a negative impact on the position of women in political science. An equally disturbing finding concerns women's appraisal of their influence on decision-making in political science departments and in the political science milieu in Poland. The respondents considered their influence to be very small.

Women political scientists holding positions at institutions of higher learning have varied experience connected with those positions. Some of them did not meet with the acceptance of their subordinates and co-workers—either men or women. It happened sometimes that men who were the subordinates of a woman would bypass official channels and turn instead to the woman's male deputies. The lack of support from other women is also worrying. The respondents pointed to the following steps that could strengthen the position of women: women must rid themselves of excessive self-criticism; they must have greater confidence in expressing their own views; and they must be ready to accept the responsibility of being a leader. In the opinion of the respondents, it is important that women attain positions of authority, support each other, participate in discussions, and consolidate their standing.



## ACADEMIC DEVELOPMENT: A CONTINUAL PROCESS, FULL OF PASSION AND DIF-FICULTIES

Academic development is a subject on which the respondents spoke eagerly, expansively, and with passion. For them, such development was both a continual process and a way of life.

Development occurs when one works, reads, thinks, and engages in discussions. It is ongoing, daily work—reading new books, thinking about new questions—either those I am encountering for the first time or about which I know little. When I don't do that—when I don't have time to think and concentrate—the day is wasted. I have a sort of guilty conscience then.

FOR THE RESPONDENTS, DEVELOPMENT WITH A BIG "D" INVOLVES CONDUCTING INNOVATIVE PROJECTS, MOBILITY, FOREIGN STIPENDS, AND PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH GRANTS

The respondents assume that achieving successive academic titles is only part of their academic development. More is involved—research in new areas, accepting new challenges, and expanding their abilities.

- **79** For me, a very important sign [of development] is not an academic advance but rather recognition in the milieu. It's having a presence there because I have published something; someone reads my work. I travel.
- Development involves successive ranks on the career ladder, but that's not real development—those are just the requirements

we have to meet. From my own perspective, from my own experience, I consider that academic development means expanding one's spectrum of interests and adopting an interdisciplinary approach. (...) going beyond the bounds of one's own discipline, beyond one's own techniques—that is what I would emphasize. If we remain within the discipline, then we should change our areas of research.

In a word, it's setting sail on the open sea, outside one's own, well-known institution, outside one's research area, or the Polish academic environment.

- for me was my trip abroad for a summer course in methodology. There I met all the people—the authors of the books I had studied. I invested my own funds in that trip. (...) It was a huge amount of money at the time and it was the best investment I ever made. I met people, and made myself known to them.
- I received money to conduct my research and that was undoubtedly the first step—when I could begin that research and I realized that it was possible. The second such important moment for me was learning empirical methods, and then working on an international project. A very important role in my case was also played by foreign contacts. Other than that, when I went to the IPSA conference for the first time, it was another major

life event, because I met people from around the world; I saw their academic achievements, their methods of collecting data, of interpreting and presenting that data. It helped me become more open.

For the respondents, academic development is not solely an individual game but also being and developing with others through publications, scholarship, and work with doctoral students.

degrees and publications. It is also work with doctoral students. Now I see that (...) it forces one to write a second and third doctorate. If I am providing guidance for a doctoral student, then I am responsible for [that student and his or her work]; I put my signature on something that should be in the form it would be in if I had done it myself. This forced me to develop.

From the research it emerges that participation in grants and directing grants is an element of

academic development, thus it is worthwhile to take a closer look at the numbers. The statistics of public competitions published in 2012 by the National Science Center encompass the panels of academic disciplines. Panel HS5 (law, political science, public policy) comprises law, political science, regional and social policy—thus it is not limited exclusively to political science but shows certain tendencies of interest to us. For 355 women political scientists and 148 completed National Science Center projects in the HS5 Panel (allocated to persons with a minimum degree of doctorate) in 49 cases the project director was a woman. Of these 49 women, 13 had ranks and degrees in political science.

To this time, no woman political scientist has been a director of a MAESTRO project (the National Science Center's most prestigious kind of project—experienced scholars compete for funding for projects, including interdisciplinary ones, that are expected to produce pioneering results), or of a HARMONIA project (a competition for research projects realized within the framework of international cooperation).

#### TABLE 5 WOMEN POLITICAL SCIENTISTS HEADING NATIONAL SCIENCE CENTER PROJECTS (PROJECT STATUS: COMPLETED

| Kind of project | Number of wo-<br>men heading<br>projects | Rank /<br>title | Women<br>political<br>scientists |
|-----------------|--|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| FUGA            | 2  | dr              | 2                                |
| OPUS            | 21                                       | dr              | 5                                |
|                 | 8  | dr hab.         | 3                                |
|                 | 4  | prof.           | 1                                |
| SONATA          | 13                                       | dr              | 1                                |
| SONATA BIS      | 1  | dr hab.         | 1                                |
| SUM             | 49                                       |                 | 13                               |

Source: Own work on the basis of projects financed by the National Science Center, https://projekty.ncn.gov.pl

## 1. THE THREE PS: PROCESS, PRESSURE, PASSION

An (unending) "process"—this is the word that was often used by the respondents in defining development.

Development, as the name itself implies, means not resting on one's proverbial laurels. It can't be that once I've got an advance, that's it, because in scholarship there is never an end. That's why I decided to do this with my life. I've devoted practically my whole life to one thing or another. And ultimately it may turn out that only a small portion of it, or nothing at all, was properly studied.

**75** Academic development is something that never ends.

The above process involves continual pressure, which the respondents think might be difficult for some women to bear. This pressure is connected with fulfilling procedural requirements (successive advances, the collection of points, the obtaining of grants), fulfilling the

expectations of others (of superiors, of male and female colleagues, of family), and above all, the expectations they have for themselves.

To be a political scientist is an increasingly stressful profession. I think that many people aren't aware how great the pressure is, and how uncomfortable it is to be subjected to continual appraisal

The third P, which is the most important for scholarly development and characterizes nearly all the women political scientists with whom we had the pleasure to speak, is passion combined with curiosity.

**55** Curiosity, continual curiosity. The desire to learn, to see, to verify.

Academic success is a matter of acquiring knowledge, of doing research, of investigating. It's a passion. (...) Science advances when a human being is passionate about a thing.

#### 2. WHAT HELPS US?

#### 2.1. HARD WORK

In the next large area of the study, the respondents were asked what had most impacted their opportunity for academic development. The most common response was "my own work." In addition to their own work, the interviewees pointed to "diligence" as a character trait, as well as determination and the desire to pursue a passion, to break one's own barriers, and be involved.

What mobilizes me? First, I mobilize myself. It's chiefly that one's superiors don't stand in the way, and a person has to mobilize herself. That is, have her own ambition.

The respondents point out that proper scholarship can not be pursued individually at pre-

sent. Today what counts is work in a group, which not only supports a given project but allows the members to motivate each other and to develop. It also helps in making international contacts and networking.

at present. Naturally one can apply for a single-person grant; one can act, but it requires significantly more time and energy. It's easier if one has a professionally managed team. I think that I was lucky in having various teams that I could direct. There's the element of responsibility for others. I could have left—but what would happen to the people who have been working with me for years? We know our problems—and what, should I cast them adrift? The joint nature of such a research group is very important and is a support.

#### 2.2. SUPPORT, COOPERATION, THE SHARING OF RESPONSIBILITIES

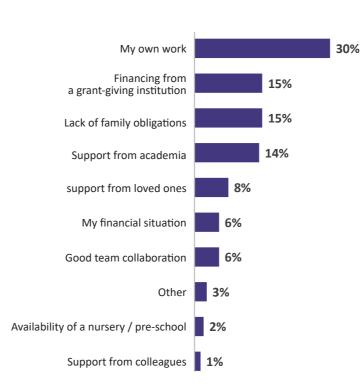
The respondents point out that workplace support is indispensable for academic development. The respondents spoke about a well-organized workplace, a motivating, inspiring, and friendly atmosphere, the appreciation of well-performed work and engagement, and transparency in financing and in awarding prizes.

**19** I was supported by people and by my faith in people, by a desire to fulfill my responsibilities, and—even if not always—I succeeded. A friendly atmosphere in the work milieu is very helpful.

The respondents often mentioned specific persons who supported their development. Both male and female colleagues can be supportive, as well as superiors, who share their knowledge, give advice, are inspiring, make their contacts available, don't make problems, and are a real support in time of need; they set the example and are demanding.

**55** We have a workplace environment where there is real concern for development. The

FIGURE 11. IN YOUR OPINION WHAT HAD THE MOST INFLUENCE ON YOUR ACADEMIC DEVELOPMENT? (N=145)



director of my department always brought in proposals—you can write here, apply there. As to the direction of the institute, financial support for valuable projects was always found. There was never a problem with that. If I was limited by something, it was my own momentary laziness—that perhaps I didn't want to do so many things and go to so many places

J I was supported by the director and the dean. In organizational questions and in merit-based ones. (...) None of those people stood in my way, on the contrary, they helped me, encouraged me. (...) I had a great deal of help from my colleagues.

The respondents also draw attention to the great role played by close family members, who understand, who allow the women to deal with challenges, who patiently accompany and assist.

Family, and other close persons in general, who give support are important in order to have a feeling of satisfaction with life. It shows in that we don't get upset as quickly and have more patience. Family and close friends are a support or they are not; they motivate or not; they encourage or don't. If one's personal life is not satisfactory it transfers to one's work.

The women political scientists with whom we conducted the interviews devoted a lot of time to talking about their partners. One of the respondents described the matter by recounting a conversation with her promoter.

Once he asked me, 'Excuse me, ma'am, do you have a wife?' He was an older gentleman. I looked at him to see if he had made a mistake, thinking he meant a husband, not a wife. I answered, 'Yes, I have a good husband.' 'No, I wasn't asking you about your husband, but whether you have a good wife?' I didn't know what he meant. Realizing that I was confused and didn't know what he was asking, he said, 'Your husband must take on all the duties of a wife in your family. Only then will you be an academic.' He was absolutely right.

To a large measure I was able to do my work thanks to my husband, who was very understanding, accepting, and supportive. We have children and (...) we did not have parents, as they had passed away very early. My husband doesn't hear this and doesn't know it, but he played a very, very large role in my life. He was a very important moral, ethical, and emotional support. He helped in running the household. That's important.

The respondents say that due to the under-financing of scholarship in Poland, family may also provide financial support, either directly or indirectly.

**55** What was a support to me? The money of my parents, who helped me. If it hadn't been for their help I would have had to work hard to keep

myself during the time of my doctoral studies and while writing my doctoral thesis. They helped me a great deal.

#### **2.3. FAMILY**

Family life and the responsibilities connected with it, which are sometimes mentioned as burdens, were for some of the respondents a motivation, making stagnation impossible and giving them the strength to act.

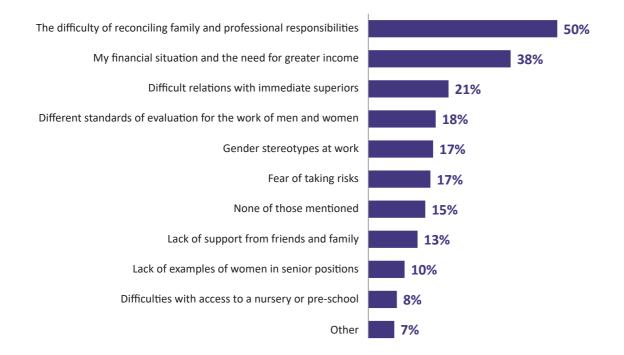
The fact that I have children at home gives me a sense of balance and greater mobilization at work. No doubt if I had 12 free hours and the choice of whether I should read a little, write, watch television, or go for a walk, I would be more dissipated. I always found in my life that if I had less time, I was better organized.

#### 3. WHAT HINDERS US?

Both in the survey, as in the in-depth interviews, questions were raised about barriers to academic development. For half the respondents, the largest barrier was difficulties in reconciling family and professional responsibilities. The academic's financial situation and need to obtain a larger income were listed in second place.

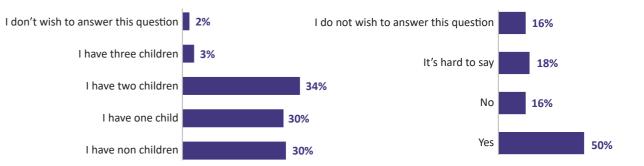
For me, the sole challenge is to reconcile my personal life, with all those responsibilities that rest on a woman, and my professional work.

FIGURE 12. WHAT OBSTACLES DID YOU HAVE TO OVERCOME IN YOUR PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT?



#### FIGURE 13. DO YOU HAVE A CHILD OR CHILDREN? (N=145)

#### FIGURE 14. WOULD YOU LIKE TO HAVE A CHILD OR CHILDREN? (N=44)



#### 3.1. PARENTHOOD

As mentioned, family life is indicated both as a positive factor influencing development, and as a limitation. So-called household logistics, that is, the organization of child care or the care of other family members, have a particularly negative influence. The majority of the political scientists taking part in the survey have children.

Research conducted in Poland shows. for instance, that the number of publications clearly grows along with the employee's academic development, regardless of whether the employee is a man or a woman.13 Such a view was expressed, among others, by Prof. Siemieńska, who also points to the small difference in the number of publications by men and women holding the academic title of professor. At the same time, in the age groups of 30-35 years and 35-40 years, the difference in the number of publications by men and women is decidedly larger, to the disadvantage of women.14 One of the reasons could be the appearance of children and the necessity of devoting more time to them. In Prof. Siemieńska's opinion, the productivity of women (calculated in the number of publications) grows along with age, when the responsibilities connected with child-raising diminish. This is the period between 51 and 65 years of age.

On the other hand, the productiveness of men in the 30–65 age group, measured by the number of publications, remains stable. In consideration of the above, the reduction of the retirement age to 60 years for women working in Polish institutions is worrying. The reduction is to occur on the basis of the new law on higher education and science.

In many interviews, the respondents spoke about the model of the Polish family,

which is still traditional, and in the opinion of the respondents means that women (not only women in political science or women in academe generally) are burdened with family and household responsibilities to a significantly larger degree than men.

I look at men and I see that they have wives who relieve them of all the cares of daily life. When I manage to dump my son with my parents and have a free week, for instance, I get up in the morning and spend my time exclusively on scholarship. Then I'm as happy as can be, because nothing holds me back. But overcoming all the so-called real-world conditions—logistics, school, dinners, cooking, and so forthmeans I can't devote myself 100% to science. I am aware that I am doing something important in life—raising children is very important—but it should occur on a partnership basis and men should take their share of the work. In Poland, that still isn't happening. Men, in contrast, have no obstacles to overcome. The majority of male professors I've known had wives who took care of all the logistics

Development is hampered above all by "being a mother," but also by other family responsibilities. They decidedly limit mobility and length the process of achieving advances.

Let's imagine two situations. In the first, there is a family where the man is an academic, and the woman works in some other area or does not work (...) and they have a child who is between 1 and 15 years of age. In the second situation, the woman is an academic, the man does something else, and they have a child of the same age. There is a much greater chance

that in the family where the man is the academic, it might happen that he gets a stipend and either they all go abroad or only he goes. When it's the woman who is an academic, such a situation is not very likely. Women are much more tied, on account of cultural convictions mainly, which block the development of their careers. In actuality, from the moment a child is born they are very little mobile, and scholarship at present requires that mobility and it is rather the case that if you didn't go abroad for some long period on a stipend, post doc, for example, when you didn't have a child, there is very little chance that you'll go once the child has appeared.

Even though the respondents point to the fundamental difficulty of harmonizing their family and career responsibilities, 36% of the respondents wanted or want to have more children. However, as many as 43% declare that they did not want or don't want more offspring. 44 of the respondents, who declared that they did not have children, were asked if they wanted or want to have children. Half of them answered in the affirmative.

#### 3.2. LACK OF SUPPORT

From the statements of the respondents it appears that their development as scholars is impeded by the same factors that can facilitate development. What is most strongly felt is the influence of other people, including superiors, who can be obstructive, people who exhibit dislike or ill will, or co-workers who are discouraging. In the interviews, examples were given of superiors blocking development, or refusing agreement for travel abroad, training courses, or conferences. Such behavior particularly involved persons who had considerable achievements to their name, and stood out among their colleagues.

1 am disappointed that I don't see any procedures that would prevent such things [obstruction—'improper behind-the-scenes activities, people causing harm,' someone wishes me ill']. Many things can be done in that milieu without repercussions.

It also often happens that in spite of achieving successes and advances, women are perceived through the prism of stereotypes connected with their sex, which for a large part of the respondents is a major barrier and challenge.

Many women, who quickly obtained their post doctoral (habilitation) degree, titles, and advances, are later not accepted by the group of

male colleagues. There are those gender differences by which a person is not perceived as a scholar, a worker, but through the prism of gender—that she's weak, that she might burst into tears, that she isn't capable of making a decision, that she has moods. It seems to me that men don't at all take into consideration that a woman might have something interesting to say.

Single motherhood, or lack of support from one's partner and family, is also a great burden.

When partners don't agree, there are accusations every time you want to go to a conference or participate in something. When we meet, or stay longer somewhere, it's like being on pins and needles. There is the question of permission. I have often encountered something of the sort when my female colleagues did not want to fly with me to Brussels because the husband of one of them would not allow it. There is a mental and family cost to being held in check. I never heard of men in such a situation.

#### 3.3. FINANCES

Another serious barrier to academic development mentioned by the respondents was the lack of financial means and the need to supplement income, as well as to expend one's own money on research trips, translations, or the publication of books. Here too, the question of perceiving women academics through the prism of stereotypes appears.

The main limitation is money. Unfortunately the view can be found—on forums or in discussions on the subject of the functioning of academia, including political science—that women are kept by rich husbands. (...) It is commonly repeated that either a woman is running her own business in order to earn enough for her academic work and for conducting research, or she is taking on extra work: for instance, she works at other institutions where she only teaches. Or that really she's maintained by a rich husband.

#### 3.4. SELF-LIMITATION

In the opinion of some of the respondents, the main barrier to development is ourselves. We often lack self-assurance, the willingness to take risks; we are above all too inclined to be directed by the opinion of authorities, by persons in the milieu who claim, for instance, that it would be "good to wait a bit longer with your habilitation degree." From the perspective of time, the respondents point out that they should have boldly decided to start on the academic path.

**7** If I had not had problems, I could have begun to work for my title earlier—at least several years earlier. Everything was ready, but I heard that I was too young. My colleague should do his first, because he was older; I was young and had my life ahead of me.

What could help women in their academic development is greater courage and focusing on their reliable strong points.

**9** We are forced by family life to be extremely flexible, and that helps us in development and in finding ourselves in new situations. Life requires

significantly more flexibility from women than from men. It's clear that we are constantly changing roles and that helps. That's why I believe in women in academia and in general I have faith in women. I think that before long we will have the problem of the underrepresentation of men in various places. Which women? Those with intellectual potential. I am convinced that if the world goes in the direction that I hope it will (...) we will be treated as equals with men. In my department, there are the first men to take paternal leave, for the sake of their wives' careers. Thus, in my opinion, those limitations have been greatly reduced.

#### 4. HOW DO YOU MANAGE?

In the interviews the respondents pointed to the solutions that, in their view, could facilitate the reconciliation of academic development and professional work with family responsibilities.

Among the proposals were the following:

- concentrating on goals and achieving career advances as rapidly as possible
- limiting organizational tasks
- being assertive
- caring for one's needs, not forgetting about oneself and one's development
- skillfully dividing household tasks with one's partner
- using and asking for the help of one's closest kin
- the cooperation and support of other women
- not having children.

For the respondents, academic development means not solely academic advances, but rather the continual and passionate process of learning, of investigating new areas, of setting new challenges for themselves, and expanding their abilities. An important element of academic development—and also an indicator of success in scholarship—is the recognition accorded a person in the Polish political science milieu, and above all, in the international milieu, as well as participating in and directing research projects. Among the 148 completed National Science Center projects directed by academics with at least a doctoral degree, 49 were directed by women, of which a scarce 13 were political scientists.

The respondents consider that it was their own work that had the largest and most positive impact on their academic development. Financing from grant-giving institutions and the support of the academic's own institution, superiors, and family are equally important. The factors that negatively impact academic development are difficulty in combining family and professional responsibilities, lack of support, and lack of faith in oneself and one's own potential or ability. Another barrier or challenge is the lack of national legal solutions in the form of institutional support and a balanced and long-term policy in this area.

Similar findings appear in publications concerning women in scholarship. Having a family and children slows the tempo of advance in academia, lowers productivity, and hampers the academic development of women, including in the form of a lower number of publications.<sup>15</sup> In the opinion of other respondents, it is not possible to show such connections unequivocally.<sup>16</sup>

In consideration of the above, it is alarming that the retirement age for women at Polish institutions of higher learning has been lowered to 60 years of age in accordance with the new law on higher education and science. In Poland, the title of full professor is ordinarily acquired at the age of 57. In connection with women's greater burden of family obligations, women achieve successive academic ranks and titles later than men; on average, they reach the height of their careers a few years later than men and are active longer. Sending them into retirement 5 years earlier, when they are fully active, and when, as professors, they can compete with men as equals, will weaken Polish scholarship, including political science.

## DMSM: DISCRIMINATION, MOBBING, SEXISM, MOLESTATION

#### 1. DISCRIMINATION

The term "discrimination" comes from the Latin word "discriminatio," which means differentiation, unequal treatment. In this sense it is the opposite of equal rights. Discrimination consists primarily in restricting or forbidding specific individuals or groups from participating in the powers or privileges available to others, "or limits on the potential to obtain goods or privileges valued by a given culture<sup>18</sup>.

"SCHOLARSHIP IS NEITHER A MAN'S NOR A WOMAN'S GAME: IT IS EVERYONE'S GAME—IT IS ABOUT WHERE WE ARE AND WHERE WE ARE GOING" 17

Finding common ways of understanding concepts and perceiving phenomena in the area of discrimination has been difficult. In the opinion of some of the respondents,

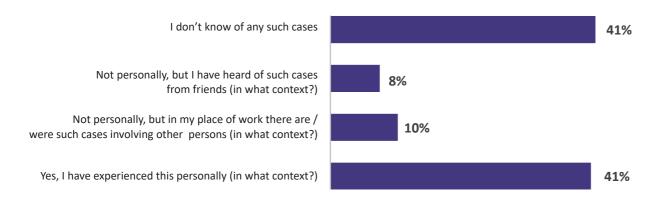
discrimination is the creation of barriers or restrictions, or of situations that produce a feeling of injustice.

**J** Inequality to me is at once associated with discrimination, because that's the fault of the language. We very often say in one breath 'injustice and discrimination' in regard to something. Inequality is the erection of barriers, of restrictions where they shouldn't exist.

**J 5** Limiting access, being a little worse, being on the margins, restricting participation in plans, making delays—I mean this in regard to the milieu and the workplace.

When asked about discrimination, the respondents answered in quite varied ways, in accord with their individual experiences. There were equal numbers of affirmative and negative answers to the question "Did you ever met with unequal treatment in the political

FIGURE 15. HAVE YOU EVER ENCOUNTERED UNEQUAL TREATMENT IN THE POLITICAL SCIENCE MILIEU? (N=145)



science milieu?" 41% of the respondents said that they had personally experienced discrimination and 41% said that they did not know of any such instances.

Another question in the survey concerned discrimination against women in scholarship.

Among 9 signs of discrimination, the most frequently mentioned were:

· the low level of culture in the milieu and

- environment in regard to gender equality (65%)
- overloading women with tasks (64%)
- using the argument of a woman being too young or too old to work for an advance, or to have a share in responsibilities (64%)
- the need to produce greater achievements in comparison to men in order to obtain equal recognition (60%)
- being overlooked for a promotion (59%).

TABLE 6. HAVE YOU ENCOUNTERED THE FOLLOWING MANIFESTATIONS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN IN ACADEMIA? (N=143)

|   | No  | Yes, it<br>happened to<br>someone I<br>know | Yes, it hap-<br>pened to me<br>personally | I have heard<br>of such<br>cases |
|---|-----|---|---|----------------------------------|
| Worse conditions than men for the same position, for instance, lower pay  | 62% | 6%  | 13%                                       | 19%                              |
| The need to have greater achievements than men to receive the same recognition  | 39% | 15%   | 27%                                       | 18%                              |
| Lack of flexibility on the part of an employer in regard to family responsibilities   | 54% | 14%   | 17%                                       | 15%                              |
| A low level of culture in the milieu in regard to the treatment of women  | 35% | 11%   | 46%                                       | 8%                               |
| Being overloaded with responsibilities  | 36% | 11%   | 42%                                       | 11%                              |
| Being overlooked for promotion  | 41% | 18%   | 24%                                       | 17%                              |
| Not being appointed to prestigious positions on account of gender   | 51% | 17%   | 12%                                       | 20%                              |
| Being told that one is too young or too old to take steps in regard to an academic advance or in connection with the allocation of responsibilities | 36% | 20%   | 29%                                       | 15%                              |
| The influence of gender stereotypes on decisions to perform specific tasks  | 38% | 16%   | 28%                                       | 18%                              |

#### 1.1. BEING OVERLOADED WITH ORGANIZATIONAL WORK

In connection with stereotypes and discrimination the respondents noted that their gender could restrict them to positions and tasks for which women are supposedly more predisposed by reason of their "inherent organizational ability" (administrative and organizational tasks).

**75** This appears (...) in the form of being overloaded with organizational work. He has to write his post-doc-

toral thesis, and you have more time. That's that inequality in the division of duties. Men are treated more like scholars and women as organizational staff for those scholars.

The respondents described their experiences of having their academic work impeded by their increased administrative duties.

**7** We are disproportionately burdened with work in comparison to what is proposed to our male colleagu-

es. The time I might have allocated to writing an article, I have to designate for writing a report, a record, a memorandum, or some such thing, instead of investing in myself or looking after my own affairs. If that work were performed by someone different each year that would be fair, but when I'm the one who always does it, I may feel discriminated against.

They block promotion, or load on administrative duties, and later ask you to show your achievements or promotions and it turns out that you don't have any. It's a kind of perfidious game on the part of superiors.

#### 1.2. TOO YOUNG, TOO OLD

In the respondents' answers the statement that the respondent had been considered "too young" recurred in the context of holding a position, for instance, director of an institute, or of an advance. Age discrimination leads to the perception that younger people (men and women) or women who "look young" are not competent. Stigmatization on account of age may also block the development of a career. For one of the respondents, the appraisal that she was "too young" meant that she did not accept the offer of a promotion.

The institutional milieu's lack of acceptance for a rapid career was difficult. Consequently, later I did not accept various offers to advance, because it seemed to me that everyone was saying "So young and she's done so much." I did not by any means advance excessively rapidly, because according to the calendar I have 8 years to do my post-doctoral degree, and I adhered to those guidelines, [completing it] neither sooner nor later.

Another stereotype connected with age and causing a feeling of discrimination is the conviction that a woman's age is indicative of her wisdom. The respondents think that experience,

knowledge, and merit should matter and not age in regard, for instance, to advances. The question of age is also connected with ageism in the traditional sense, where older people (both men and women) are discriminated against on account of their age. The respondents also perceive that there are larger financial opportunities for the research projects of "young scholars" and visible barriers for persons above 35 years of age.

In the interviews, the subject of the retirement age of academics was also raised. The legislative limitation on the working age was seen as an element of discrimination and a waste of the experience and potential of the older academics.

In regard to male or women professors I consider that there should be equality, including with the retirement age—it should affect men and women equally.

healthy, intellectual, fully functioning and developing person in full flight is not justified. In our profession there is never enough experience—for as long as health allows and one's mind is still properly functioning. The closure of an academic career at the age of 70 does not occur, it is true, in a painful manner, because one is still a senior professor (...) but one is less useful for the milieu. And I'm not thinking of usefulness in regard to knowledge, but of a voice on the department board. I can't vote on anything any more."

At the same time, it should be stressed that certain women political scientists did not perceive the existence of any age discrimination; on the contrary, they felt that being older had had positive consequences for them.

**5** Do you perceive any age discrimination? No, I have observed the opposite—that age works in our favor.

#### 1.3. TWO LAWYERS AND A WOMAN

In the opinion of the respondents, discrimination appears in a situation of limited access to certain goods, for instance, positions, publication, or appearance at conferences.

yhere the men direct the panels and lead the discussions on the main panels. I can't accept the opinion that all women who are political scientists simply have nothing to say, or that they couldn't follow or were embarrassed." wstydziły.

One of the respondents considers that "being

a woman" could even be a "stigma," thus testifying to a deep sense of discrimination or even a social handicap.

The situation was an election to one of the higher positions in the department. There were three candidates, one of whom was a woman. One was a [lawyer], more or less of my age, the other was also a [lawyer] (...). At the pre-election meeting each of the candidates was supposed to present his or her program. [The woman] went first— "Ladies first." Then the [lawyer] rose, that older man, who had most recently [held that position] and began in the following manner: "You have before you two [lawyers] and a woman..." I was in shock and I suppose the rest of the listeners were as well. (...) That is stigmatization.

The women academics who hold the position of director encountered difficulties on account of being women. The experiences they described were connected with the perception of a woman in a decision-making position as a threat

**55** What, some female is ruling over us?

Other experiences were indicative of the above-mentioned disrespect for a woman position-holder and bypassing her in the academic structure while turning to her male deputies. Such behavior can shake a woman's faith in her own potential and ability, and when women have lower faith in their potential they are less likely to take on certain roles. Jokes, quips, and comments of a sexist nature, as well as many seemingly insignificant behaviors and small details that show the imbalance between the sexes, were also pointed out as signs of discrimination and disrespect.

#### 1.4. SELF-DISCRIMINATION

Self-discrimination, in the opinion of the respondents, is characteristic of all women, not solely women political scientists. Such discrimination consists in subjecting themselves to constant critical self-censure and discrediting of their own role.

**5** Being too critical of ourselves, we limit ourselves and deprive ourselves of the opportunity to show that we are good or excellent in some area. This small faith in our own potential can cause us to relinquish holding certain positions, or performing certain tasks. (...) not accepting

certain roles out of the conviction that I won't be able to manage. The frequent feeling that something will be too much for me and—I repeat—this is a consequence of socialization. Women are not prepared to accept tasks that are perceived as ambitious and worthwhile.

#### 1.5. MAGIC DISAPPEARING BOXES, IMPOSTERS, AND QUEEN BEES

In the survey, the respondents were also asked whether they perceived negative phenomena such as a "glass ceiling," a "leaky pipeline," a "magic disappearing box," a "sticky floor," "imposter syndrome," "queenbee syndrome," internal discrimination, or dissuasion from thinking oneself the object of discrimination.<sup>19</sup> The most frequent problems perceived by the respondents were: a leaky pipeline (58.2%), queen-bee syndrome (56.7%), and a glass ceiling (50.3%). Such a clear perception of the queen-bee syndro-

me could confirm problems in cooperation between women political scientists. The least perceived problem among the respondents was so-called internal discrimination. From the in-depth interviews it ensues that for some of the women political scientists the problem of discrimination did not exist at all, or the respondents had not encountered this type of situation.

disposed toward me and I never felt any discrimination. In our milieu there is a certain egalitarianism. The division of duties is precisely the same. The duties are shared the same between men and women, without regard to gender. Have I felt discriminated against? (...) I think not. (...) No, definitely not. If I have to think that long, it shows even more strongly that I haven't. I treat use of the diminutive of my name as a certain mannerism, and not as an expression of ill will.

TABLE 7. TO WHAT DEGREE DO YOU PERCEIVE THE FOLLOWING IN POLISH POLITICAL SCIENCE? (N=141)

|  | I don't see<br>it | It affec-<br>ted other<br>women | It affected<br>everyone:<br>men and<br>women | It affected<br>me perso-<br>nally | I don't<br>know |
|--|-------------------|---------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| A glass ceiling                          | 26,3%             | 34,0%                           | 14,2%  | 16,3%                             | 9,2%            |
| A leaky pipeline                         | 24,1%             | 46,1%                           | 6,4%   | 12,1%                             | 11,3%           |
| Magic disappearing box                   | 34,0%             | 38,3%                           | 17,8%  | 0,7%                              | 9,2%            |
| A sticky floor                           | 35,5%             | 34,0%                           | 7,8%   | 9,2%                              | 13,5%           |
| Imposter syndrome                        | 36,2%             | 24,1%                           | 7,8%   | 20,6%                             | 11,3%           |
| Queen-bee syndrome                       | 22,7%             | 43,3%                           | 7,8%   | 13,4%                             | 12,8%           |
| Denial that one is discriminated against | 34,8%             | 30,5%                           | 7,8%   | 7,8%                              | 19,1%           |
| Internal discrimination                  | 53,2%             | 16,3%                           | 3,5%   | 6,4%                              | 20,6%           |

#### 2. MOBBING

In accordance with § 2 art. 943 of the Labor Code, mobbing is "an action or behavior concerning an employee or directed against an employee, consisting in persistent and long-lasting persecution or threatening and producing in that employee a feeling of lower job esteem, and causing or aiming to humiliate or embarrass the employee, isolate him, or eliminate him from the group of co-workers." 20% of the women political scientists studied had experienced such mobbing personally, while 51% had heard of such cases or had acquaintances who had experienced mobbing.

#### 2.1. CAN WE SKIP THAT QUESTION?

During certain conversations, the respondents declared that mobbing was occurring in their immediate work environment, but that they preferred to skip that subject. Such a request could indicate a desire to avoid being placed in the group discriminated against.

J I don't want to give an example, but [weighing every word] we had such a situation; it resulted in such problems; but fortunately, somehow, it was successfully resolved. I think the problem occurs.

Mobbing? An interesting question. Can we skip that question? I know that there are such cases because I hear of them. They occur in my close and not-so-close environment, but I wouldn't like to speak on that subject.

#### 2.2. MOBBING, MEANING WHAT?

The respondents conceive mobbing to be a phenomenon of non-physical violence, which does not occur in direct contact. It concerns relations and interpersonal behaviors:

**7** A kind of continual persecution of an employee.

Sometimes mobbing is perceived as being a one-time criticism, something unpleasant that was heard about oneself. The respondents are aware that the unconscious actions or behavior of persons with certain traits of character ("a certain apodictic style, arrogance, authoritarianism") may be considered mobbing, or be perceived by others as mobbing. The respondents do not identify mobbing with gender,

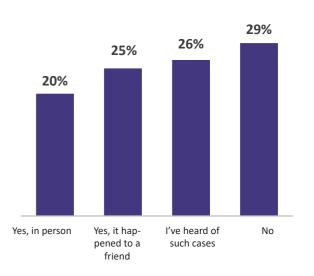
but rather with the hierarchical nature of work in an institution of higher learning.

He doesn't accept discriminatory relations or mobbing of women. At least I don't know of any such case, although undoubtedly the problem exists at universities in general.

Some of the instances described by the respondents concerned the mobbing of young persons beginning work at the institution, who consequently having a weak position in the milieu and are subject to pressure from their superiors. The regular use of doctoral students (male and female) as unpaid workers was given as an example.

People are forced to work during their vacations, and I will say that where I work, that is simply commonplace. Doctoral students—when I was a doctoral student it was commonplace that, for instance, we had to work in the admissions committee, and later we had to write that we were on vacation during that time. Thus in August or September we were formally on vacation, but obviously the admission committee works from the beginning of July to the end of August. Thus I consider that was absolutely a violation of labor laws connected with mobbing, and of course this is done to doctoral students and young doctoral-degree

FIGURE 16. HAVE YOU EVER ENCOUNTERED MOBBING IN ACADEMIA? (N=142)





#### IN THE OPINION OF THE RESPONDENTS, MOBBING OCCURS IN THE FOLLOWING FORMS:

- the creation of barriers or obstacles where there were previously none
- refusing to allocate activities or taking them away without warning and without giving cause
- inequality in the division of duties in team work
- allocation of additional responsibilities
- lack of agreement to trips connected with scholarship
  - blocking or impeding advances
- mental abuse, manipulations, and games behind one's back
- exerting pressure in connection with extending employment.

holders, who don't have permanent work contracts; so everyone does it because they're afraid their contract won't be renewed.

It is worth noting the opinion that was expressed during one of the interviews: if you work hard, you won't be mobbed.

was always very hard-working, and mobbing is often a matter of someone complaining that someone is unequally imposing tasks and responsibilities on him. On the other hand, no one had to impose those tasks on me, because I did everything myself anyway.

Such an opinion could be related to perceiving mobbing as a problem of the "lazy," whose feeling of being "mobbed" arises out of fear and the sense of pressure, and the awareness that if they want to avoid problems they have to work beyond their strength. Such a perception is dangerous because it can stigmatize persons who are not lazy but are really victims of mobbing. By insisting on their right to rest or have good working conditions, and so forth, they are exposing themselves to being considered lazy or insufficiently conscientious.

In this manner, real mobbing can cease to be treated as such but may rather be seen as a way of mobilizing employees to work harder or to make career advances. A drastic example of mobbing in regard to a woman academic was connected with motherhood and the stereotypical perception of a woman's role (it is not known how the matter ended):

The director of an institute considered that the woman who had won a competition should stay at home and take care of her child (she had a year-old child). He made working so difficult for her—he made everything so difficult for her—that in the end, it was arranged—with the quiet permission of the whole staff probably—that another competition would be held, and this one she did not win. I don't even know if she entered the competition."

#### 2.3. HOW DO YOU MANAGE?

In the interviews the following ways of dealing with mobbing were given:

- accepting the situation
- avoiding the subject in conversation
- changing work—the example given by a man
- leaving the milieu
- informing the milieu
- submitting a written complaint to the organization's ethics committee
- suing the mobber

There are formal procedures for resolving mobbing problems through the submission of written complaints. Employees, however, are afraid to submit such complaints.

#### 3. SEXISM

Sexism involves "convictions that maintain social inequality between women and men." The respondents pointed to sexism as a sign of gender discrimination only when they had met with it personally, or it concerned someone in their immediate milieu, or they had heard of such cases. Age and education are not unambiguously related with sexism, but the trait that has an evident connection with the level of sexism is gender.

Although a few respondents declared that they had never met with the phenomenon, according to the majority of the respondents the problem exists (see the frame below). Another form of sexism to which the respondents called attention is the underrating of what women have to say. This is manifested, above all, in the frequent over-representation—which cannot be explained on the basis of merit—of men on plenary panels. It also appears in the form of shortening women's speeches, for instance, during a panel conference or meeting, and lengthening the men's speeches. Such behavior is connected with the phenomenon of "mansplaining," that is, men speaking to women in a patronizing manner and explaining the world to them.<sup>22</sup> Women point out that it is unpleasant and patronizing to have men use the diminutive forms of their names in official situations, such as at meetings, conferences, or important gatherings (for instance, Doctor Kasia-instead of Katarzyna, or Professor Ania—instead of Anna). Although such forms of address do not always indicate ill intention, the women feel infantilized and pushed into the role of being less adult persons. The situation is complicated by the widespread practice of appraising women academics' appearance and placing their knowledge or academic achievements in second place.

No one asks about my book, they just say, "Oh my, how nice you look, you've thinned down/you've put on weight." It's terrible. We aren't treated as equals, as scholars, but rather we are always in first place physical objects. It's frustrating.

In the respondents' answers there were descriptions of improper remarks concerning their appearance.

**19** Look how she's gotten uglier doing that work"—yes, I hear that.

As a sign of discrimination, examples were also given of sexist comments in the form of quips, jokes, and outwardly insignificant behaviors, to which there is still rarely a reaction.

No one reacted. Sexism is allowed; off-color jokes are allowed; commentaries on gender, on appearance, are allowed.

**J** Why do you think no one reacts? I don't



IN THE OPINION OF THE WOMEN POLITICAL SCIENTISTS WITH WHOM WE TALKED, SEXISM TOWARD WOMEN APPEARS CHIEFLY IN A VERBAL FORM:

- non-merit-based remarks: women aren't suitable [for something]
- **improper or ambiguous jokes:** "(...) in presenting his research he spoke about 'female animals.' And none of the persons organizing the conference reacted; he treated it as a fantastic joke. But really, as he described his research he had studied his own environment, men and women, but I don't remember the details, but he spoke of 'female animals."
- subtexts "(...) and when I boasted to him [a professor] that I had been accepted in first

- place to my studies, he said to me 'I'm not surprised, the committee was all men."
- lack of respect "(...) What a pretty dress you're wearing; it could have been shorter though (...)"
- leaving out titles in official communications "(...) a full professor approaches another full professor in public and calls her [by a diminutive of her name] "Kasieńko" ["hey Katey"], but if she were to come to him and say "Michasiu" ["hey Mikey"] everyone would look at her as if she was an idiot."

know. In this country in general no one reacts to such behavior, or not many people anyway. When you point something like that out to men (...) you're always considered a belligerent feminist.

"Feminist" is one of the insults that a Polish woman political scientist might encounter. What is surprising is that this type of conviction prevails among both men and women political scientists, for whom an understanding of the concept of feminism should be somewhat deeper.

The respondents' usual manner of dealing with verbal discrimination is verbal reaction, and the isolation of the person with negative behavior. The respondents noted that in the last dozen years there have been ever fewer instances of improper comments or insulting jokes. Women political scientists are noticing a cultural change both in the frequency with which the phenomena occur and a change among older men, who earlier used a "patronizing tone."

How do I react to such stupid taunts? I would like to learn how to respond properly to someone once and for all so that he would never again speak that way. I am only just maturing to the idea of making a sharp riposte. I hope that it will happen in the future.

The respondents' reactions to improper comments vary:

We are speaking ever louder and becoming bolder; in our own group we can admit that we have encountered something [unpleasant]. We can tell a few male colleagues about it, those who are on the initial

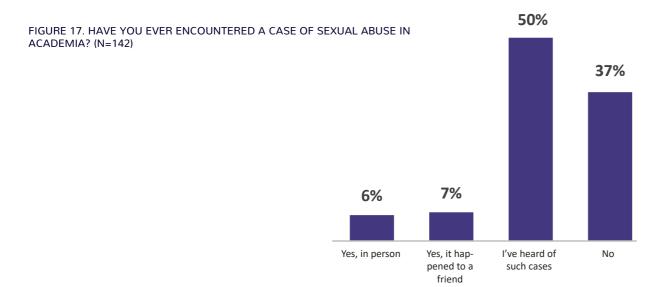
career rungs and understand us.

Some of them are disturbed by it; they make it into a joke, because they aren't in a position to react, because their position is too weak.

Usually I either interrupt the conversation politely and leave or sometimes I turn it into a joke. But it's depressing, particularly when it concerns persons who are higher than you in the hierarchy. Most often men who are higher in the hierarchy allow themselves to make comments about women who are lower than them in the hierarchy, that is, to young doctoral-degree holders.

The respondents point out that institutional solutions to sexism—that is, complaining to a superior about a situation—are rarely sought. Sometimes such complaints bring action, but it also happens that the complaints do not bring results, and the affair is "swept under the rug."

Our section wrote a letter to say that we are being discriminated against. The letter was received by the employees, by the dean (a woman), and the rector (a man). On the initiative of the rector a meeting was even organized in our dean's office with the rector's participation. The letter was received very negatively—how could we dare to think such a thing. I was persona non grata for a while. I felt that a wall had been erected by the authorities, because the employees look at how the authorities react and are afraid to stick their necks out. If they offer support, they'll be suspect themselves. For a certain time I felt isolated, then the matter was no longer spoke of, and there was no aftermath."



#### 4. SEXUAL MOLESTATION

One form of discrimination is sexual molestation. In accordance with art. 18 [3a] paragraph 623<sup>23</sup> and art. 3, paragraph 424<sup>24</sup> of the Labor Code, sexual molestation is "undesired behavior of a sexual nature or related to the gender of the employee, with the aim or effect of violating the dignity of that employee, especially by creating an atmosphere for the employee that is frightening, hostile, belittling, or humiliating: such behavior may have physical, verbal, or nonverbal elements." Sexual violence can affect any one, regardless of age, gender, ethnicity, religion, or origin, and can take various forms, with the common denominator being a lack of consent or inability to express a lack of consent to a given form of sexual contact. The subject of sexual molestation was definitely the most difficult topic raised during the survey and interviews. Sexual molestation was experienced by 6% of the respondents, and half had heard of such cases.

onference dinner suddenly the hand of a certain male professor landed on my hands. I shook him off and told him to get lost. Such situations happen but they are individual incidents. I was warned to be careful how I speak to him, because he's spiteful. A woman told me...Recently I was talking with a male colleague from another institution who said that he had met with the opposite situation at his workplace—that it was a woman, a young woman who was then a doctoral student, who wanted to make use of a certain male professor in order to further her career.

There aren't established means of dealing with sexual molestation. It is said that such men should be avoided; this involves staying away from people and not resolving the problem. There are no other accepted models of behavior, and the examples from the study show that situations of molestation within the walls of a higher learning institution are traumatic and difficult to understand. It should be noted that in spite of the fact that sexual molestation was defined in the Labor Code of 2004, none of the respondents had had recourse to the Labor Court, even though the employer bears responsibility for any form of discrimination occurring in the workplace.

Polish law does not require institutions of higher learning to establish anti-discrimination committees. The decision to take steps depends on the good will of the institution. In connection with the incidence of the problem and lack of obligatory procedures, it would be justified to require institutions to make an annual report to the Ministry of Science and Higher Education on how their policy of equality and anti-discrimination is being implemented.

Polish political science is not free from pathologies such as discrimination on account of gender, age, and family situation. Unfortunately, mobbing, sexism, and sexual molestation also occur at present. A part of the respondents had personally experienced unjust treatment and abuse, and another part had heard of such cases.

Discrimination occurs in situations of limited access to certain goods, for instance, the number of positions, the acceptance of publication materials, or appearances at conferences. The disproportion between the numbers of men and women in the public sphere, and in the employment of women for academic positions, is noted. The respondents spoke of perceptible differences in the number of men and women with higher academic degrees, and of women's limited access to certain positions on account of gender and the stereotypical perception of women (ascribing to them traits supposedly hampering their ability to hold decision-making positions).

From the study it emerges that mobbing is not confined to one gender, but rather affects young persons beginning work at the institution, who have a weak position in the milieu and are susceptible to strong pressure from their superiors. Mobbing most often appears in the form of refusing to allocate courses or taking them away without warning and without giving cause; unequal division of duties and team work; allocating additional duties; withholding agreement to trips abroad for academic purposes; blocking or obstructing advances; and psychological persecution, for instance, exerting pressure in connection with the possible extension of employment.

The respondents had personally or indirectly experienced sexism. It appeared in the form of off-topic remarks, improper or ambiguous jokes, insinuations, lack of respect, or the failure to use a woman's title in official communications. Women consider that limiting their participation in plenary panels of conferences and congresses, downplaying what they have to say, and shortening their speaking time while lengthening the speaking time of men, are forms of sexism.

It is disturbing that 6% of the respondents had experienced sexual molestation personally and half had heard of such cases. It is also alarming that the most commonly mentioned way of dealing with this kind of pathology is to avoid the molester. The lack of effective implementation of suitable and transparent methods of proceeding impedes the solution of problems and their elimination from Polish institutions of higher learning.

## STRENGTH IN UNITY

One of the key areas of analysis was research cooperation between women. The respondents called attention to the lack of a forum for the exchange of ideas and opinions. This was probably one of the reasons the Women in Polish Political Science project met with a positive response, as it provided a kind of space for an exchange of ideas.

The respondents hoped that realization of the project would help them get to know each other and allow for the facilitation of real cooperation.

There is a lack of unity among women. We don't support each other, and that's why I like this project, because the men have their clans, their groups—they support each other. That can be seen, for instance, when the academic year finishes. The men meet in their groups; the women are thinking of their families—they very often neglect such meetings. And it shouldn't be that way, that is, there should be a counterweight, because it's simply harder not to work in a group.

#### **DOES GENDER MATTER?**

From our research it appears that opinions are divided on the subject of preferring to work with women or with men. According to some of the respondents, successful cooperation has no connection

with gender. The sole important criterion is meritbased ability. The mixed-gender nature of research teams, in the opinion of the respondents, is valuable for bringing a diversity of experience and views to a given problem.

1 I wouldn't treat gender as a criterion that is irrespectively important for various disciplines of political science. I would rather list ability and interests as being crucial.

I don't differentiate; for me there's no difference, whether it's a man or a woman. I have certain requirements and if someone fills those requirements and fits in well with the team, it doesn't matter to me whether [that person] is a man or a woman. (...) For me what matters is that someone is talented. If I consider that someone is worth supporting—if someone comes with a sensible idea, some solution—then I consider that the person is worth supporting, while gender doesn't have the least significance



Some of the respondents, however, would prefer to work in a team with other women or in a team headed by a woman. They explain their preference by such teams' greater conscientious in performing work and taking responsibility for it.

I prefer to work with women, because when I agree with women on something, it will be done. When I agree with men, the result can vary—sometimes it gets done, sometimes not. Sometimes it is done sloppily, sometimes there's no time and it's done on the fly. Women are more conscientious in what they do, thus I have a greater sense of security, greater certainty when I am working with women. I have also had negative experiences, of course.

#### DO WE WANT TO WORK WITH EACH OTHER?

The desire to collaborate with other women depends rather on personal experience and preferences. It can be observed that the women's experience with and attitudes to cooperation vary, although they are predominantly positive. Considerable willingness to collaborate with other women was expressed. As many as 80% of the respondents responded affirmatively to the survey question "Would you collaborate with women political scientists in your scholarly work?" In answer to the question "What does the collaboration of women in Polish political science look like?" 64% of the respondents confirmed that women collaborate or collaborate to some degree.

The respondents are interested in expanding cooperation with other women scholars. To this question as well, the response was decidedly positive, that is, as many as 75% of the respondents answered "yes" or "definitely." Aside from the above-mentioned greater feeling of security that cooperation with other women gives to women, other factors inclining them to collaborate are empathy and common interests:

that men will want to make use of us—that once again we won't be treated as full-fledged scholars. Obviously, this is also sexism, or perhaps it's a characteristic of the

sub-discipline: it is hard for me to point to a man who is studying exactly the same thing as I am. I trust women more. I might regret it.

In the respondents' opinion, scholarly collaboration with women is easier if the women inspire each other, know each other, or are linked by the common subject of their research.

There are two girls here and we think things up together, do research. Both came later. (...) but with such passion, such ideas that basically we are all the time doing something, writing, researching—because they're eager, because we like each other. For some time I have been collaborating chiefly with women, but also because it's convenient in terms of technique.

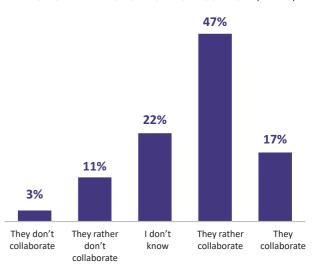
No less important is to build teams composed of women scholars and women's networks, for which, however, greater faith in our own abilities is needed.

that has men. A woman can create some great project and invite her women colleagues to join. I think that this is changing and that pleases me.

The collaboration of women also involves supporting each other in everyday challenges. Some women scholars have milieus that provide support in professional and private matters.

We support each other all the time. We are in phone contact; if we can, we always meet after the official part of an event. Sometimes there are tears, anger, grudges, and support of the "you can manage it yourself" kind.

FIGURE 18. HOW DO WOMEN COLLABORATE WITH EACH OTHER IN POLISH POLITICAL SCIENCE? (N=145)



#### **COOPERATION, MEANING WHAT?**

Cooperation between women is differently defined, but may involve:

- writing articles
- editing books
- organizing conferences
- · planning and realizing projects
- exchanging information at conferences and seminars
- creating conference panels
- consulting each other about ideas.

**9 9** We send each other information about conferences and after the conferences we can tell each other honestly—here you did well, there you made a mistake, here you were perfect. We help each other with publications.

them to join committees, facilitating their stays abroad, and inviting them to international conferences, which is so important now for post-doctoral requirements. Finding an apartment for someone on an internship—because I have contacts and am in a position to do it—is also helpful.

Some of the respondents pointed out that it would be good to build a network of women political scientists. Some of the respondents already operate in such networks or are creating them.

We meet a few times a year; we are building a network. At the moment it is at the conceptualization phase. In going to conferences, I want to meet women. It's a characteristic of the sub-discipline—in Poland, the political parties are studied by women. There is a generation of angry young women who write in English, have no complexes, travel

around the world, and are upset about certain enduring rules and relations. There are so many dynamic women.

**J J** I am in a men's and women's network. Really, we can pick up the phone and say, listen, your doctoral student is applying for a place with us, what do you think of him? (...) I can make such calls and I receive such calls. I call other women; men call me.

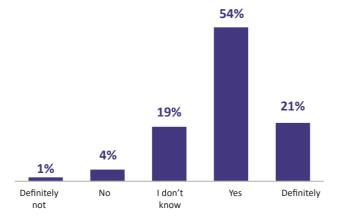
#### WHY IS IT HARD SOMETIMES?

What most hampers the cooperation of women is their lack of common support, along with self-limitation and lack of faith that such cooperation can be effective. The respondents consider that men are more supportive of women than women are of one another. From the in-depth interviews it also emerges that many women political scientists have encountered on their career path the professional and scholarly support of professors whom they call mentors. Nevertheless, the large number of men scholars who have supported women scholars and who were mentioned in the interviews is indicative of the long-lasting and clear predominance of men in Polish political science departments, both now and in the past.

The respondents also noted that some women prefer to work with men because of their authority and influence. Such an approach weakens cooperation and solidarity among women political scientists:

Since men hold power in political science centers, in order to achieve something, one has to curry favor with them. Appearing with other women could be badly perceived and could be an obstacle to obtaining an academic degree or career advance. There is also fear about appearing in opposition to men."

FIGURE 19. WOULD YOU LIKE TO EXPAND YOUR COLLABORATION WITH OTHER WOMEN POLITICAL SCIENTISTS?



#### **SEE YOU IN HELL?**

There's a special place in hell for women who do not help other women," said Madeleine Albright, the American politician, political scientist of Czechoslovakian birth, and former US secretary of state. Is that special place awaiting us, Polish political scientists? The in-depth interviews confirmed a lack of cooperation and the existence even of undercutting, mutual vilification, or sharp rivalry between women political scientists.

**15** I haven't observed women cooperating with each other

In the opinion of the respondents, acute rivalry between women at higher learning institutions ensues, to a certain degree, from the fact that academia, including political science, is still a man's world, to which we are laying claim and must prove that we are suited and equally good. Another problem is that there are limited resources (financing for research and trips abroad, a limited number of positions to be filled), and men still control those resources and have most access to them.

For as long as we live in an environment where women are perceived as having to pursue the approbation of others, we will treat other women as rivals. If we see each other as rivals for those very limited resources—because we are still convinced that the resources are limited for us, and if it continues to be

men who decide about those resources, because there are more of them on department boards, and so forth—then the solidarity of women will be threatened.

Another phenomenon that weakens the solidarity of women political scientists is a woman's adoption of male roles, including not noticing other women and not supporting them when she has achieved her own success, her own strong position. To the question "How much do women support each other?" the answers were "not at all," or "insufficiently." That lack of women's solidarity appears also in the dimension of political science issues, where "solidarity" could be identified with support during elections at the institute, department, or university. The respondents indicated that women do not vote for other women.

There were only two women there; neither of them won, even though I tried slightly to campaign for one, trying to persuade all the women beside me to vote for her. It is harder for a woman; the achievements she had obtained, which were reviewed there, undoubtedly came harder to her—it was chemistry, pharmaceutics, various of those kinds of disciplines.

What is needed is to change women's mentalities, and make them so they want to vote for women and then do it, because in general that's why there are so few of us. We don't vote



## OTHER FACTORS IMPEDING COOPERATION, OR EXCHANGES, BETWEEN THE RESPONDENTS

- lack of acquaintance with the milieu of women political scientists in Poland
- lack of a forum for the exchange of ideas
- lack of a culture of cooperation in Polish institutions of higher learning and of institutional appreciation for collaboration (grants, inter-institutional or inter-departmental projects)
- lack of systemic solutions that would facilitate the reconciliation of professional and family life and would motivate cooperation
- the necessity to compete in the men's world of political science
- lack of skill in sharing responsibilities

- lack of readiness to stand up for one's rights
- engaging in mutual appraisals instead of concentrating on work
- over-concentration on details without reference to the final result
- lack of confidence
- theft of research ideas
- being over-emotional and oversensitive
- a tendency to conflict
- the difficulty of separating professional from private life
- the burden of family responsibilities and the consequent limitation of time for conversations or participation in the unofficial parts of conferences.

for each other and the result is that we have an overrepresentation of men. If we had gender solidarity and supported women who have aspirations, there would be more of us.

#### **SEE YOU IN HEAVEN?**

From the research, a varied portrait of cooperation among women political scientists emerges, as a result of their different experiences and ways of seeing the world.

**J** I think that a certain women's solidarity can be observed. Within individual political science institutions there are ties, of a special dimension, between women. They are linked by the fact that they meet independently of their academic position and age. Those are not an institutionalized form of contact—they talk on women's topics, and also approach them in a scholarly manner. There is help. It seems to me that we help each other as women. When my woman colleague has some difficult situation in her personal life, she will rather ask me for help than a male colleague. We also help each other in our scholarship. I know that if I have a woman doctoral student who is pregnant I take different care of her than I do of my male doctoral students—it's a different situation.

The topic of mentoring—the search for a male or female mentor—is also popular among Polish women political scientists at the moment. Young women scholars are increasingly seeking more experienced women academics; they apply to them in person and receive support.

The professor I mentioned before is a person over 50, I suppose, and while we are collaborating she is often critical—only I know that her criticism is apt. She treats me a bit like a daughter, whom she wants to help, not harm. And sometimes if she has sharp words for me, or for

my colleagues, with whom we also collaborate, we know that she doesn't intend to offend us but is criticizing us so that we will correct whatever it is, so it will be well done and later someone else won't have to do it.

The women political scientists with experience spoke willingly of giving support, advice, or motivation.

support women. The girls know that I do. It's a sign of recognition that my women colleagues, who are a little younger than I am, and who are writing, for instance, their post-doctoral theses, consult with me on a friendly basis. I don't get anything from it; it's not an arrangement of the type where I'll be sitting on the post-doctoral examining committee. No, it's on an authentic basis of providing support.

In a number of cases—I won't say it's the rule—older women professors, who have made a career, support their successors. Thanks to that they advanced. I've seen with my own eyes how that solidarity meant the girls advanced more quickly in their careers. There was no glass ceiling because someone had opened the door for them and they could get in there.

From many of the answers, both during the interviews and in the open questions of the survey, it emerges that the respondents feel there is considerable potential for cooperation among Polish women political scientists.

In my opinion, cooperation among women is doing well, that is, women have the capability to create scholarly networks and create such networks. Among the women political scientists I know, if one of them applies for a grant, she will build some sort of network of coopera-





#### WHY IS IT HARD TO PULL TOGETHER?

#### **Objective factors:**

- lack of acquaintance in the women's political science milieu in Poland
- lack of a forum for an exchange of ideas
- lack of a culture of cooperation at Polish institutions of higher learning
- lack of institutional appreciation of cooperation (grants, inter-institutional or inter-departmental projects)
- lack of systemic solutions facilitating the harmonization of professional and family life and providing motivation for cooperation
- the necessity of competing in the political science world, which is still dominated and directed by men.

#### Personal factors:

- lack of skill in sharing responsibilities
- difficulty in separating private from professional life
- the burden of family responsibilities
- lack of readiness to insist on one's rights
- being overemotional and oversensitive
- a tendency to produce conflicts
- engaging in mutual appraisals instead of concentrating on work
- theft of research ideas

tion within the country or internationally. She will undoubtedly also turn to other women. We are not directed by a gender criterion, but we certainly understand each other.

The respondents also propose specific actions aimed at strengthening the cooperation (and position) of women in Polish political science, and of fortifying the environment of women political scientists in Poland.

Women should cite each other more (...) That's not just my own problem, but also a problem of my women colleagues, with whom I talk and collaborate. Only in the last two or three years have we begun organizing a panel at the conference; we had the feeling that what will be, will be—but lo and behold people came.

Women's self-discipline is essential. They would have to integrate, define clear aims, and not let themselves be pushed off their path. They must be in open discussions with men; they must be able to discuss, to disagree, and not to hide their heads in the sand. It is also important that the men take note that the world does not belong solely to them and that we also exist alongside. Here's the problem; how do we show them that? Keep up with them, show them that we're better, publish? It is important to understand that we are one milieu and that we work for ourselves and our successors—that we represent the milieu, we are from Poland, and not men and women from Poland.

It would be worthwhile to pay more attention to feminist and gender topics and to build women's collaboration around them.

From our research it emerges that creation of a graphic map of the women's political science milieu in Poland is unusually difficult because there are either numerous points on the map, connected by ties of friendship, or socio-metrical stars, bringing together and supporting women scholars. There are also various institutions in which research teams work together on a permanent basis. One positive conclusion from the research is the desire for collaboration among women in political science and the understanding of the need for mutual support and solidarity.

That cooperation and solidarity appears in a number of ways, including writing articles together, consultations, editing books, organizing conferences, planning and conducting research projects, exchanging information at conferences or seminars, creating women's conference panels, mutual citations, and "taking care of each other" in the political science milieu. Such care could consist in resistance to sexist remarks, concern for the equal representation of men and women on panels during conferences or in publications, and the appearance of women candidates in institution elections and support for them. It could involve inclusion of feminist perspectives at conferences and in course work. It could also involve raising "women's issues" during employee meetings or pre-election discussions at institutions of higher learning.

Supposedly when women support each other unusual things occur. Let's try to make it happen!

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In summary, the number of women conducting research and obtaining academic ranks and titles in the political science discipline has been rising steadily. At present, 355 women political scientists and 555 male political scientists are employed in a total of 22 political science departments.

In spite of the perceptible growth in the number of women in Polish political science, women's influence on decision-making in the political science milieu in Poland, including in departments and institutes, is still insufficient, and in particular does not reflect the proportion of professionally active men and women political scientists. Among 26 departments offering political science courses, the position of dean was held by only 3 women political scientists, while there are only 9 women political scientists holding the position of deputy dean, and they are most often allocated responsibilities connected with didactics, student advising, and promotion. They significantly less often hold positions connected with scholarship, research, and development. At 35 institutes offering degrees in political science, only 5 are directed by women. In institutes, more women, including political scientists, hold the position of deputy director.

From the research it appears that the stereotypical perception of gender and roles still influences the situation of women in Polish society, including in Polish academia and in Polish political science. The position of women could be strengthened if they would be less self-critical and more confident of themselves and their views, have faith in their own ability, and also be courageous and ready to shoulder the responsibility of being a leader. The respondents think that solidarity is important for women, as is the support of men. In spite of the perceptible positive changes, the respondents consider that women political scientists are still more burdened with organizational and administrative work due to being ascribed stereotypical attributes such as diligence, conscientiousness, and precision, and due to the still prevailing, erroneous conviction that women are less "suited for scholarship." Women political scientists are less

often perceived as authorities or experts; they are less often invited to participate in plenary panels of academic conferences or in academic publications. Consideration of the perspectives of women academics and political scientists as the authors of texts, panel members at conferences, or holders of important positions in the political science environment is not based solely on the argument of "parity for parity's sake." It should be emphasized that concern for parity in science, including in Polish political science, where there are many women academics, has a positive influence on the development of the discipline. Many women political scientists are engaged in interesting and important research within the framework of national or international projects, which they may also lead. The rapid growth in the number of women political scientists with a post-doctoral (habilitation) degree has ineluctably led to the growth in the number of women full professors—a fact that is also tending to even the disproportions in this sphere as well.

For the respondents, development involves advances on the academic ladder, but above all, it is a constant and passionate process of learning, of investigating new areas, of setting oneself new challenges and broadening one's abilities. In the opinion of the respondents, an important element in development and a sign of success in scholarship is recognition within the political science milieu in Poland and especially abroad. Participating in and directing research projects is significant, too. The deciding factor in an academic's development is her own work. Financing from grant-giving institutions, and the support of the academic's institution, superiors, and family, are also important. Factors that slow development are difficulties in combining family and professional responsibilities, the need to

obtain a larger income, lack of support, and lack of faith in oneself—in one's own potential and abilities. The lack of government legal solutions in the form of a balanced and long-term policy in this area, with institutional support, is also a barrier and challenge.

The research has shown unequivocally that Polish institutions of higher learning are not free from discrimination (on account of gender, age, and family situation), mobbing, sexism, and sexual molestation. Some of the respondents had personally experienced unjust treatment or abuse; others had heard of such instances. Discrimination appears in situations where there is limited access to certain goods, for instance, the number of positions, ability to publish materials, or appearance at conferences, and when access is restricted on account of gender and the stereotyped perception of women. Mobbing is encountered in political science departments, but it is not connected with gender. It rather affects young people who are beginning work for an institution, have a weak position in the milieu, and are susceptible to pressure from their superiors. For objective reasons, sexism and sexual molestation are gender-related: women are usually the victims. The sexism of which the respondents spoke most often occurred in the form of off-topic comments, improper or ambiguous jokes, insinuations, lack of respect, or the omission of titles in official communications. The limitation of women political scientists' participation in plenary panels of conferences and congresses, disregard for what women have to say, limiting their speaking time and lengthening that of men, were also regarded as forms of sexism. 6% of the respondents had experienced sexual molestation, and half had heard of such instances.

Polish women political scientists want to collaborate with one another; they see the value and necessity of doing so. Cooperation and solidarity consists in writing articles together, consultations, editing books, organizing conferences, planning and conducting research projects, exchanges of information about conferences and seminars,

creating women's conference panels, and citing one another. Cooperation also involves "taking care of each other," that is, the non-acceptance of sexist remarks, or insistence on equal representation of men and women on conference panels or in publications. Some of us, however, are still "playing for ourselves," which indubitably hampers women's ability to strengthen their position in Polish political science. It has emerged from the study that this is a personality factor, although it may also involve a lack of acquaintance in the milieu of women political scientists, the lack of a forum for the exchange of ideas, and also the absence of a culture of cooperation at Polish institutions of higher learning and lack of institutional appreciation for such cooperation (which could involve grants, or inter-institutio-

nal or inter-departmental projects). As one of the aims of the project was to produce joint recommendations and suggest good practices, we present here the proposals collected during the course of the survey and in-depth interviews. Some of the proposals were also discussed during a workshop that was held on July 3, 2018 at the Department of Political Science of the Pedagogical University of the Committee of National Education in Kraków. We would like to thank all the women who accepted our invitation and found the time to participate in our study. The recommendations and proposals for good practices are intended for (1) ourselves, that is, Polish women political scientists, (2) our employers and superiors, that is, institutions of higher learning, departments, and institutes, as well as our colleagues, and (3) the Ministry of Science and Higher Learning, the Political Science Committee of the Polish Academy of Science, and three political science associations—the Polish Political Science Association (the sponsor of our project), the Polish International Studies Association, and the Polish European Studies Association.

We look forward to hearing your commentary, remarks, and proposals; please send them to kontakt@kobietywpolitologii.pl.



#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLISH WOMEN POLITICAL SCIENTISTS

- Gender parity during conferences (to ensure as far as possible an even share of women political scientists as speakers and moderators on panels, including plenary panels).
- The principle of parity in academic publications (books, journals) and conferences (not solely the organizational aspects).
- The organization of workshops on mentoring, grants, career development, or leadership (for students, young scholars, older scholars) in departments and institutes
- Real and broad cooperation between women: giving recommendations, invitations to publish, participation in conferences and panels, consideration of the achievements of other women political scientists in publications (references, citations), syllabuses, and course work.
- Promoting women who have achieved success in scholarship.
- Active participation in elections to the decision-making organs and circles of institutions of higher learning, departments, and institutes.
- The principle of "women vote for women"—support for women participating in elections.
- Support for women holding positions at institutions of higher learning and in scholarly associations.
- Promotion of women colleagues' achievements and presentation of their academic work
- Support for women, even those who are not known to one personally, for instance, at conferences—"I liked your speech," "Your presentation was great."
- Opposing the infantilization of women through the use of first names ("Kasia," "Professor Ania"), while insisting on respect and the use of academic rank or degree and last name—"Professor Kowalska," for instance—for the sake of other women and for oneself.
- Clear and solidary objection to remarks and jokes involving stereotypes.

- Being aware of the justifiability of sharing tasks equally between employees of different genders and age.
- Greater activeness of women in the media; women colleagues should be recommended as experts on a given subject.
- Increasing awareness of women's status and participation in political science, international relations, diplomacy, and so forth (workshops, conferences, seminars, publications, the topics of course work).
- Creating a list of women academics who could be mentors for women at various stages of their career.
- Introduction of themes and perspectives of equality and feminism in course work; changing the perspectives of men and women in regard to the subject matter of course work (for instance, providing arguments for and against).
- Counteracting the tendency to equate resisting the excessive familiarity of a man with lack of a sense of humor.
- Creating networks and promoting the publications of women, for instance, twice a year writing reviews of interesting publications by women political scientists.
- In the choice of reviewers for doctoral works, post-doctoral works, books, and articles, turning first to women who fulfill the criteria (a base of Polish women political scientists).
- Informing one another of academic publications (for instance, on the facebook account https://www.facebook.com/kobietywpolskiejpolitologii/).
- Introducing feminist and equality issues in one's own research, for instance, An Anthology of Polish Feminist Thought.
- Herstory—conferences, seminars, and publications on political science and international studies from the feminist perspective.
- Founding associations and platforms for communicating.
- Writing and supplementing the biographical entries for women political scientists on Wikipedia.



#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE AUTHORITIES OF INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING, DEPARTMENTS, AND INSTITUTES

- The application of parity during conferences (as far as possible, the equal participation of women political scientists as speakers and moderators on panels, including plenary panels.
- The principle of parity in publications (books, journals) and in the academic committees (not solely organizational ones) of conferences.
- The organization of departmental or institutional workshops on mentoring, grants, career development, or leadership (for students, young scholars, older scholars).
- Creating organizational conditions in institutions and in departments that would further women's ability to harmonize their social roles and professional work.
- · Aiming for a balance of genders in filling

- positions at the institution (equality and meritocracy).
- The equal burdening of men and women academics with administrative/bureaucratic duties, that is, relinquishing the habit of giving women low-prestige work that has to be done.
- Promoting changes in the language used when advertising positions: for instance, "we are seeking a (woman) lecturer, a (woman) specialist, a (woman) analyst" instead of "we are seeking a (man) lecturer" and so forth.
- Creating the conditions for flexible work hours, allowing the establishment of individual modes of accessibility and responsibilities, with respect for good relations between the employer and employee.
- Ensuring access to nurseries and preschools.



## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND HIGHER EDUCATION AND FOR THE POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

- Statutory requirements for the representation of women in the composition of committees, the university authorities, and departments (at least 35%).
- The principle of parity in academic publications (books, journals) and academic committees (not solely organizational ones) of conferences.
- Annual reports submitted to the Ministry of Science and Higher Education on the subject of implementing a policy of equality and anti-discrimination.
- Change in the definition of academic excellence and the "calculation" of academic achievement (more points for teaching, mentoring, and popularizing scholarship).
- EU documents—equal rights are an element of effective economic policy and in improving the quality of scholarship (actions taken not specifically for the good of women but to improve the effectiveness of the academic institution).

- The establishment of prizes in the name of Polish women political scientists (Maria Ossowska has been proposed) for political science monographs (master's degree theses, doctoral theses) involving issues of women in politics, the work of women political scientists, or perspectives of equality and feminism in political science research.
- The Ministry's preparation of an amendment to the law concerning retirement age and the return to the same retirement age for both sexes.
- Small research grants for women's initiatives to activate women scholars in the academic environment, for instance, bridging grants allowing them to return from parental leave to work at an institution of higher learning.
- Not considering maternal and parental leave in the appraisal of a woman's academic achievement.
- Extending the period of stages of advance.
- Raising salaries.

### **GLOSSARY**

**Glass ceiling**—"an invisible barrier hindering the advance of women (...) women can see the higher career floors but those levels are out of reach, or hard to reach, for them" <sup>25</sup>

**Leaky pipeline**—the small number of women in higher positions and rungs of the academic ladder is caused by the fact that "talented women 'leak out' as they reach successive rungs of the career ladder, with the result that as they advance there are ever fewer of them." <sup>26</sup>

**Magic disappearing box**—a situation in which "highly qualified women 'disappear' from the academic world, but reappear on alternative career paths." <sup>27</sup>

**Sticky floor**—ascribing "women to a certain group of less prestigious and worse paid occupations. The phenomenon occurs also in the major professions, thus women academics are more often than their colleagues engaged in teaching, which is perceived as a less important activity than research." <sup>28</sup>

**Imposter syndrome**—when a woman feels that she does not deserve her position, ascribes to herself a lesser degree of knowledge or qualifications, and fears being unmasked. She sees her own successes as due to errors, good luck, or accidents, and not to her talents.<sup>29</sup>

**Queen-bee syndrome**—a phenomenon in which "women occupying the highest positions do not work on behalf of other women. (...) Women who have achieved a high position do not use their power to help young women or to change the system, but silently confirm that system."<sup>30</sup>

**Denial**—when women deny that they are the object of discrimination, saying "that there is no gender discrimination at present in their organizations. (...) In order to protect their own sense of worth and high self-esteem, women unconsciously deny or refuse to admit consciously that they are the objects of discrimination." <sup>31</sup>

**Internal discrimination**—a situation in which a small group of women at the highest levels obstructs young women from reaching the doctoral level and the first stages of an academic career.<sup>32</sup>

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## **FOOTNOTES**

- B. Krauz-Mozer, P. Borowiec, P. Ścigaj, Kim jesteś politologu, vol. 1, Kraków 2011; T. Warczok, T. Zarycki, Gra peryferyjna, Warsaw, 2016
- A list prepared by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education: http://www.nauka.gov.pl/uczelnie-publicz-ne/ wykaz-uczelni-publicznych-nadzorowanych-przez-ministra-wlasciwego-ds-szkolnictwa-wyzszego-publiczneuczelnie-akademickie.html [May 10, 1917]
- 3. According to Tomasz Warczok and Tomasz Zarycki, there were 1,130 women political scientists in Poland in 2015 (according to the Ludzie Nauki database). However, in the table, there is an error in the total (the number 1,090 is given, that is, 40 persons are omitted). See T. Warczok, T. Zarycki, op. cit., p. 198. According to the presentation of data by the authors of the current project, based on information available on the websites of political science departments of 22 public Polish institutions of higher learning and the Ludzie Nauki database, 355 women academics, holding at least doctoral degrees in political science, are employed there. The population studied thus consisted of 355 persons.
- 4. Women political scientists were enabled to apply directly to the project coordinator.
- 5. J. Gajda, Zastosowanie metod jakościowych w badaniach politologicznych, an unpublished doctoral work defended on March 3, 2015 at the Department of International and Political Studies of Jagiellonian University.
- 6. On the basis of the results of qualitative research, from the report by AT Group Adrian Gorgosz, Kraków 2017.
- 7. Not all the respondents answered this question; the average was calculated from the 134 responses received.
- 8. If not all the respondents answered a given question, their number is given in parentheses.
- 9. On the basis of a list drawn up by the "Kim jesteś politologu?" team of B. Krauz-Mozer, P. Borowiec, and P. Ścigaj, and interviews and analyses of existing data.
- 10. Further, see the chapter on challenges.
- 11. In the publication Pożegnanie z Matką Polką: dyskursy, praktyki i reprezentacje macierzyństwa we współczesnej Polsce, edited by Renata E. Hryciuk and Elżbieta Korolczuk, Warsaw 2012, it is pointed out that contemporarily the mythical "Polish mother" is not reflected in empirical reality. The subsection below does not discuss the myth itself and does not analyze its applicability but rather shows that it is present in women's narratives.
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- 14. Ibidem.
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- 18. B. Rysz-Kowalczyk (ed.), Leksykon polityki społecznej, IPS UW, Warsaw 2001, p. 38.
- 19. See the glossary at the end of the publication.
- 20. The law of June 26, 1974, Labor Code, unified version, on the basis of the Journal of Laws, 2018, item 917, 1000, 1076, http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU20180000917/U/D20180917Lj.pdf.
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- 32. M. Młodożeniec, A. Knapińska, op. cit., p. 61.

The authors of A Report did a serious and impressive research: quantitative - an internet survey CAWI – and qualitative – individual in-depth interviews. We can see a picture which presents a truth about 355 women political scientists and 555 male political scientists. It is a perfect diagnose.

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The Report on Women in Polish Political Science. From diagnosis to cooperation, is an important and significant publication. It talks about issues and problems, which spark a heated discussions and draws interest not only in academic environment. The report should be considered an imperative and obligatory lecture for all political scientists.

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