

SASE 2003  
"Education, Knowledge, and Future Societies"  
LEST (Laboratoire d'Economie et de Sociologie du Travail)  
Aix en Provence, France  
June 26 - 28, 2003  
Version draft

Emília Rodrigues Araújo  
(University of Minho, Portugal)  
E-Mail address: era@ics.uminho.pt

"It's logical and obvious that it must be, isn't it? But it depends"  
Women's time and PhD completion

### ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the concepts of citizenship and gender on the light of an ongoing investigation about academic uses and representations of time that counts with 36 interviews in two Portuguese universities. The main hypotheses in debate consists in advocating that the study on gender and specially of women is somehow "clutched" considering the permanence of legitimating mechanisms that contribute for the maintenance the social order. Despite the changes on universities temporal schemata's, the sociological question underground, related to the existence of the university teachers as "intellectuals", marked by the idea of vocation and celibate still permeated the quotidian of the "academic milieu" and, therefore, the academics own identity. It is precisely regarding this assumption of ever availability that one of the most important questions emerges about gender: the duality of being "academic" and being women in "our society" (expression from an interview). So, we intend to discuss the nature of the distance between some of the social policies destined to help people to synchronize their multiple times and its predominant quantitative orientation that, in conjugation with the temporal imaginary of academic careers, still force people, especially women to "logically" abdicate of their time (in a daily and biographical basis). Ideas of authors as Gunning, Bourdieu and Adam are taken into consideration.

### Introduction

The words written by Beauvoir in his book "The second sex" in a socially controverse social ambience, in the early fifties, still proceed to confirm the questioning of the female identity. I have in mind, particularly, two ideas. The first one is related to the formulation of the female identity as "quartered"; the second one is connected to her thesis, according to which *"being alive to herself, the woman will abdicate the double's and the mediator's function, which grant her a privileged place in the male universe"* (Beauvoir, 1975/ 1949:566).

In this text, and once I want to contribute to a better understanding of the time uses and representations of the academic women, I keep in mind particularly this last idea, because it is, somehow, entangled in the question of the possibilities and limitations of the knowledge about the social, which has been historically ruled by the appeal to categories and classifications of binary type. In these circumstances, and because the scientific knowledge is potentially creator and innovator, I get back to a question of the radical Beck, in which the tonic about the way how we produce knowledge about the social is putted in terms of the possibility of "synthesis" between codes: *Won't it be the right moment to break with the taboo of sociological simplification, and for instances, to start investigating the synthesis of codes and start to quest where and how the synthesis are being produced today?* , asks Beck (Beck, 1997: 41)

In fact, the project that this question comprehends implies that we, at first, conceive the identity as an ambivalent process placed in the threshold between to be/ not to be. This conceptualization does not

approve the persuasive perspectives of the fragmentation and of the "all in wrestling". In another way, we follow the idea that the identity's conceptualization is inherently implied in time and in its passage. The female temporal experience, being an experience of mediation and of permanent synthesis of the "being between times", falls out of the binary classification ways that regulate both, the experience of daily interaction and the ways of knowing and studying the uses and representations of time (Rampanzi, 1993; Mercure, 1996).

It is at this extent that the thesis of this article consists in advocating that the study of women's time is entrenched, as well as the own existence of a "female" temporality. Two main ideas permeate this thought. On the one hand the idea of legitimacy, and on the other hand, the idea of social order.

## Methodological Note

The ideas that are expressed here, even if our aim is that they are contributes to the understanding of the uses and representation of time of the academic women, they are connected, from a methodological point of view, with a restrict group of 36 university teachers who are now in a period of licence in order to prepare the graduation in two Portuguese universities. These teachers have been interviewed in April 2001 on the subject of time uses. Their selection obeyed to the principles of saturation and diversification of information.. Some extracts of the interviews appear along the exposition, where we also introduce, even if it is in a brief way, results of investigations concerning sexual discrimination in the academic sphere. These investigations are in large part related to the USA and to the UK, countries where it has been developed a wide range of researches determined by the question of sexual discrimination in the academic sphere.

Even if the temporal/ organizational politics (of the university, school, college, unity, department or section) is fundamental to accommodate with the different experiences, the extracts of the interviews are not identified according to the institutional designation, but according to the designations provided by the Foundation to the Science and Technology and Science and Technology Observatory (*exact sciences, natural sciences, sciences of the engineering and technology, health sciences, agrarian and veterinary sciences, social and human sciences*).

### 1. The Legitimacy

Studying the uses and representations of time "of the women" who are in licence to prepare their graduation, as a sociological object, is very delicate, once it acquires, due to its specificity, characteristics of a "women's" problem, and it is, consequently, sub valued as a sociological problem. Thus it is deprived of a right of authority, as long as it is not a discourse of general interest. Moreover, talking of the "women's time" implies to deal with the modern purposes of the space- temporal "regionalization" (Giddens *cit in* Urry, 1996: 390) performed between the "private" and the "public" spheres. As it is frequently marked, the "public" sphere is a space inherently over valorised, because it represents the interest and the public question, and besides, it represents the stability and the identic uniqueness of the State and its institutions.

The disqualification of the gender thematic as a sociological object emerges from this differential praxis of neo- liberal source. The main reason to this fact stays in the adoption of explanatory perspectives, which are centred on arguments of psychological order. Because of that, and subscribing the critical theory, it is possible to say that the dominant discourse about women's time is a forgotten (pre)vision, on the one hand, of the macro structural effects modernized by the institutions in the daily life and, on the other hand, of the own democratic effect of the division between public (and political) and private (something to protect).

In the same manner what is really being questioned is the constancy of the domination forms. Thus talk about women time uses inside the democratic systems, even when the typology of the truths is not being questioned, propitiates two (dis)qualifications. On the other hand, it is exposed to the denunciation, in

which the scientific discourse is labelled of political. It is also exposed to the presumption that the results are explained by questions of ontological security of the investigator. Both disqualifications are active

«No, I usually don't think a lot about that, no. Probably, of course that I would think something different, but no... Because I think that about this question of children, particularly, it is different because I think that a man doesn't have that time limitation. And the only thing that worries me is that. It is the limitation of time. We really can't have children during the all life and from one moment on, it's over.

E- Do you think that influences the fact of finishing the graduation in three years?

e- Perhaps it has but it won't be... it is not because of that that I'm trying to finish mine as soon as I can. In fact, I would like to finish my graduation in less those three years. Because once I have already worked...»(Teresa Valente, married, without children. Scientific area: Sciences

because they importune the scientific production in its base; the first one protests against the gender's approach, particularly about the women, from the point of view of the oppression's condition and of the patriarchal domination. The second one is based on the lack of objectivity and on the absence of the handling the objective "social facts".. Both converge to the characterization of the results as a conjecture and speculation:

Following this problematic, however, what acts most of the times is the mechanism of the scientific field, mainly through the effects of pasting to the forms of categorization and of

encasement by which the reality (conventional) is "naturalized" (using Bourdieu's language, the experience appears as evident once there is an agreement between objective categories -structuring structures- and subjective categories- structured structure-). In this respect, and considering some purposes of the post- modern female theory (Smith, 1988: 318), the andocentric propension of the scientific discourses present themselves in the way how these are produced *by, for* and *about* men (Smith, 1988: 319 and 339) and thus, with the particularity that the assumptions taken as acquired, end by being accepted as scientific facts (Smith, 1998: 312). Thus, we will try to quest the viability of an approach somehow defeated of these dichotomic approaches, and we'll try to project first the complex web of temporalities and times that are implied in the uses and representations of time and then, we'll try to emphasize the conceptualization of identity as an unfinished process.

## 2. The time and the need of "conciliation"

Gender is a variable whose study, in an empirical plan, places us in confrontation with the problematic of the conditions of persistence of the social order, and it is because of this that this question is dialled with conservativeness, even when the aim is to emphasize the subjects' creativity, because what is relevant is the detection of "thief structures" which regulate almost naturally the individuals' action in the daily life, and whose particularity is to be resistant to historicity and to modification. In Portugal, the studies about the professional experiences of the women open a wide scale of conceptualizations which have in common the affect that they reiterate the permanence of processes of homo social reproduction. As far as the academy is concerned, it is inevitable to quote international studies that, using techniques both of qualitative and quantitative origin, stress tendentially the same processes of reproduction.

### 2.1. From the order of hysteria and of pragmatism

One of the aspects inherent to industrialization, and above all to the work division, was the necessity of "articulating" and "conciliating" times and spaces that were considered distinct and conflicting between themselves. Today, facing all the panoply of modalities and temporal flexibility, we still are, in the

cognitive and gnoseological plan, rationalising in terms of "conciliation" and "articulation", fact that denounces the structuring weight of the dichotomous and hierarchized categorization between public and private time and between "occupied" and "free" time. This "conciliation" overpasses strategies that disembody in measures like abdicating, leaving, delaying, anticipating, throwing out, programming and being worried. So, it happens that the experiences of "being a bridge" and mediation, were above all, and firstly, placed in relation to the private sphere, and consequently, in relation to women, especially since the moment they left (had to leave?) the familiar universe. Therefore, *abdicating; delaying; anticipating; foreseeing* and *expecting*, together with the necessity of *sacrificing*, are accomplices of the "necessity" of making the bridge between spheres as a female social competence at it is expressed in the following interview extract:

«It's obvious that previously, I and my supervisor, we have been talking about that... and he said"- many times you will have to leave the daughter... you are the one who has to decide... if that is definitely the best way to end quickly the graduation". (It's obvious that if I abdicate my daughter one month and an half, I will regain a little bit in terms of results, which are, at least at first, fundamental in order to conclude the thesis. I know the case of a friend who has prepared the thesis with my supervisor, and other friends have also done it and they have all, indeed, finished the graduation very quickly, but it's obvious that they are all men, isn't it? But... hm... they have also abdicated a little, they went abroad and... They left the kids. A friend of mine who also has a daughter, was once four months away from home and the daughter... she had very high fevers and the doctors concluded that it was happening because of the father's absence, and when the father came back the girl... the fever disappeared, although it is the father... (...) and my mother told him: "you'll pay for this latter!"» (Teacher excused from work preparing the graduation, 1<sup>st</sup> year, 32 years old, married, one- year- old- child, scientific area: sciences)

From this perspective, even if taking into account the differential performance of the normative schemes proliferated by the social stratification, the woman, besides being entangled in a limited biological temporality, has her time engaged, because she does not give up, she doesn't abdicate, she doesn't foresee with exactness, she doesn't delay, neither does she go away because she is the one who has to build the bridge between. So she is always in the middle of the way between *giving up, abdicating, foreseeing* and *anticipating*.

This idea of being in the middle of the way propitiates situations of identic stress" *She may find that success as a professional detracts from her status as a woman, and feels, as a result, that she must somehow compensate for her professional success in order to prove herself as a woman* (Green Report 1971: 5 *cit. in* Schwartz et Lever, 1973: 58). Besides that, she can be socially classified, in a concrete plan and starting from the dominant referential, as someone who needs pragmatic capacity, and therefore, as tententiously hysterical, once the "symbolic universe" has its roots in the predominance of the organizational rationality.

«...as I should do it, if I should stay away from my daughter and go abroad and my supervisor told me: Oh, you have to think. If you want to continue in this career, you have to be aware that you will have to stay away from your daughter many times, or will you go to somewhere else- and this is really what I want" (lecturer preparing the graduation, is year, 32 years old, married, a two year-old child, scientific area: Sciences)

"I was worried because I didn't know how things were going to be and when I came to his office (the supervisor of the graduation), he had just finished to reread a thesis of a friend of mine and I've looked to those two volumes and sighed, and it was exactly at that moment that he turned himself to me and said" don't worry X, she is divorced and doesn't have children": Lecturer in graduation, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 34 years old, married, pregnant from her second child, area of the specialization: Social Sciences).

The "third woman" of Lipovetski (1997), as he himself recognises, is meshed in the permanence of ancestral values, which build control webs (self and hetero) that go by the daily life of the individuals and that pass over the social structure. Following these ideas, we can think about more open and not dichotomous charts of analysis, as the approaches that point to the practice of a total freedom, based upon a normality of courses and biographies, and not necessarily connected to the roles of mother and wife. Besides, those pictures are necessary to foresee and understand changes and social transactions that are happening at this level, and that can be indistinctly discerned because of the access and permanence of the women in times and spaces from where they had been put aside.

In the meantime, from a sociological point of view, it is necessary to distinguish the mechanisms of reproduction of the binary doxa, from the tacit laws (nomos) of the perception and practice, which is necessarily classificative and denominative, and that does not legitimate the places of ambivalent identities as those which are at the bridge because, in an exercise of violence, it is classified the ones who are in and out, and in relation to those who are "between", we hope that they feel the need to give up and abdicate.

This expectation is connected with a kind of symbolism of previous occurrences. According to Shutz' interpretation, the anticipation happens because somehow, we know that something happened before. Thus, this "logic" of the order of the "it has to be", or of the "whether we have or abdicate", or "whether we go or stay", establishes one of the main dilemmas about the time uses of the women, in which they are directly implied as (re)producers, by effects of the andocentric practices (that is, practices, including the discursive ones), which revalidate the conditioning weight of a third absent (the others) and which is seen as habits, in a social world previously structured by the "society".

Some of the indicators that sustain this thesis are connected to the way how the time availability, on the part of the other(s) is almost unquestionable by the women or when they feel "encouraged " and "understood" in relation to their time uses ..

«The problem that we face nowadays at college is a problem of authority and that is connected with the fact that there was a massive entrance of women to teach»(supervisor, social sciences)

In other words, if the circular temporality that is being referred with "being on the bridge", certainly much more pluralist, is entrenched, standing on the bridge, having to "abdicate " in order *not to abdicate completely from anything*, it is a resistance strategy, but it is above all, a strategy of negotiation, of game *inside* the order (in the same cognitive chart) without, however, changing it objectively.

«(...) The fact that I've come with a scholarship was seen by my husband as an advantage, because I'm at home and I have more time for my children. On the other hand, he also encourages me a lot to work and says that I really have to work and asks me: "so, have you already started to do..." He doesn't push me, but he knows that this time is not only to be with the children, it is also to work.

Therefore, that gives me a lot of courage. However, sometimes men are like that, isn't it? They are very contradictory. He encourages me to work but then, if I want to stay at home instead of going out with him, he gets upset and thinks that I should go out to have a coffee, so... ah...ah..." (Teacher in graduation, woman, 1<sup>st</sup> year, married, two children aged four and one, area of specialization: Social Sciences).

The organization of the daily and biographical times happens because of what we expect from the others and from ourselves. So, the expectation, once it implies reciprocity, plays one of the most important roles in the preservation of the order as it is transmitted by the indexical "it is, isn't it?", which show how in the different and specific situations of the daily life we are ready to use, and using a phenomenological language, the stock of knowledge and of structures that modulate the processes of communication, interaction and edification of the biographical time of "anticipatory" kind. In this line of thought, Rampazi and Leccardi consider about the young women, that *"the expectation of biographical events such as falling in love, forming a family, giving birth and caring for children mould this representation (the future). The concept of contingency is eroded: basically, the future, in its essentials, becomes partly known in advance"* (Rampazi et Leccardi, 1993).

E- Even now during the licence...?

e- It was already going bad when I was teaching, now it is... I reckon with hi but not for that daily struggle, do you understand?

E- Yes, but at that level, do you also think that...

e- he thinks that we have common time... but that was already happening when I was teaching, so we basically have freedom to do what we want, if we don't do it today, we can do it tomorrow, but he has also worked here at college during several years and there is a lot of freedom, isn't it, indeed... but if people do not have things prepared, they won't succeed, right? But he doesn't have that... he thinks that I am a hundred per cent available, and if there is a party at school, I am the one who has to go, if there is a meeting at school, I go to the meeting, ehm... ok, taking that into account...

E- Do you think that it is because you are a teacher or do you think that it is because you are a woman?

e- No, it is because I have this job. Because..., I have this job. He is not sexist, it is indeed because I'm a teacher, and it seems to me that that's what he thinks... (Woman, married, two children, 36 years old. Scientific are: Sciences)

The expectation that we have talked about, implies to take the contingency as "an ability to learn, i. e., an ability or innovately alter the structures regulating information processing" (Luhmann, 1990: 44), because, as the same author explicit, the social structures cannot be sustained by the normativity of the behaviour's expectations, but of expectations that sustain the social interaction. It is because of this set of ideas that we talk about "an andocentric look in the female temporality", because the action of these, as well as the senses that are connected with it, are based on the idea that "all experience or action that is oriented to others is doubly contingent in that it does not depend solely on me, but also on the other, who must regard as an alter ego, i.e., as just as free and unpredictable as I am." (Luhmann, 1990: 45).

Following this thesis we reiterate, in the direction of the theory of the structuration, the idea of existence of a "dynamic stability".

Above and beyond this important idea of running back to practices, the debate is no more placed on the discussion about the distinction between a female and a male place in the daily life but it is placed at the level of the transitions of the social dominant time, of the "global modernity". This happens because the idea that sustains that we live in a crisis of modernity sub repetitiously related to the feminization of the world and of the institutions is widely disseminated. Following that idea, I would characterize the period of the "post modernity" as "female", once it repairs the senses and values of the individual's subjectivity (Fernandes, 1993). Nevertheless, this female temporality seems to knock against the daily times, which are marked by the asymmetrical relationships of power between sexes. Besides, that "female time" is conotated with decadence, search and ambivalence of the identity (Fernandes, 1993). In the plan of the institutions, and particularly in the plan of the "idea of the university" that characterizes a specific type of criticism to the "slow" temporality of the university and it is used as a base by the defenders of the necessity of the "instantaneous" discontinuous and objective temporality, which is categorized by the majority under the stereotyped form as male, assertive and valid.

"The women are more responsible, they are similar to the bees" (Professor, supervisor)

"The women are more organized but when something happens, or when the work isn't going very well, they get depressed easier, and they take much more time to restart." (Professor, supervisor)

"There are also women who forget the children and stay at College..." (Supervisor, Department Director)

"The question that women do not have time has nothing to do with the universities; that is a question that they have to solve at home." (Supervisor, Department Director)

The representation of the women as more "responsible" and more "organized" than men and their comparison to the bees, points semantically to the same denominative place, once what it is meant is that "they" find strategies of organization on the bridge, without being from *here* or from *there*; they are placed in "*the between*" times and they know how to take care (im) partially. So using Riesman's language (1971/ 1950: 309 and ss) they are adapted, but not autonomous, and they protect themselves from the risk of the anomy and subscribe a conduct, even when they intimately want to dash against the rules, which is a process in which the dimensions of creativity, dignity and confrontation of the risk become divided of. What is thus being questioned is the fact of not being recognized the quality of being as "a being in the between". And this "being in the between" is, from the point of view of the functioning and of the dominant social organization, the space- time of social inequality and this constitutes one of the most pertinent aspects to understand because the measurement of the fairness in time uses goes beyond the quantification over the time occupation, once it is much more seen as a question of intensification than as a consequence of the polychrony, even if this system pf time management is socially and ideologically attributed to the woman.

In a global way, the temporal experience of type "being in the between" is much more regulated by an

"My husband doesn't have many hypotheses to react because he can't say anything, not at all, isn't it? Because he is abroad. The most difficult was my parents' reaction. I know a case of a friend who has a daughter and those children usually suffer a lot, because they don't have the parents or they don't see them. My mother's reaction was negative "yes, you'll pay for that latter on", I mean, the fact that I go two months to (X) in order to promote my career had influence on my daughter. Her happiness, her good mood has completely changed... When I returned home, I think that she didn't even known me (...) I've decided that I would go abroad during so many months, but I've decided that two months would be fundamental" (Inceptor, 32, Sciences)

orientation to the "task", to what we have to do, than by a clock orientation. But, the "being in the between" it is not adequate neither to the sphere nor to the administration and it does not signal the "possibility" of doing several things at the same time, but represents the *density*, the engendered in the sense of the quantity of events that are going to happen, necessarily *in mediation*, without completely leaving and without *abdicate*.

As we have noticed, the time uses are entangled in wide webs of the social which go beyond the specific and space circumscribed contexts, like the organizations. However, in a sociological study it is necessary to "cut" the reality and we have to think about the local terms without, however, losing sight the relationship denounced by the narrative themselves, about the web of relationships and about the time implication (of) (in) other organizations (among which is the family) and of the macro- structural system, where it is implied the relationship between the uses of time and power.

The approach of the uses of time in terms of gender and mainly from a female point of view slides in concrete terms to the analysis of the professional and institutional temporalities, as long as these ones were the fertile soil for the emancipation and citizenship processes.

Now I particularly want to show how the studies about the uses and representations of time, taking also into consideration the conceptualization of the time experience on the part of the women as an intrinsically mediated experience, impels to the discussion of some aspects about the women's insertion in traditionally male spheres, as the academy was. This is a space in which the biographical and daily times are structured according to the same logic of *abdicate*/ not *abdicate*.

Because there are men, who work very well during the graduation, and there are women who don't do it, but there's also the opposite, isn't it? It is a question of personal rhythm. I'm not sure if that has to do with the fact of being male or female. I have no idea. It's obvious that the women, at first, if they are married and have to iron the husband's trousers and groove the shirts and something else, they will obviously be overload, isn't it? Whereas, our mates (men) who have someone to do that for them are much more relieved» (Women, 34 years old, divorced, one daughter. Scientific area: Humanities.)

Thus we suggest, even if it is briefly, to discuss the objective insertion and the relationship of this one with the subjective perception of its position in the same space, taking into account the apparently double "condition of domination" as a woman (in the order of gender) and as assistant (in the temporal academic order).

The most particular of all of this is the revelation of "wrinkly social patterns" played by the totality of the social time, which show their power as constraining actions, not only about the apparent rotinization of the daily life, but precisely in the periods of rupture, of newness or simply of theoretical possibility of the order's inversion. The great intensity of patterns imbrications is many times justified with arguments sometimes of a- temporal order that unable a real social change. It is Riesman himself who, talking about the "sex frontier", defends precisely the idea that the women won new roles with the emancipation's process, but it is those who have been brought up in the system of values of the ideology of the middle class who still live confined to domestic patterns, where the virile imaginary of the man never "let" them get out.

«But that's it (...) sometimes I think that a man has much more facilities than a woman. Some days ago I saw a program about writers... they were discussing the male and the female writer, and then a writer (a woman) was saying that she went to see a friend, he was at his home, and his family and daughters couldn't make noise, so that the father could write. At home, I cannot say that to my children, I thought interesting and I think that it is funny some things that are not directly related to my area and reward me or give me a kind of a caress, that it is what I feel, do you understand? I have to be a mother, I have to be a wife, I have to be a researcher. And I have to manage the time for those three things. On the other hand, a man... the woman functions in relation of the man's activity. (Woman, 31 years old, married, one child. Scientific area: Social Sciences).

### 3. Women and the objective culture

The conceptualization of the uses of time in terms of gender is very absorbed in the assumption of the "transcendental" distinction between the objective culture as male and the subjective culture as female and tributary of the emotion and intuition. To that extent, Tijssen usually quotes Mariane Weber, who contests Simmel's way of seeing the gender's relationship and questions the entrance and the female domination in the objective culture as a result of an organization of the world brought by modernity. Besides, he refers that one of the main obstacles to the entrance into the objective culture has to do with the lack of time. (Tijssen, 1991: 213): "In her opinion (Mariane Weber) many women in this domain had just the same need, are just as able as men to devote themselves to grand ideas and to become geniuses. However, as long as they have to take care of their households and families, women simply lack time to do so (Weber, 1919: 129 *cit in* Tijssen, 1991: 213).

In the panoply of the configuration of the several daily times, and mainly concerning the "spectre of the free time" (Elias et Dunning), it is important to stress that the availability, the periodicity and the duration of the sports' activities are presented as being activities of "wish" and of "delay". The sports' time, and oppositely to other "routines" of free time, like shopping, domestic activities or even some of those related to the personal care like hairdresser/ clothes, among others, is one of the most difficult times to be negotiated, once it implies a value of no legitimacy, that has being inverted very progressively (bib), and which deflects either with the homo social axle of the discourses and of the patriarchal practices, or with the own way that women conceive themselves.

One of the teachers in graduation said, during the interview, about what she would do if she could manage her time differently:

"I would always come to the university, every day. It would finish with all that disorder of working at home, of being at home, of knowing if I should go outside to buy bread or if I should finish reading the chapter of that book, isn't it? I would end by, during the day, even if it was a schedule that I had, I would come to work to the university, I think that it would be better (...).

The final decision about the best way of "exploiting" the time is placed between the world of "inspiration" and "vocation", and it is around these ideas that is organized the principle of dedication to science, and the world of "senses" and trivial "needs". As we have already elucidated, the licence's time, especially in the periods of high concentration, contributes to states of distancing in relation to the others and in relation to the things that we "lose" the interest or attention. And as Elizabeth, one of the women interviewed, referred, we run the risk of being an "intellectual" who doesn't understand of flowers, "some buggers who don't understand anything of that, and that there are other ways of seeing things,

and there are other points of view and other opinions".. Several people, independently their sex, talk about this state of distancing in relation to "life" as a state of "enclousure"and of search for the inspiration. The problematic becomes stronger precisely about what concerns gender, once the women are those who, tendentiously and especially when they are mothers or responsible for old people, live in the permanent transition between the world of thought, dedication and investigation, and the world of domestic work, care for the children and old people, and they cannot, indeed say to the family: *"bye, I see you in two months"!* (woman, teacher in licence). This happens because it is not in her role to *leave and go away*.

This idea of "being in the between" without possibility of being recognised that possibility, can be very clearly seen in the narratives about the decision of going abroad in order to do the graduation, particularly when there is a husband or a boyfriend. However, the typical model of conjugating things, which is connected to the patriarchal role, regulates very strongly the decisions and destroys the doubts about the fidelity of the relationship because of the fact of "going away".. This means that, normative and socially, there are times in which it is the wife who feels herself socially interdict from the point of view of the maintenance of the relationship between sexes, of "going away" and "leave". That doesn't happen only in a long plan (e.g. going abroad) but also in the brief plans (e. g. to stay at the university during the night or during the weekend). In practice, that interdiction is faced, as we have already said, through mechanisms of agreement and search of contour's strategies. One of those strategies most revealed by women consists of getting the family's help and support, especially from the parents, in order to counterbalance the time (and the availability) that is not guaranteed by the husbands/ partners. The possibility of reckon upon the support of informal webs (mainly familiars) seems to be one of the main mechanisms of getting autonomy of the biographical times, from the moment that they sustain the possibility of living in a less conflicting way the relationship between "being an academic" and "being a woman", reducing like this the psychological crashes of the choices.

In an approach that makes us remember the one of Weber and that retains to the intellectual the capacity of the exercise of vocation and inspiration, Said says, in a book partly based on an appreciation of Brenda's ideas, about the intellectual's figure that the intellectuals "are symbolic characters marked by the obstinate distance in relation to practice aspects (...) who are complete individuals, and above all with strong personalities, and they have to be almost always in opposition to the "status quo". Ironically, or not as much as that, the women, "by whose stentorian voices and indelicate imprecations are vociferated up in the high to humankind", are not considered (Said, 2000:25). Their connotation is subjacent to this idea, on the one hand with the society's processes of reproduction, and on the other hand with the monotony and routine, which are two aspects that don't appear in the *scholé's* activity.

It's real that universities have changed and that the teacher's activity is shaped (the sex is indifferent) in institutional temporal charts marked by an elevated routine and by the "fall to the earth" and by the sliding of the "ivory tower".. However, the basic question about the possibility of assumption as an intellectual permeates the daily of the "academic world" and the individual identity of a teacher divided between the schools, the administration and the investigation's time. Once again, if this question affects the identity of the university teachers as a whole, it is the more pertinent as more vivential unevenness it reveals in terms of sex. Indeed, everything seems to show that the experience of the brief times, which is very present at university nowadays, tends to impose more choices to women and this transforms the academic career into an androgynous one, not because it represents a numerical supremacy "of men", but because it reveals in itself the label of a linear temporality ruled by logics between abdicate/ not abdicate.

It is Bourdieu, who in France of 1994 and talking about the family's role, says: "when we are dealing with the social world, the words build things, once they build the consensus about the existence and the sense of things, the common sense, the doxa accepted by everybody as given" and he adds, about the investigation that culminated further with the publication of the book "weight of the world", that women are constantly called to the order so that they behave in a certain way in order to find a husband and

have children. Besides, these callings to the order are many times connected with rumours about living alone, going to parties, being superior, as well as it is connected with roles like "being incomplete, unfinished, as if they were mutilated"(Bourdieu, 1996/ 1994: 128).

I'm not thinking about reiterating the idea that women, in spaces that aren't traditionally (too) "theirs", connect the political power to a natural uncontrollable order but, getting back to what I have said (point 1 and 2 of this article) I would like to emphasize, perhaps in an attitude a little surrounded, that the "logic of the academic "campus, regulating itself but the principles of linearity and clipping of the "being in the between" time and using again the lines stereotyped classified as males, competes with the splinter, although it may seem paradoxical, not only of Said's intellectual time, but also of the "women's time", characterized as a time "mediated", a time of "being in the between".

There is a tendency to stress the domestic and familiar interests of the women who, through this process abolish or diminish the career's progressions. Besides, Forster argues in an article from 2001 that the fact that women do not progress at the level of the senior positions in the context of the United Kingdom happens essentially because they have preferred to put their career aside, in favour of the complexion of the familiar activities and the caring for the children. However, we cannot deny that these interests and choices attributed to personality and to a rational taking of decision be connected with "ordered structured barriers" (Foster, 2001: 28).

Our interviews show that the individuals discourses (which are in a certain way collective, as if they had been selected from an inherited capacity of multivocality that is not seldom present in the own reflexivity itself that presides to the narratives) are largely "aptitude's" speeches that stress the "capacities" and the individual "work". Because of that, those speeches are classificative not only in relation to the others, as in relation to herself, working as a general law.

Marta has a notion that she is damaged because she is mother. She establishes a parallel with her husband who is also a teacher at university preparing the graduation, but is always refuting the idea of aptitude, of the intellectual capacity when she says "you do your graduation and you go to another category. That is important." And she adds, in the direction of the "distance to need" as if the feeling that she does what she ought to do and that she has what is due was very clear, because it "only depends on you". However she says that it depends on "the manner how you organise your personal life", which is something more, that is, "the way how you can accomplish that depends on you, but it is not because you are a man or a woman".. Indeed, what we understand from this explanatory and argumentative thesis is that there is a supra capacity of "encasement" that is superior and that "implies" the personal sphere far beyond the denticulate sphere of the organization that is thought and lived as an isolated whole and which is perfectly isolated in cultural and institutional terms.

### *Perspectives left open*

It is mainly the women who talk of themselves in relation to others. To that extent we see that the predominant idea that marks the permanence and the existence of the andocentric look of time, showing in a certain way how the women's time, how they see their time depending on the husband's time, from whom they wait for comprehension, what shows precisely that relationship of structuring power.

I think that Bertaux has an explanatory analysis of the anthropomorphical reproduction of the family that I consider interesting to introduce right now. Getting back to Marx, particularly to the approach of the relationship between capital and work, Bertaux, talking about the working and the bourgeois/ working families, considers that the domestic work done by the woman, and besides, the own existence and encouragement that she gives to the family, is a request of the capital and of the capitalist capital.

It is the capital and its development that need the availability of the man's work, and following that idea, the domestic work, including the work with the children and the children's work serve the capital purposes that will tend to use till the limit of the work capacities, and therefore, the men's time. The relationship is so intrinsic and cultured that seems to be naturalized. Even if in most of the times, and as we say, the woman feels that she abdicates her time, that she has not time for a career because of the investment that she does at home, and that she devotes less time to activities of cultural relevance

(external contacts, news) transforms that in a question of caress, comprehension and domination, it isn't the society as a whole that acts in the thief parts of the systems, but it is the capital, the organization of the capitalist system that "need" women.

In spite of the reflexive capacity about the power's relationship, usually changed in importance of the values and children's about the roles, it is the women who transmit this participation in the organization of the capital, even if they apparently do it only in favour of their husbands/ boyfriends: "he has several meetings in a day, he has to deal with questions of great responsibility and we spend our day here, philosophizing, and as hard as it may be for me, I'm not going to force him to share the tasks, it is ridiculous"; he goes to work very early and comes back very late, those are my attributions". Besides, there is an interviewed who says: "he gets out at half past six everyday and goes to swim, and only after that does he go to work, and I praise that, during the week I'm the one who does, but I wouldn't even let him do that, and then I would have to drive..." .

It is a time sacrifice and a pain of fatigue that keeps the husband connected to a system that requires any time more time, that waits always more from him. Circularly, the women contribute to the supremacy of the capital seeing the time devaluated. Each narrative shows a macro plan of organization, in relation to each the individual's disappear in their individuality and are important mainly as a group, a part that belongs to the capital. All the things said about the personal and familiar times do not only refer interpersonal relations, but they are connected to relations of effectiveness, domination or dependence. They also express a temporal organization of a society, and particularly the time as a capacity of availability for work and the wide organization of the organizational capitalist system. In democratic systems destitute of a social, stately and interventionist organization, connected to andocentric models and typically destitute of the capital, and given the intensive availability of the worker, it is probable that the interpretation of the of the tendencies of segregation and discrimination of the women in the work world can be very well validated. This relationship between capital and time, as we have see, that was mainly developed to the workers and bourgeois workers is used by a political and economical system of interests still ruled by traditional and under- vivencinists.

We can conclude this approach by taking back Beck's words: The revolution of the women, differently of the explosion of the French revolution, is a sub revolution that advances watchfully; it is a sub revolution that moves like a cat (Beck, 1994:44)

## REFERENCES

BEAUVOIR, S.1976/1949. *O segundo Sexo*, Lisboa, Bertrand

BECK, U.. (1997/1994), *La reivención de la política: hacia una teoría de la modernización reflexiva*, *Modernización reflexiva : política, tradición y estética en el orden social moderno*, Alianza Universidad, pp.13-74

BOURDIEU, P., *Razões práticas, sobre a teoria da acção*, São Paulo, Papirus Ed., 1996/1994.

FERNANDES, T.S., 1993. A assimetria dos sexos e construção do mundo social na teoria de Georg Simmel, *Sociologia, problemas e práticas*, nº13, pp. 19-39.

LIPOVETSKI, G.. 1997. *La troisième femme : permanence et révolution du féminin*, Paris

LUHMANN, N. 1990. *Essays on self-reference*. New York: Columbia University Press.

RAMPANZI, M. et LECCARDI, C.. 1993. 'Past and Future in Young Women's experience of time'. *Time and Society* 2/3: 353-379.

RIESMAN, D. (1971/1950), *A multidão solitária*, S. Paulo, Perspectiva

SAID, E. W.2000. *Representações do intelectual: As palestras de Reith de 1993*, Lisboa, Colibri

SCHWARTZ, P & LEVER, J..1973. 'Women in the male world of higher education' in A. Rossi (org), *Academic women on the move*. London: Sage. pp. 57-75.

URRY, J. 2002. "Sociologia do tempo e do espaço" in B.S. Turner (ed.) *Teoria Social*, Miraflores, Difel pp. 377-403.