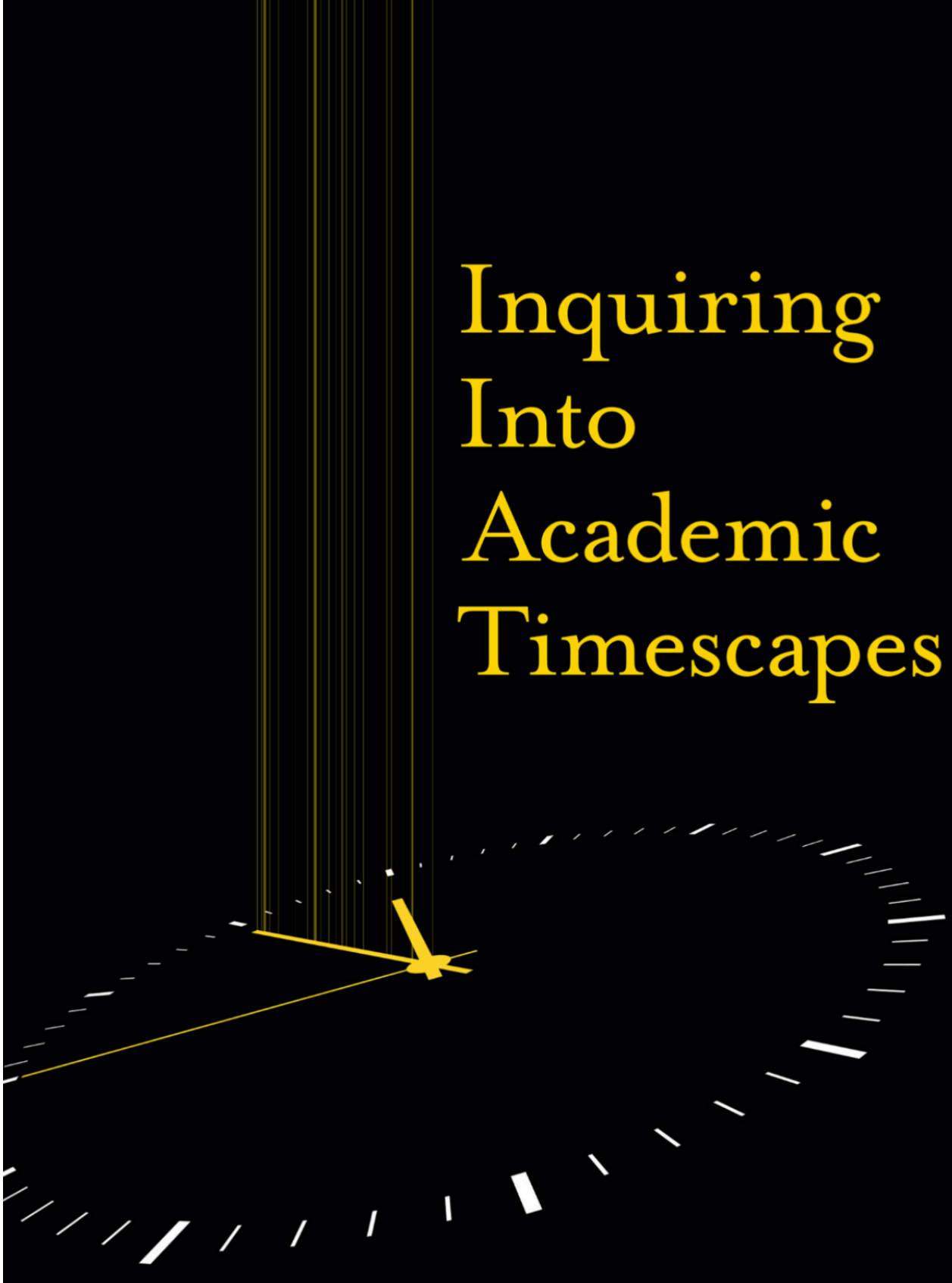
Inquiring Into Academic Timescapes



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Chapter 5

Academic Times, Shortcuts, and Styles – Exploring the Case of Time for a PhD from a Gender Perspective

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Introduction

The PhD places considerable demands on candidates which trigger varying modes of experiencing time (Atkinson, 2000; Burke et al., 2004; Araújo, 2015; Dakka, this book; Parry, Atkinson, & Delamont, 1997). In this chapter, the authors propose exploring four core ideas from a gender perspective: (i) why time for PhD is so important from a sociological point of view; (ii) what are the main trends reshaping the PhD program with impact on candidates' experience of time; (iii) what are the main ideologies underpinning these alterations; and (iv) how far PhD time structures (in the sense developed by Lewis & Weigert, 1981) affects PhD candidates differently, according to gender. In fact, a theoretical analysis of the time for a PhD entails an understanding of the main trends for time in academia and science (Macaulay & Davies, 2019). Indeed, much has been said about academic time worldwide (Menzies & Newson, 2008; Noonan, 2015; Pereira, 2016; Smith, 2015; Spurling, 2015; Vostal, 2015; Ylijoki, 2010, 2013). In spite of the specificities, there is a widespread consensus among authors that the neoliberal mode of time governance in the academic world fosters ways of structuring and valuing time that prioritizes standardization and linearity (Augusto et al., 2018; Felt, 2015; Macaulay & Davies, 2019; Slaugther & Leslie, 1999; Ylijoki, this book). The growing economic importance of the PhD for Higher Education Institutions (HEI) is part of this trend that, insisting in building up an unique dominant time, ends up doing away with many kinds of temporalities regarded as not suitably adapted or temporally adjusted to the increasing "PhD industrialization" (Louvel, 2012).

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In fact, career individualization, broader digitalization, rationalization, specialization, and career hierarchization are some of the developments produced worldwide under the spread of the academic global and neoliberal time regimes, which take time as a multidimensional merchandise (Moshe, 2019). The consequences of these trends include the reshaping of all the processes at the institutions, and inevitably, teaching and learning times. They are also raising important questions about the ability to meet different rhythms or tackle the diversity and discontinuity of time that may be due to many other variables, such as the scientific area, age, or geographical area. Furthermore, they bring about new interrogations about the gender nature of the academic career paths and may be influential for determining the social value of the PhD.

As regards gender, seminal works by Ylijoki (2010, 2013, 2016) have explained how mainstreaming linear temporalities jeopardizes the realization of more feminine temporalities. Inheriting ideas from gender-time studies (Adam, 1988; Fox, 2005; Leccardi & Rampanzi, 1996; Walby, 2007), Ylijoki, (2010, 2013, 2016) states that actual valorization of quantitative models of evaluation, as well as the trend toward the "projectification" of academic times, presses people working in science to follow a linear time perspective on life. More specifically, they are urged to define plans for their lives that tend to deprive them for many experiences, and the temporalities may enter conflict or potentially delay other personal and professional events, such as marriage or parenthood. The few studies that have analyzed the doctoral time experience from a gender perspective (Araújo, 2015; Bitencourt, 2013; Delamont, Atkinson, & Perry, 1997) underscore Ylijoki theses, claiming there are disparities and inequalities between women and men taking this degree. Some of these disparities derive directly from the ways in which time is structured in the HEI (by the way of calendars, methods of evaluation, schedules, deadlines, etc.), and are reproduced in the academic settings, through shared expectations and believes about the importance and value of time being spent. For instance, authors assert that women doing the PhD tend to wait more than male counterparts for answers from their supervisors, or to be able to participate in scientific meetings, or other academic activities scheduled by PhD program directors (Araújo, 2015). Not all individuals are able to articulate and conjugate personal and professional time with time for the PhD. Bitencourt (2013) corroborates previous findings (Etzkowitz, Kemelgor, Neuschatz, & Uzzi, 1994) about the fact that pregnancy, motherhood, or other care attributions disrupt quite significantly women's time availability for the PhD (Ward & Wolf-Wenel, 2012), obliging them to adopt corrective strategies, in order to succeed within the expected time.

The disparities described above unveiled an apparent paradox of recent years. In fact, various policies have been implemented to improve time articulation in academic and science-related institutions, with the aim of avoiding or reducing gender disparities HEI were encouraged, for example, to build and implement their Gender Equality Plans (Sales Oliveira & Augusto, 2018). The focus was on reducing gender discrimination and thwarting women's invisibility in many dimensions, including time availability. These recommendations initially targeted academic staff but were soon extended to candidates at different levels of

study. However, as Sales Oliveira and Augusto (2018) state the impacts and actual dividends of these policies fell short of expectations, notably in relation to the inclusiveness and recognition of different temporalities and rhythms in academic institutionalized time. These gaps are felt primarily by the candidate audiences (Araújo, 2015), especially at postgraduate level – master, PhD, and post-doctoral levels.

Indeed, the time for a PhD is of the utmost importance nowadays for understanding academic times which are en route toward the increasing digitization and individualization of educational and careers paths. There are at least four important reasons justifying it: (i) the work and the deadlines required during the PhD tend to be extremely demanding, as they obey an increasingly overwhelming networked time technostructures that create and feed several layers of evaluation and dependency between individuals, and between institutions; (ii) people doing a PhD are usually aged between 23 and 30 years. This is a period that potentially coincides with many other personal decisions, and encompasses several changes on biopsychological temporalities, including fertility times; and (iii) there is a great heterogeneity of motivations that lead people to apply for a PhD that reflects greatly on the manner candidates understand and relate to the time during the degree attendance; (iv) massification of PhD degrees, as well as of the numbers of PhD candidates attracts candidates and institutions to adopt remedial strategies to save or gain time, such as buying solutions being offered aside from the formal PhD curriculums (such as paying for methodology courses, scientific written skills, among other).

The fact is that, notwithstanding the advances made by Gender Equality Plans in generating reflection and awareness of the hidden gender inequalities affecting PhD candidates, the problem of time inequalities for the PhD is still underestimated or avoided. There continues to be quite a high dropout rate for PhD degrees, as well as late deliveries of the thesis and time lacking is often given as the explanation (Araújo, 2017; Wollast et al., 2018). Therefore, and rather paradoxically, even though neoliberal modes of managing and balancing time at university are becoming increasingly predominant, it has been found that people, and particularly women candidates, have great difficulty coping with the various time demands in the PhD, even if they are not late in delivering the doctoral thesis (Araújo & Fontes, 2013). Therefore, until what extent is gender a useful concept to understand the duration of the PhD? How do women and men doing a PhD analyze the importance of gender to their time availability for the PhD? What institutional changes would help mitigate the inequalities raised by the different modes of understanding and using time, between men and women during the PhD? Trying to provide the answers to these questions, the text underscores the need to deepen the understanding both as regards the heterogeneity of times in academy and science, as well as about the intersection between different variables and realities that concur to the time stratifications and inequalities affecting the time for the PhD. The text draws on qualitative data gathered between 2017 and 2018 through interviews with PhD candidates, PhD supervisors, and HE policy makers. Despite its exploratory nature, and on the line with international studies made on the subject, the text allows to show some of the main challenges that HE

in Portugal are still facing as regards gender time gaps and propose some relevant practical and policy measures to be implemented in HE institutions, and given to know and discussed at a broader societal level.

The text starts by presenting an overview of the theoretical framework on PhD completion, and gender time. Special attention is given to the concept of neoliberal time in academia and how it intertwines with gender. The following section presents the results of qualitative study about time uses during the PhD done in Portugal and involving candidates, PhD supervisors and higher education policy makers.

Theoretical Framework

Researchers have analyzed various dimensions of the experience and explored structural problems to doctoral success, such as the factors influencing successful submission of PhD theses (Wrigth & Cochrane, 2002), predictors of time to completion of graduate degrees (Sheridan & Pike, 1994), and attrition, completion times of PhD (Bourke, Holbrook, Lovat, & Farley, 2004; Kerlin, 1995; Latona & Browne, 2001; Smith, Brownell, Simpson, & Deshler, 1993; Wollast et al., 2018). Paliktzoglou and Suhonen (2011, p. 152) also debated the advantages of part time online PhD, highlighting that the most difficult part of doctoral journey is to balance life realms and roles. In addition, Latif (2020) argues that PhD candidates need to have quality time during the PhD, alerting to possible adverse effects of a complete absorption on PhD task and ambitions. Much of these studies claim about difficulties in managing time, as well as on institutional barriers to respond to PhD candidates' demands and needs. To better understand these studies' contributions, and how they can be important to discuss the gender nature of time for PhD, one needs to comprehend a little better what are the main characteristics of the structural times crossing out societies, and academic territories nowadays.

Bunn, Bennett, and Burke (2018, p. 1409) contend that "through the neoliberalized projection of the university, important contextual dynamics and associated demands are increasingly disguised" and, therefore, this "individualizes responsibility for time management onto candidates, many of whom consequently, experience guilt and self-blame". Richard Sennet (1996) is cited by Sugarmann and Trift (2015) that consider that time has pivotal importance in feeding the culture of the new capitalism. In the author's view, time makes use of specific ways (in production systems, mobility modes and consumption practices) and devices to control, expand and erode time. Bunn, Bennett, and Burk state that "Timing is dynamic and shifts in relation to broader economic, spatial and cultural changes" (Bunn et al., 2019, p. 1409). It is frequently argued that time as resource was the main leverage of capitalism (Thompson, 1967). The few more recent analyses have shown that this conceptualization of time as a resource remains structural, although it has been reconfigured over the years. It permeates the political, economic, and social domain, regardless of the government ideology. Several forms of colonization experience the internalization and acculturation of the principle that time is a resource. Time as a resource is a totalized and totalizing entity for the western time system, and it pervades all policy making and reconfigures itself

along the time, in response to other transformations, including those linked to the increasing of of technosicence in the academy.

Sugarman and Trift (2015, p. 133) contribute saying that

> the contemporary neoliberal order is reshaping the experience and understanding of time, the ways the neoliberal transmutation of time is reorienting and reorganizing individual and collective psychological life, and psychology's response to the malaise of temporal acceleration [because] the capitalist dynamics of competition and profitability, the collapse of Fordism and rise of neoliberal economics and market rationality, technological innovation, the supplanting of clock time by "network" time, increasing burdens of individual risk and responsibility, the proliferation of choice, and erosion of the distinction between private and public are accelerating the pace of life.

By analogy, time as a resource came to be a building block in academic temporalities that also gained increasing capitalist features for all European countries especially since 2000. In line with the seminal works of Slaughter and Leslie (1999), authors analyzing specifically time in academy assert that these are being rapidly adapted to modes of structuring and mastering time that incorporate neoliberal features (Augusto et al., 2018; Johnson, Lee, & Green, 2000). These times tend also to be increasingly more supported by diverse technologies and knowledge that legitimate the greater rationalization and individualization of time. Similar ideas appear in a number of studies about time in academia and science (Menzies & Newson, 2008; Noonan, 2015; Pereira, 2016; Smith, 2015; Spurling, 2015; Vostal, 2015; Ylijoki, 2010, 2013) that shed light on the transformations academia and science are going through leading to new forms of time stratifications as well as to various inequalities in the academic context where gender is an important factor.

Seconded by other authors Scott (1996) had noted that gender is a very important variable when analyzing the social for two main reasons: (i) it is a constitutive element of social relations; and (ii) a primary form of meaningful relations of power (Scott, 1996, p. 292). These elementary ideas are extremely insightful as they show that gender organizes the modes of relationship between individuals and structures hierarchies in academia and in the society, in general (Kehm & Teichler, 2013; Kimberly & Grant, 2013; Latti, 2017).

The same happens with time. Time norms and time patterns are directly dependent on gender roles and gender stereotypes that keep reproducing over time, reshaping not only the relations between men and women, but also the social value ascribed to what they do in the society (Acker, 2009). Authors tend to argue that women are socialized with different modes of understanding and experiencing time, when compared to man (Adam, 1988; Davies, 1989; Sullivan, 2000). The same studies underline that historically men's time uses are considered more important than women's, typically regarded in dependence of the former one.

In this context and from an intersectional perspective (Walby, 2007), gender shall be proposed as a variable revealing a kind of time disjuncture, twisted by a "masculine temporal imperative" which governs the academic system (Augusto et al., 2018), and which holds the power to marginalize *feminine time*, and consequently, to contribute to women's invisibleness in science and academy. In fact, a large amount of studies showed that, historically scientific fields and timescapes are male dominated (Nielsen, 2015; Stewart, Malley, & Lavaque-Manty, 2007; Verge, Ferrer-Fons, & González, 2018; Ward & WolfWenel, 2012; Whittington, 2011). Accordingly, a plethora of studies have related gender inequalities in the academia and science across the different scientific fields and countries (Pereira, 2016) with time uses (Winslow, 2010). They have notably clarified how these gender inequalities revert negatively on women's career paths.

Additionally, studies that identify gender as an intersectional variable (Butler, 1990; Squires, 2005), stated that neoliberal time regimes disregard women's time in many ways, particularly when it comes to the modes of articulating and conciliating personal and family times with academic time demands. In other words, as the time regimes become increasingly standardized, they leave out many aspects of women's temporalities as inscribed in their roles and daily activities (Keike, 2017; Lipton, 2019). Furthermore, it takes for granted and takes advantage of some important traditional features of academic times (Araujo, 2003, 2015) for example that part of the work can be done at different times, and in different spaces, including at home. Santos (2004, 2016) has provided a detailed analysis of gender inequalities in academia caused by the discrepancies in conciliating times. Castañeda-Rentería, Tinoco, and Parga Jiménez (2019), or Gallego-Morón (2019) arrived at similar conclusions for Italy, Brazil, Mexico, Equador, and Peru. Carvalho and Santiago (2010) have also showed with great precision that performance evaluation models can reproduce already existing inequalities between academic men and women.

In sum, the idea of a gendered PhD time proves central for thinking about the future of the academia and thereby it is important to discuss how to create political awareness of the problem (Araújo & Barros, 2017; Augusto et al., 2018; Pereira, 2016) not only for nowadays, but also in the years to come, as digitalization will take its course reshaping the spatial and temporal contexts of academic and scientific work. This is particularly important in the case of time for PhD, as despite the slight increase in interests in broader aspects of gender in academy and science times, the fact is that candidates' lives and trajectories are still scarcely explored (Macaulay & Davies, 2019).

Muller (2014) reflects on the "deceleration of the academy"/Slow University Initiative), proposing it as a form of active resistance in the face of the reproduction of a type and temporality based on "continuous entrepreneurship of Self" (S/P). She has also critically analyzed the grotesque nature of time in post-doctoral education, signaling the centrality acquired by rush in science settings, and consequently on people's lives. Nevertheless, we consider that a gender perspective on this matter is required as experiences of time fragmentation, discontinuity, and suspension normally attached to doctoral and post-doctoral time entail different possibilities of concluding the degree, and also of good job

opportunities in R&D. It is assumed that PhD time is entangled with a temporality where the market is everywhere at any time. A temporality by which the time to learn also becomes a time to make profitable in the form of articles produced, seminars attended, classes attended, revisions made, etc.

In result of this problematization, it comes clearer that naming present-day time regime at the academic worlds as neoliberal means to assume at least two important ideas: (i) that time is being subject of power relations and diverse forms of domination which are increasingly implicit, opaque (Fuchs, 2014, 2015) and hybrid (Moshe, 2019); and (ii) that the routes toward increasing institutional and individual success imply active cooperation in making linearity effectively performative in academic settings, as well as in life, in general. However, as Soldatic (2013, p. 39) asserts clearly, on the line of authors such as Adam (1990) or Glennie and Thrift (1996), "there is an array there is an array of heterogeneous times, and their meaning, significance and interpretation cannot be conflated, collapsed or consumed by a single homogeneous time." Therefore, to investigate time for the PhD means also to assume that the experience of doing a PhD implies many different layers, conflicts and meanings of time. Following the idea that in recent years, institutions developed different modes of structuring time for PhD with impacts on candidates' lives, this text will proceed in exploring more concretely how gender relates with the ways PhD candidates talk about their time, how they say they use time, what are the main problems they identify and what strategies they develop to overcome them.

In this sense, it will be possible to attain two main important goals: (i) to highlight the complexity of times permeating the experience of time for PhD and how people are responding to macro-global neoliberal time regimes; and (ii) to show how a gender perspective on the present day academic time shifts and regimes represents an epistemological advantage to better disclose the actual implications of the weakness or fragility of time politics in the academy, through which it would be possible to diagnosis and ascertain adequate strategies to deal with those time diversities, conflicts, and power relations, as inscribed in the relations between actors in academia.

Method

This chapter is supported on the examination of recent research involving interviews of a group of Portuguese and Brazilian PhD candidates and their supervisors spanning different scientific areas. Variables such as scientific area, ethinic group, nationality, and age were not considered at this stage as being significant to delimiting the sample. In fact, as stated in the introduction, studies concerning the subject of time for PhD are still scarce. To select people to interview, a convenience sample following a snowball process of identification was defined. In total, 25 interviews were conducted with PhD candidates (11 men and 14 women) and 10 supervisors of different scientific areas in 2 institutions – 1 Portuguese and 1 Brazilian.

Among the several questions addressed in the interview guides, this chapter will be focused specifically upon the collection of information regarding gender

differences in mode of using time during the PhD. In the line with the objectives, the data analysis considers interviewees' answers to four questions: (i) "describe how do you use time for PhD"; (ii) "what difficulties do you encounter for using time"; (iii) "what strategies do you use to overcome with that difficulties"; and (iv) "what do you think about the men's/women's time during the PhD."

Personal interviews were carried out mainly within the university setting. After having agreed to participate in the study the interviewees – both supervisors and PhD candidates – were contacted again via e/mail or phone, to schedule the interview. Afterwards the information was inserted into databases (one for candidates and one for supervisors) and, therefore, analyzed according to the beforementioned dimensions, providing the tables as shown in the text as well as the excerpts used to discuss each idea. The process of analyzing data was mainly dictated by the content analysis procedure, more specifically the thematic content analysis, as the dimensions (modes of using time, advantages, and disadvantages) were considered as the major themes aggregating the answers to the questions addressed in the text.

Efforts were made to combine the results with others from other studies, and to analyze the responses to the two types of the interviews. During the process, the challenge was to lead PhD candidates to describe their experiences, and express their perceptions on time use during the PhD process, and also to bring them to reflexive thought, as time and gender have in common to bring about the naturalization effect (Adam, Hockey, Thompson, & Edwards, 2008; Laqueur, 1992). Still, we are aware of the limitations of this option where the location of the self (Sword, 1999) in the interaction process and of the "fetichism of words" (Miczo, 2003) that often hamper the understanding of the information.

Findings

Responding to the intention of this chapter to provide an overview about the gendered nature of the time for PhD, in this section we will proceed to give account of the results gathered in the research and how it corresponds with the four questions presented above. First, we will begin by showing what supervisors and policy makers interviewed say about their experience time to supervision and structure them, and how do they view eventual variations, between men and women. Second, we will demonstrate how women and man describe their uses of time during the PhD, what strategies they find to overcome with possible difficulties, and finally, what are their views about how gender affects time to PhD.

Perceiving Time Structures – Time for and in Supervision and Gender

Men and women with and without children, and with or without another job interviewed, say that they do not have enough time to work on the PhD.

> I think the main concern is always the question of time, especially since I'm working and doing my PhD, it's more painful, I would

> say. I think that is it, finding time to devote 100% of my energy to the PhD. There are always things to do at work, there are always other initiatives that I am involved with in the city and the time for the PhD turns out to be somewhat scarce. The family is important, too". (Man, Portugal, interviewee 1)

Data obtained in the interviews with policy makers, PhD supervisors, and PhD candidates indicate that both male and female doctoral candidates say they constantly struggle with the feeling that they are wasting time or weren't able to accomplish the planned outcomes within the defined deadlines. Supervisors and PhD candidates talk about the ever-greater commitment to improving methods for making candidates publish and participate in scientific meetings during the degree. They also agree on the fact that the rise in the number of candidates doing the PhD and the concomitant need for supervision, grows in parallel to an ever-sophisticated rationalization of time to supervision. Underlining that there is a progressive industrialization of the PhD going on (Torka, 2018), and corroborating candidates' perceptions, supervisors say they sense they are under growing pressure to assure quality time for supervision, arguing that.

The supervisors and candidates interviewed show there are two different styles of using time for supervision:

1. *Time standardization*: Supervisors established a schedule to meet candidates during the PhD. This chronogram is sought to be followed strictly, and candidates are expected to contact the supervisors with in each timeframe. In this style, supervisors also predefine how PhD candidates should contact them.
2. *Ever availability*: The supervisors can answer candidates' queries at any time, whenever necessary. The modes for contacting the supervisors can be defined or altered.

In the first style, candidates need to organize their time according to the supervisors' agendas and this implies that they respond according to the milestones previewed in the plan. This way, they can plan their own agendas. In the second style, supervisors and candidates enter into contact whenever they feel necessary. Therefore, candidates can delay or postpone activities, as deadlines and milestones are not used for controlling the time.

Both women and men PhD candidates mention the existence of the two styles. However, most of the women interviewees say they prefer the first style. For women time standardization in the relation with the supervisor, that can be facilitated through the use of technologies, allows them to better organize their private and family demands, and gain control over their time. To men, this style benefits them primarily because it helps them to keep on track with the plans established, and to manage their time, in order not to lose it. Still, the great majority of men say they do well with the style "ever availability," while women prefer the more standardized style (Table 1).

Table 1. Actual and Preferable Structure of Supervision Time.

	Time Standardization		Ever Availability	
	Man	**Woman**	**Man**	**Woman**
Actual style	3	2	8	12
Preferable style	2	11	9	1

Time Problems and Strategies

Both men and women (supervisors and candidates) recognize time for PhD as a demanding time, from the scientific point of view. PhD candidates are aware that they need to respond to ever higher standards of quality that make them continuously experience the need to respond to new challenges that are also time consuming, such as participation in conferences and scientific meetings, or involvement in scientific publications. Some of the PhD candidates interviewed admit they were not aware of the need to reach such high standards, declaring they had (and continue to experience) difficulties in adapting to the rhythm of the PhD itself. They often say they are dissatisfied with how they use time for thesis preparation.

Interestingly, most of the respondents say that they do not follow strict routines for organizing their time and accomplish the PhD. They know time for the PhD cannot be easily measurable or accountable, as it is much more a "timeless time", an immersive experience.

> I try to have a daily routine, come to the university, or here, or stay in the library. Depending on what I must do, if I need to be very focused, very focused, I go to the library where I can isolate myself. Sometimes I work at home too, on the weekend and at night, but I am usually here. And what happens is that we must be focused, because anything dispersed, it's very easy for us to disperse, and time passes. (Man, interviewee 4)

Both men and women say they do "bad" in organizing time. That they lack skills, and conditions to define an agenda.

Like men, a woman says:

> Routine, you are talking to the wrong person. I am terrible with the routine, schedule, these things, I can't, do it until today. (Woman, interviewee 1)

In the same sense, man recognizes that time management is chaotic.

> I'm very disorganized anyway, but the way I see it is to create a weekly program of work of what I have to do. (Man, interviewee 2)

Both man and women say they use spaces and times solely devoted to work in the PhD. They argue that the separation of physical spaces and the allocation of different activities to different times allow them to be more organized and disciplined. Women and men interviewed also show similar concerns with time for family.

The modes in which they use time and the strategies adopted to face time problems vary between men and women, especially when women are married, and/or with small children, or elderly people to care for. While men stress the importance of defining plans to respond to deadlines and milestones, women point out the need in defining agendas and routines.

To men, the plans have significant importance in avoid time dispersion, and respond to specific objectives when needed. These plans are conditioned by the type of events to be accomplished. So, they try to have a private space to work at home, "go to the university," or "work during the night," whenever it is needed.

> I don't try to control my time. Okay, I need to write an article and I know I have that deadline and I try to see more or less the meetings I have scheduled, the work, what I have to do, what work I have to do academically. And I try to juggle the gaps in my schedule, writing ... taking the computer with me and researching. (Man, interviewee 1)

Mothers report an even more accentuated conflicting relationship with "home" space saying that they continuously feel they need to do something else, at the same time. These women try to circumvent the ambivalence caused by the fact that assignments from two distinct spheres are juxtaposed in the same space. They frequently try to define unbending routines that involve time (daytime between 8 a.m. and 6 p.m.) and space (going to university, library, or other location).

> I like to start studying early in the morning, I start in the morning and have an entire ritual (...) I continue until midday, beginning at 06.30/7 a.m. Sometimes I am tired, and I continue a little more in the afternoon.

Interestingly, men talk a lot about how they valorize having time for family, as well as the time for a personal life. These men who have kids say they would give up professional activities for the benefit of family time. Nevertheless, the need to organize time, and to separate family duties from PhD tasks (including writing) seems to be also keenly felt by men with young children and/or with other family duties that demand continuous attention (Table 2).

Men's View of Phd Gendered Times

Men and women were invited to talk about the way they see the time of the others, in a gender perspective. Both replied well to this question and tried to explain their views. As shown in Table 3, most of the women say that gender reduces the

Table 2. Strategies to Overcome Time Problems as Identified by Men and Women.

Strategies	Men	Women
Weekly agenda	3	11
Plan without need to control	5	1
Disorganization	3	0
Total	11	14

Table 3. Influence of Gender in Time for PhD.

Strategies	Men	Women
Affects a lot	7	13
Has no effect	4	1
Total	11	14

time available to do the PhD. However, men are divided, as part of them say that gender has much importance conditioning time for PhD, but other part declare that this variable has not efffect at all.

Less than half of the men interviewed (40%) state that time constraints are the same for men and women doing the PhD. In their opinion, time for the PhD is not affected by gender, nor should it be. One interviewee observes that:

> If I were a woman, I would be able to have the same type of use and organization of the time you have at this moment.

Interviewee 3, who is married also says:

> If it was her [his wife] in my circumstances … I couldn't tell the difference.

These men frequently refer very often to the help they offer their partners at home:

> […] It depends, my position in relation to at home is not that the woman who has to do everything. I always try to help at home, I was taught so by my parents. I try to help a little, a little bit with almost everything. (E1)

These male interviewees do not grasp differences or inequalities between men and women in the availability and organization of time for the PhD. Interestingly, however, not only do they argue that there are no gender differences, but they also "accentuate" some characteristics of time uses normally connected with women.

Men emphasize the stereotype that women are even better than they are at organizing and disciplining time. A PhD candidate asserts that:

> Well, I think so [that I would have the same routine], I even think that the women are at certain times... they are more disciplined about time than men themselves. (Man, interviewee 8)

In saying so, men emphasize the differences in relation to women. When they argue that women are "better" than men, they are in fact also assuming that men can be freer to define their own routines or modes of organizing time.

But more than half of the male interviewees claim that men and women handle time very differently and that they do not have the same time for the PhD. These men believe women live in a "macho" society so they have more difficulty reconciling the time available for the doctorate with other time demands.

Interviewee 9 also states that:

> Society nowadays is still a macho society; the woman today not only has to do domestic work, but also to look for a job, even though men nowadays help with domestic chores, it is as if that responsibility were directly for the woman. I believe that if I were a woman, I would have a hard time reconciling these domestic activities [with] this issue of my employment and doctorate. (Man, interviewee 9)

Women's View of Gendered Time

Only 1 of the 14 women interviewed says that her time is the same as that of men. She finds no difference or inequality.

> Look, I think the gender issue does not interfere, not me. I think that today, what I have already achieved, the difficulties, the limitations, they are independent of being a man or a woman, although we[women] have to reconcile more tasks than, depending on the woman, mother, housewife, we end up doing more activities there. (Woman, interviewee 2)

Most of the women state that their time demands are greater than those of their male counterparts. For them, women doing the PhD are required to give their time to a different and wider plethora of demands. They recognize that time for the PhD is very conditioned by gender and, therefore, unequal between men and women.

> Sometimes we are writing our research, our article, preparing our conference and we're thinking, "Tonight, I have to make dinner. Do I have to go to the supermarket." (Women, interviewee 10)

> I think that if a woman has a child, she must articulate a lot of things, it gets much more complicated. The man, he is kind of the freest, in social relations and in the house, he does not take on the same number of tasks as the woman. It is not a rule, but it is almost 100%, so for men, usually the research gets freer, the guy has more focus, because he has less to think about. (Women, interviewee 12)

Discussion

Time for the PhD is a complex and multidimensional subject. Data convey many directions of analysis concerning the relevance of gender in explaining and shaping time for the PhD. At its core, data demonstrate that time is differentially distributed and can mean different things for different scientific areas, as well as for different ages and institutions. Interviews made clear that time for PhD is framed by structural guidelines of linear nature, even though people are not always aware of it. Perceptions about time vary considerably according to the initial skills and situations of candidates when they begin the PhD, as well as according to the expectations they have about the professional prospects may open to them. Unsurprisingly, data show that candidates and supervisors are adhering somehow uncritically to the time linearity and rationalization embedded in academic time structures. In line with this, data show there are several proximities between men and women doing the PhD as regards the time styles they follow, the shortcuts they find to gain more time, as well as the difficulties they experience and the strategies they implement to resolve or avoid the potential negative effects. The greatest difference relies on the fact that women report they first need to control time by slicing the day and the week in different blocks that are ascribed to different activities. On the contrary, men tend to say they first delimit the task itself (as a milestone) and second they address time defining when it is going to (or may) occur. This finding shows a salient feature of gendered time worth to consider in matters of time structure and regulation, such as evaluation calendars, supervision time styles, or class timetables. It also shows the epistemological complexity of the distinction between "men's" and "women's" times, as to apprehend the gendered nature of time one needs to account also with the intersectional effects of academic settings as well as of private and family life.

Women tend to talk about their lives without revealing the same need to speak about the value they ascribe to family or other individual times, such as sports or other activities, as men do. For women, these tasks are still considered natural and taken for granted female duties so they try to adapt and address them scarifying their personal time, if necessary. Important to notice that all interviewees say they are "delayed" and that they lack the right skills to organize and control time. Most strategies they implement serve to control and to make time more productive and in accordance with what they consider to be required by the institutions, and, sometimes, by the supervisors.

As said above, despite women signaling they have different times to accomplish when compared to men due to their gender, they seem to experience a strong

need to fit in with the institutional expectancies, which obey to linearization and increasing performativity. Instead of being critical about the time structures and regulations, women (but also men) blame themselves or their supervisors for their un(success). By doing this, they are also contributing to the invisibleness of time diversity and contributing to the reinforcing and interiorization of neoliberal time regime, which produces new types of time stratification, where some candidates can "keep up" with the dominant time, while others, including men, but especially women, are considered to be falling behind.

This research shows, as already other studies had pointed out (Araújo, 2015; Atkinson, 2000; Burke et al., 2004; Parry, Atkinson, & Delamont, 1997) that doing a PhD is a very time-consuming phase during which candidates need to take on a range of tasks, such as publications, participation in scientific meetings, among others. Results also indicate that supervisors and candidates are increasingly pushed to contribute more effectively to the overall scientific production of research centers associated with the PhD degrees. These processes touch quite similarly women and men, therefore, both try to respond to the demands imposed by trying to conciliate the different time demands.

The study also shows that to have difficulties in managing time during the PhD is an experience that men and women have in common, as there is a common sense of being harried all time. They try to overcome the difficulties by imposing themselves a variety of time controlling modalities, so they assume individual responsibility for the solution of time conflicts: they conceptualize it as a personal problem, not an organizational or social one which once again favors the neoliberal governance of institutions (Augusto et al., 2018). Most strategies used by PhD candidates imply actions for mastering time like using agendas, plans, or demarking spaces and times exclusively allocated to work at the PhD.

This way, women and men seem to show similar modes of adapting to institutional time structures. However, there are differences: while men tend to signal that they do not leave behind other events or tasks, women often say that doing the PhD has demanded from them to postpone or exclude other personal projects. In this point, and in line with other studies (Louvel, 2012; Torka, 2018), the interviews give account that time for PhD may greatly shape different biographical paths, especially of the women. This happens both if they have another job out of the academy or are doing the PhD in the context of a fellowship contract under the umbrella of a major research project, whose temporal structure demands from the candidate a constant availability that often is conflicting and disturb the time to accomplish PhD tasks, therefore, demands the use of other times (working at night, during the weekends, postponing activities or events, among others).

Concluding Remarks

A PhD is one of the most profitable academic degrees for HEI. Tuition fees are quite high, and the minimum attendance time required is usually three years. The demand for PhD programs is currently on the rise and the typical candidates are people wishing to enter the academic career, and those aiming at professional

promotion or curricular enrichment. In parallel, the PhD is turning out to be more and more productive, as lots of publication a scientific output relies on the work done by PhD candidates. All this context favors the reconfiguration of the modes in which time is structured and evaluated during the PhD.

This text intended to shed light on the following questions: (i) why time for PhD is so important from a sociological point of view; (ii) what are the main trends reshaping the PhD program; (iii) what are the time ideologies behind these alterations; and (iv) how far PhD time structures affects PhD candidates differently, according to gender. On the basis of 25 interviews with doctoral candidates and supervisors from different scientific areas, the text asserts that in many ways the gendered social time institutionalized in HEIs as in societies, in general. That is, doing a PhD does not implies the same time conditions for men and for women. Data announce that similarly to academic and science career in general, PhD time is institutionally reproducing male dominant rhythms segregating feminine time diversities, such as pregnancy, breastfeeding, raising children, among many others. In addition, the study indicates that behind the apparent similarities, there are time inequalities derived from the gendered academic time.

Even if married men, or men with children also reveal some difficulties in managing time brought about by the time conflicts emerging from the different spheres, the problem is much more significant for married women, or with children; and both men and women recognize this gap and its implications for concluding the PhD within the expected deadlines. But supervisors and policy makers, despite being aware of the candidates' difficulties in managing time, do not recognize the importance of a gender perspective to correctly address this question in terms of academic strategic management. Therefore, in correlation with the need to deal with the issue of time as a political matter because of its rising conversion into a neoliberal time regime, it is equality relevant to consider in an intersectional perspective, that gender is a core variable affecting time devoted to the PhD, particularly when men and women have children, have a job out of the academia, or need to tackle it alongside other tasks and demands.

Recent studies talk about "projectification" of academic time (Torka, 2018; Ylijoki, 2016). The information collected in this study corroborates this idea. PhD candidates feel they are pushed hard to articulate their research with research centers and supervisors' projects, therefore, having to respond to these projects' outputs and deadlines. This adjustment to structural trends toward the own industrialization of the PhD (Louvel, 2012) is, therefore, leaving consequences behind in the manner individuals can manage their biographical trajectories, and make options for their lives, which interferes particularly with women's temporalities. That is why, one can say that the way time is being structured presently according to neoliberal principles can impute even more negatively on the chances of men and women conciliating other times with the time for the PhD, and this is potentially more harmful for women. Data provided by *She Figures* (EC, 2017) give account of increasing difficulties of women to progress in academic and scientific careers and access to more stable and well paid jobs in research.

In line with previous studies done in Portugal (Almeida, Guisande, Soares, & Saavedra, 2006; Amâncio & Ávila, 1995; Sales Oliveira & Augusto, 2017), this

research underpins the need for wider political commitment toward gender equality in society. It also shows that candidates' time, particularly that of PhD candidates, needs to be reflected at institutional level. This means facing time as a political issue. It is important not only to improve the use of time budgets, but also analyzing the lengths and the timings of scientific supervision; evaluation times; or times for writing and publishing and the way they can relate to women and men. It implies also to critically analyze the Gender Equality Plans, and the way time can be addressed as a fundamental political axe within the Higher Education Insitutions(HEI). In contexts like Portugal and Brazil where few HEIs have implemented until now formal gender equality plans and awareness of the problem is relatively poor (Sales Oliveira & Morgado, 2016; Verge et al., 2017), it seems a mirage to ask for time awareness, or explicitly assume the contribution of the gender perspective on time for university betterment and sustainability in the future. Still, without debating the role of time politics Gender Equality Plans will be necessarily incomplete so the goal of institutionalizing time politics at the higher education and science institutions will need to be a route to track.

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