Dual-career couples at Swiss universities

Authors: Philipp Dubach, Iris Graf, Heidi Stutz, Lucien Gardiol (Centre for Labour and Social Policy Studies / Büro für arbeits- und sozialpolitische Studien BASS)

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Contact persons:
Dr. Gabriela Obexer-Ruff, Coordinator of the Swiss Federal Equal Opportunity at Universities Programme, Rector’s Conference of the Swiss Universities, Berne / Switzerland
E-mail: gabriela.obexer-ruff@crus.ch
Tel.: 0041 31 306 60 23
Dr. Philipp Dubach, Centre for Labour and Social Policy Studies / Büro für arbeits- und sozialpolitische Studien BASS, Berne / Switzerland
E-mail: philipp.dubach@buerobass.ch
Tel.: 0041 31 380 60 83

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1 Introduction
1.1 Starting point
The Swiss Federal Equal Opportunity at Universities Programme was launched in the year 2000 with the goal of achieving a proportional representation of women and men at institutions of higher learning. All ten cantonal universities in Switzerland participate in the programme, which is financed by the Swiss University Conference (SUC) and has been affiliated with the Rectors' Conference of the Swiss Universities (CRUS) since 2008. The programme comprises three modules:
- Incentive programme for hiring female professors (module 1);
- Projects for the promotion of junior researchers (module 2);
- Work-life programme to promote the compatibility of an academic career and family (module 3).

The third phase of the Federal Programme, lasting from 2008–2011, pursued the primary goal of increasing the percentage of female professors to 25% in 2012.

While the first two modules were resumed with no changes over earlier phases in the programme, module 3 was completely redesigned for the third phase. The emphasis was newly placed on the promotion of dual-career couples (DCC), the same topic that is the focal point of the evaluation of the overall programme.

1.2 Dual-career couples in focus
“Dual-career couples” are understood to be couples in which both partners hold higher academic degrees, have a strong personal commitment to their field of work, and pursue their own career. Because an increasing number of academics live in DCC constellations, universities have begun to adapt their recruitment procedures to the needs of dual-career couples. Universities support the partners of newly hired academics in finding suitable professional prospects in the new location and provide assistance in looking for a place to live or in arranging child care.

1.3 Sources of information
To date, there is little concrete information on dual-career couples at Swiss universities, which is why the decision to conduct a broad online survey of the academic staff at all Swiss universities was taken. The survey has two basic objectives. First, it aims to establish how well-represented dual-career couples are at Swiss universities and to compile information on the type of support these couples need. Second,
the survey endeavours to create a general overview of how academics combine partnership, family and career, and of the challenges they face in doing so.

Alongside the online survey, the evaluation mainly draws on three other sources of information:

- **Statistical information** from CRUS and the Swiss Higher Education Information System (SHIS) (Hochschulinformationssystem SHIS) run by the Swiss Federal Statistical Office;
- **Documents compiled in the context of the Federal Programme's reporting** (annual reports of the universities; annual reports from supported projects; final reports and self evaluations of the supported projects);
- **Twelve expert interviews**, one each with the officers for equal opportunity at the ten cantonal universities, with the president of the programme direction, and with the programme coordinator.

## 2 Family, partnership and career

### 2.1 Conducting the online survey

The online survey of academic personnel entitled "Academic career, partnership and family" was carried out in March and April of 2011. Aside from the ten cantonal universities, both Swiss Federal Institutes of Technology participated. A total of 10,635 persons delivered valid data, corresponding to a response rate of 36%.

Women clearly demonstrated more interest in the survey than did men, with a female response rate of 48% compared to a male response rate of 29%. Overall, the evaluation represents the situation of more than 10,000 academics at Swiss universities; however, the results cannot necessarily be correlated to the entirety of the academic personnel due to the diverse degree of readiness to participate in the survey.

### 2.2 Dual-career couples at Swiss universities

Dual-career couples differ from "normal" dual-earning couples in that both partners hold higher university degrees, identify closely with their profession, and jointly seek to establish a balance between a fulfilled life in both family and career. In quantitative analyses, dual-career couples are generally identified on the basis of the highest degree earned or workload, rather than on the basis of their general attitude towards their career and personal life. When analysing the data from the survey, dual-career constellations are meant when both partners work at least 80% of a full-time equivalent, and when both partners hold a Master's degree or higher. Because many junior academics have a heavy workload in part-time positions, the degree of employment was measured based on the actual workload.

According to this definition, 38% of all academics who filled in a questionnaire live in a dual-career constellation. Women do so more frequently than men (45% vs. 32%, see Chart I).

Chart I: Partnership constellations of academic personnel at Swiss universities, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men (Total)</th>
<th>Women (Total)</th>
<th>Total (Total)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Professorship</strong></td>
<td>829 (1,081)</td>
<td>252 (323)</td>
<td>1,081 (1,404)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-professorial academic staff holding a PhD</strong></td>
<td>2,542 (3,012)</td>
<td>805 (1,005)</td>
<td>3,347 (4,017)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-professorial academic staff without a PhD</strong></td>
<td>2,316 (2,833)</td>
<td>252 (323)</td>
<td>2,568 (3,156)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>5,687 (6,666)</td>
<td>4,819 (6,128)</td>
<td>10,506 (12,794)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Basis: all surveyed respondents (N=10,635, of these 1.2% without information on their partner’s employment status or workload). The contractual employment level (in percentages) is used for partners who are exclusively employed in private industry or in administration. Due to rounding differences, added values may deviate slightly from 100%. Source: online survey of academic personnel at Swiss universities.
In the case of women, the frequency of a DCC constellation increases with the standing of their academic position. With men, the proportion remains roughly the same at all academic levels. It is very important to note, however, that more men than women live as singles during doctoral study. When the analysis of data is restricted to couples only, gender-specific differences become yet more apparent: while the percentage of dual-career constellations increases with the academic qualifications in the case of women, it decreases in the case of men.

Three explanations for the observed gender-specific differences have been postulated:

■ Explanation based on stage of life: When children are born or career demands increase (calls to relocate, presence at work, workload), the time budget of couples in which both partners work full-time becomes constrained. The partners are forced to re-think their arrangement, and the resulting decisions reveal clear, gender-specific differences: female partners of men pursuing an academic career are more frequently employed part-time or not at all than (male) partners of women in academia.

■ Effects of selection: An academic career is the result of an elite recruitment process: not everybody makes it to the top. The percentage of women in partnerships in which both partners have a strong professional engagement rises from one academic level to the next, possibly because traditional models of employment for women (i.e. part-time work) have proven incompatible with an academic career. Indeed, academics of both genders who work part-time for a longer period, or who take a break from their work, are highly unlikely to achieve a professorship.

■ The cohort effect: Older academics are possibly more likely than their younger colleagues to live in partnerships in which traditional roles were assumed from the outset, i.e. that didn’t arise in the course of their biography.

In over half of all dual-career partnerships, the partner works outside of academia. This information is crucial for the advancement of dual careers: to support partners in finding employment, universities need solid networks with private industry and management.

When both partners in a dual-career couple are academics, employment at the same university is common. In 43% of these cases, both partners are employed at the same university. Conversely, almost one third of the partners of female professors work at a university abroad.

2.3. Family situation

The concept of dual-career couples focuses on life at work and largely ignores the private life of those involved. This holds particularly true for family life. And yet, it is indisputable that sharing household and family duties is a decisive factor in how well both partners are able to realise their professional goals. How does the situation present itself in the case of academics at Swiss universities?

Just over a third of all respondents have at least one child living part-time or permanently in their household. During doctoral study, very few academics are parents compared to about half of the non-professorial staff with a PhD. The majority of parents have two or more children, with the youngest child often being of preschool age. At the professorial level, the percentage of respondents with children increased. A total of 2% of all respondents are single parents.

Females in academia are more frequently single and more frequently childless than their male colleagues. At the level of the non-professorial staff without a PhD, more women than men have a partner, whereas the percentage of women without a partner is higher among the non-professorial staff with a PhD. Among professors, the percentage of women without a partner is higher still. In addition, women with advanced positions in academia are more frequently childless. This difference can be discerned among the non-professorial staff with a PhD, but becomes especially obvious at the professorial level, where only 51% of female professors have children compared to 64% of their male colleagues. Female academics also more frequently postpone having children.

2.4. Responsibility for household and family

When dividing household and family duties, either a traditional or an egalitarian division of labour dominates. It is unusual that men take on more responsibilities than women. Egalitarian arrangements for household duties are most common among junior academics without a PhD. After earning a doctoral degree, the majority of male academics live with a (female) partner who takes on a larger portion of household duties. It is more seldom that female academics can count on this kind of help: 55% of female academics with a PhD are responsible for the major part of household duties, 32% live in egalitarian arrangements. In only 12% of the cases is their (male) partner responsible. Not until achieving the level of the professorship does the majority of female academics receive relief through household help.
The common situation of mothers assuming more responsibility for child-caring duties during the workweek than fathers also holds true in the world of academia: 90% of female academics are mainly responsible for taking care of children or share duties to equal parts with the other parent; this is true for 32% of male academics. If both partners work roughly the same amount, equal division of responsibility is most frequent (about 50%). 81% of all mothers and 61% of the fathers rely on outside child care; if the children are of pre-school age, the percentages are even higher.

A good half of all respondents with children under 15 would like (additional) help caring for children. The answers of fathers and mothers were not noticeably different, but the percentages were higher at universities in French-speaking Switzerland than in German-speaking regions.

2.5 Career, partnership and children from the respondents’ point of view

How do academics themselves experience the challenges of balancing partnership, family and career? Gender-specific differences become particularly apparent when compatibility is an issue:

■ Women make more compromises when it comes to geographic mobility: Female members of the non-professorial staff with a PhD are more likely than their male colleagues to say they are less mobile on account of their partner than would be advantageous to their career (51% vs. 41%). Female academics have also more often relocated on account of their partner’s career than have their male colleagues.

■ Women more often see difficulties in realizing a dual career: A third of both sexes agree with the statement that the attempt to co-ordinate two successful careers places a big strain on the relationship. More females than males, however, believe it is improbable that both partners can realize their career goals while living together in the same place. Agreement with this statement is particularly high among female academics with a PhD (48% vs. 42%).

■ Mothers worry more about their career: Nearly two thirds of the mothers questioned say they would be farther along in their careers without children, compared to only one third of responding fathers. Mothers are four times more likely than fathers to feel they are no longer taken as seriously or supported as well since having children (35% vs. 9%). The percentage of mothers who have reduced the time spent on their work is clearly higher (69% vs. 48%). Mothers also have a greater tendency to cut back on publication output (39% vs. 26%) and they worry more that the quality of their work could suffer (26% vs. 17%). Motivation problems to perform their work are largely unknown among parents of both genders.

■ Female academics more frequently experience break-ups due to career: A quarter of female respondents and a fifth of male respondents have gone through a break-up in the past that was influenced by the incompatibility of their career plans with those of their partner. The percentage among female professors is the highest (31%).

2.6 Desired measures to increase compatibility

All respondents who have begun work at their current position in the past ten years were asked what measures they currently would desire to better combine family, partnership and career. Professors of both sexes are mainly interested in a reallocation of their duties: 56% would like a reduction in administrative responsibilities, while 44% wish for more opportunities to take time off or sabbaticals.

The major concerns of the non-professorial staff are targeted at their employment status: over half of all respondents would like to see more permanent positions at the non-professorial level. Another frequent wish is higher salaries for the non-professorial staff. Both factors are linked to compatibility because permanent employment contributes to more security in planning both a career and a family; higher salaries could furthermore pay for household help and child care, or would promote compatibility by enabling a person to (temporarily) reduce her or his workload. The wish for more child care facilities at the university is found at all academic levels and is shared by roughly a third of all respondents.

3 Dual-career couples (module 3)

At universities, the advancement of dual-career couples is generally linked to two overarching objectives: first, the advantages gained for both a university and the entire region in the competition for the best minds; second, with improved career opportunities for women. Regarding the goal of equal opportunity, it is necessary to point out the fact that more women than men live in dual-career partnerships and, as a result, profit more from related measures than do men. Furthermore, research findings have demonstrated that women are more likely than men to make a decision on accepting employment contingent on their partner’s career perspectives or the good of their family.
Both objectives – promotion of reputation and equal opportunity – can complement each other in individual cases, but they also have conflict potential. Put pointedly, a DCC policy legitimised mainly by competitive advantages will tend to limit itself to new professors, will most likely negotiate DCC services based on the probability of a couple remaining at the university, and will lean towards accepting gender-specific inequalities in an academic career as inevitable. From the perspective of equal opportunity, it is therefore essential that universities support dual-career couples already at an early stage, that they offer supportive measures independent of future decisions on relocation (i.e. fear of an "exodus"), and that they include their "own" junior scholars in their DCC policy.

Supportive measures for newly hired academics occupied centre stage of the Federal Programme’s DCC promotion. The programme implemented two instruments:

- First, a DCC funding pool in the amount of CHF 800,000 was established. During negotiations for professorial appointments, hiring or employment extensions, universities could apply for specific funding to support a partner’s career or to provide a cushion for family expenditures.
- Second, a budget of CHF 400,000 was allocated to the universities for the implementation of DCC concepts, meaning CHF 40,000 per university.

The objectives were:

- To support academics living in dual-career constellations and to improve their general and work-related conditions;
- To heighten awareness at universities for the situation of dual-career couples and to encourage universities to create the necessary structures to support dual-career couples;
- To improve the chances of Swiss universities to win the best-qualified people from Switzerland and abroad for research, teaching and administrative duties;
- And, finally, to contribute to raising the percentage of female professors to 25%.

3.1. DCC promotion prior to 2009

Before the DCC focus of the programme was launched, none of the ten cantonal universities had an actual programme to support dual-career couples. No written guidelines for dealing with the issue were available, nor was there a help centre for affected persons. Nonetheless, informal practices did become established to differing degrees. Such measures had progressed farthest at the University of Zurich, where partners of newly appointed full professors and assistant professors were occasionally offered positions at the university. In addition, the University of Zurich has participated since 2008 in the network for the advancement of dual careers headed by the University of Konstanz. Other universities in Switzerland have helped partners of professors find employment, supported newly hired academics in looking for a place to live, or offered language courses to foreign academics.

3.2. Target group and informal DCC promotion

Because many instruments for the advancement of dual-career couples are geared towards recruitment and hiring processes, their target group is not identical with the dual-career couples analysed above. Instead, these instruments are restricted to couples in which at least one person is considering relocation for the sake of their career.

For this reason, the target group of DCC measures were determined to be respondents of the survey who (a) had a partner during hiring or appointment procedures, and (b) who were themselves, or had a partner who was, considering relocating for professional reasons.

44% of all respondents who began their current employment in the past ten years fulfil both these criteria. In three of five cases, there was discussion of at least one move from abroad; in the other cases, it was a move within Switzerland.

Of the potential target group, 11% of the couples benefited from DCC supportive measures upon beginning employment or later; in the case of professors, the percentage amounted to 22%. The percentages of couples receiving supportive measures at the individual universities ranged between 4% and 14%. As expected, DCC measures were most common among couples who moved to Switzerland from abroad.

Among professors, ETH Zurich – which has provided assistance through its office “Dual Career Advice” since 1999 – provides by far the most support, with 77% of all professors having profited from the services. At the cantonal universities, between 9% and 23% of professors in the target group received support. Possible assistance through funds from the Federal Programme is included in these results.

Of the 426 respondents who profited from at least one supportive measure, 54% state that they or their partner received help looking for employment. 23% stated they received support in finding child care, and 51% got help in moving or in integrating in a new place. Advice services played the largest role in finding
employment, with partners being offered employment directly in some cases. Roughly 840 respondents in the target group who received no DCC supportive measures stated they would have found such help to be important (20%); for another 1,030 respondents (24%), these measures would have been agreeable. Nearly all respondents who did not profit from DCC measures would have liked assistance in looking for employment. Many would have liked help integrating in a new place, and not quite half would have appreciated support in finding child care.

3.3 Individual funding from the Federal Programme

Starting in 2009, funding from the Federal Programme’s financial pool was allocated on a “first come, first served” basis, with the aim of quickly garnering experience. However, universities without a history of DCC promotion were at a clear disadvantage in the competitive process of applying for funding.

Up to 2011, a total of 20 dual-career couples at seven universities benefited from the financial pool. With the exception of two cases, both partners were employed at the same university. The University of Zurich was the institution receiving by far the most support, with a total of nine approved applications. Three universities submitted no applications – Fribourg, St. Gallen and Ticino – all smaller institutions which by their own account believed it to be very difficult to find a suitable position for a partner on location. A further programme goal of allocating funding proportionally between German-speaking and French- and Italian-speaking Switzerland was not achieved.

The long-term effect of the individual funds on the partners’ careers cannot yet be established. Nonetheless, first indications of how they effect the promotion of equal opportunity can be discerned by examining the partner constellation and the new job taken on by the woman in the couple. In the partner constellation, a distinction is made between the person who first receives employment (“first hire” / “first mover”) and that person’s partner (“second hire” / “second mover”).

In 9 of the 20 supported dual-career couples, a gender-equalizing effect is plausible:

- In six cases, women received a professorship, three times as a “first hire” and three times as a “second hire”. In these cases, the goal of raising the percentage of female professors was directly attained.
- In three cases, women received a junior academic position as a “first hire”. Because these women determined the couple’s place of residence, it must be assumed that the position offered these women a good opportunity to advance their career.
- In the other 11 cases, female junior academics were supported as a “second hire”, generally as partners of newly appointed professors. Although a longer period of time is required to observe how their careers develop, it was, however, certain that – at the time of reporting – six of these women had obtained follow-up employment after the original position received through funding from the Federal Programme. In one instance no follow-up employment was found, and four cases were still unresolved.

Would the universities have found employment for the partner without funding from the Federal Programme? In five of the 20 cases, a so-called windfall effect is very likely: because solid follow-up employment opportunities were requested in the financial pool, funds were allocated for long-term jobs (at least six years) that the universities most likely would also have realised without the comparably modest contribution from the Federal Programme. As such, the dilemma is difficult to resolve: if funding were reserved for cases of interim employment with an “uncertain outcome”, the danger of an inefficient use of funds would arise.

3.4 Implementation of DCC concepts

The five universities in German-speaking Switzerland developed individual proposals to implement DCC concepts; the five universities from the French- and Italian-speaking areas in Switzerland submitted a joint project.

The projects set priorities differently. In German-speaking Switzerland, the universities in Lucerne, St. Gallen and Zurich first compiled studies on the status quo and the need for support. Bern and Basel placed more emphasis on concrete supportive measures, in particular the establishment of dual-career and welcome services for newly hired academics. The joint project from the universities from the French- and Italian-speaking regions in Switzerland created an Internet platform directed towards dual-career couples: “carriere2” (http://www.carriere2.ch). In addition, they compiled a needs analysis with a resulting report with recommendations. The individual universities in non-German-speaking Switzerland also embraced additional measures to raise awareness for the issue of dual careers and to create supportive structures for dual-career couples. A conference was held in Geneva and Zurich respectively for the purpose of informing and raising awareness. Moreover, the University of
Zurich took part in a publication taking stock of current practices in the promotion of dual-career couples. To make the supportive measures available for dual-career couples readily visible, most universities have set up new or supplemented existing websites. No university has taken the step of systematically mentioning supportive measures in job postings. Furthermore, the results of the online survey indicate that by no means in all professorial appointment procedures is there a systematic reference to supportive measures for employed partners.

No Swiss university provides an advice centre explicitly for dual-career couples; nevertheless six universities offer welcome services to newly hired academics or have plans to do so in the near future:

■ The University of Berne has operated a welcome centre since 2008/2009. The centre's services were extended in the course of the Federal Programme and equipped with resources in the area of dual-career advancement.

■ At the University of Neuchâtel, Federal Programme funding went towards creating a welcome desk with part-time services (25% of a full-time equivalent).

■ The University of Basel decided to establish a dual-career and welcome service for newly hired academics starting in 2012.

■ The University of Geneva also has plans to create a welcome centre. From the outset, this centre will include two elements for the advancement of dual-career couples: one in conjunction with the university’s office for equal opportunity, the other in reference to child care for pre-school children.

■ The University of Lausanne has a service famille offering advice to foreign academics who need help finding child care facilities and/or household help.

■ The University of Fribourg did not create an office for dual-career couples; the head of the office for equal opportunity has, however, been named responsible for questions concerning dual-career couples.

At present, no university has compiled guidelines or best-practice examples for dealing with the issue of dual-career couples during hiring or appointment procedures. Moreover, the situation analyses at three universities reveal that decision-makers at universities at least partially believe the current informal practices of supporting dual-career couples are adequate and appropriate.

Because structures for the advancement of dual-career couples are still in their infancy at most universities, it is too early to measure their actual effects on establishing equal opportunity between women and men at universities. As far as the concept is concerned, it must be stated that welcome services cannot automatically be attributed a gender-equalising effect because dual-career couples represent only a part of their target audience. In addition, newer findings reveal that DCC supportive measures can actually have undesirable effects on policies of equal opportunity: if, for example, suitable employment with long-term career perspectives cannot be found for partners of newly hired academics. From the perspective of equal opportunity policy, it is critical that welcome services are sure to address the specific needs of dual-career couples and to provide competent advice.

3.5 Attitudes towards DCC promotion

Most experts questioned believe that measures adopted to-date have contributed to raising awareness for the situation of dual-career couples. In particular, the rector’s offices, but also some faculties and appointment committees appear to have recognised the issue. Supportive measures, however, remain largely restricted to individual cases: because there are no clear standards for supporting dual-career couples, the results are often dependent on a given situation or the persons responsible. In addition, existing reservations were registered concerning lack of transparency and the danger of nepotism when deciding on new hires.

A large degree of openness toward DCC promotion was apparent in the online survey: three-quarters of all respondents would like the universities to have greater understanding for dual-career couples and offer concrete supportive measures. While differences in opinion between the academic levels are minimal, women generally demonstrate higher approval of DCC measures than do men.

Only a minority of respondents were critical of promoting dual-career couples. Men tend to be more sceptical than women, and professors (male and female) are more critical than men and women at the junior academic level. A third of all respondents see a danger that DCC promotion may result in obscure hiring procedures. Just over a quarter fears that DCC measures could lead to positions being filled by candidates with sub-par qualifications, and a similar percentage worries about negative effects on the work climate at faculties or departments. Criticism that DCC supportive measures are not deserving of funding is yet more rare.
4 Professorial appointment procedures (module 1)

To improve the chances of women in professorial appointment procedures, module 1 awarded financial incentives for appointing female candidates to the position of full or assistant professor. The total sum for incentives was CHF 800,000 for the years 2008 to 2010, and just under CHF 700,000 for 2011.

No specifications of goals were made for the percentage of women among newly appointed professors. Nonetheless, the numbers can more or less be inferred on the basis of the overall goal of raising the percentage of female professors to a total of 25%. In retrospect it can be stated that to do so, women should have constituted 43% of all new appointments. In reality the numbers were much lower: at 22.8%, the percentage remained the same as in the second phase of the programme.

In 2011, 16.9% of all professors were women. The objective of 25% in 2012 is therefore highly unrealistic. Yet, as became apparent through interviews with experts, the stated aim of 25% has a definite political message – in full awareness that the number is unattainable within the stipulated time frame. Several experts, however, pointed out the fact that the third phase of the programme brought very little progress concerning greater transparency in appointment procedures. To be sure, measures such as gender guidelines for job postings and appointment committees exist almost everywhere, but personnel resources are lacking to implement measures such as instituting delegates for equal opportunity in appointment committees.

5 Promotion of junior scholars (module 2)

5.1 Projects for promoting junior academics

In the third phase of the Federal Programme, the ten cantonal universities carried out a total of 25 projects for the advancement of junior academics. The projects were generally directed towards female PhD candidates or junior researchers with a PhD; in individual cases the projects were also open to male students or researchers. Most projects were carried out for junior researchers at individual universities or faculties; five projects were a part of a trans-university cooperation.

Mentoring represents the most important supportive instrument. Mentoring in various forms was offered in diverse projects, and a total of 500 junior researchers took part in such projects in the years 2008 and 2009. (More recent data are not yet available.) 58 courses and workshops were offered within the scope of three projects in 2008 and 2009. A fourth project with 600 participants began in 2010. A third supportive measure comprises projects offering participants temporary leaves of absence. These projects are offered at five universities. In total, 29 people profited from sabbaticals in 2008 and 2009, with a further 25 sabbaticals granted in 2010. The interest in temporary leaves of absence is, however, much greater, and the requests by far outnumber the possibilities, especially in Geneva and Zurich.

As seen in project evaluations, participants generally have a positive to very positive opinion of the advantages they gain from projects supporting junior academics. There are, however, structural problems to overcome. In the case of mentoring, winning enough female professors as mentors poses a major challenge. In addition, a vertical relationship between mentee and mentor tends to function better than the horizontal relationship among mentees. In the case of sabbaticals it has at times proven difficult to achieve a complete relief of duties because a suitable replacement could not be found, or because the professor responsible imposed duties for the sabbatical that were not primarily of use for the junior scholar, but rather for the professor or his/her department. Questions also remain concerning the role the promotion of excellence should play when choosing participants, and how the cost-benefit ratio is to be judged (high costs for few participants).

In view of future decisions, the main mission is to embed the various projects in an overarching strategy to promote junior scholars and to introduce the projects into existing university structures (complete funding provided by the universities). Individual projects have already been adopted by the universities. Here, the main challenge lies in retaining the character of equal opportunity, i.e. to prevent the projects from evolving into a general programme of academic career advancement without a focus on creating equal opportunities for women and men. A discussion on to the degree that projects should be opened to men is being held in this context.

5.2 Development of the pool of female junior academics

How module 2 projects will effect long-term career development can scarcely be known, and precise data must be gathered before conclusive statements are possible. What is clear, however, is that the percentage of female PhD candidates at cantonal universities has more than doubled since 1990 – with an increase from 20% to 43% in the year 2010 (excluding PhDs
in the field of medicine, where the professional qualification has greater significance).

In the arts and social sciences, women have made up over half of all PhD candidates since 2006 (56% in 2010). Exact and natural sciences as well as law follow, with each field having 41% female PhD candidates in 2010. Compared to these numbers, the percentage of female PhD candidates in the field of economics is rather low (29% in 2010). The major increase in the numbers of women pursuing doctoral study cannot be ascribed solely to the Federal Programme; other reasons include the marked rise in the number of women achieving a Swiss university qualification (the “Matura”). Today, over half of all first-year students are women, and the percentage of women completing studies is quickly catching up to that of men. It is more plausible that the Federal Programme has positively affected women during the transition to doctoral study and, later, in earning their degree. Today, more women than ever pursue doctoral study and successfully complete their studies. The ratio of female PhDs today to female holders of a Master’s degree (or a licentiate) five years ago has grown decidedly more balanced. Today, the major differences in these figures to the disadvantage of women are found in the arts and social sciences, and in the field of law.

Unfortunately, statistical data on the post-doctoral phase that could provide information about career opportunities for women are rare. An exception to this general rule are statistics on habilitations, the significance of which, however, is limited to German-speaking Switzerland. The percentage of women among scholars with a habilitation has more than doubled since 1993, and was just under a quarter of all scholars with a habilitation in the time period between 2008 and 2010. These numbers are highest in the arts and social sciences (34%) and, since the end of the 1990s, have increased most in the field of economics (from 9% in 1999–2001 to 32% in 2008–2010).

6 Expert evaluation of the overall programme

During its initial period of 2000 to 2011, the Federal Programme followed its original concept – with the exception of the focus on the advancement of dual-career couples. When assessing overall performance, the experts place special emphasis on the great significance the Federal Programme has for equal opportunity at Swiss universities. They cite four issues as the major achievements:

- The creation of structures and the institutionalisation of offices for equal opportunity at the individual universities;
- The legitimacy the Federal Programme has lent topics concerning equal opportunity at universities;
- The broad and coherent catalogue of measures of the three modules;
- The great innovation potential for the universities to create general promotional activities for junior scholars and to generate a systematic development of the academic staff.

The experts identified weak points in the following areas:

- Insufficient integration in decisions on university policy at the federal level;
- A structural discontinuity, conditioned by the open question of whether or not the programme will be continued after the four-year phases;
- The ambivalent character of the Federal Programme as a third-party fund that has not yet succeeded in triggering a strong financial engagement at all universities;
- Certain steering problems in integrating offices for equal opportunity and concerning knowledge management.

The next phase of the programme (2013–2016) proposes a fundamental system change: the universities will no longer receive funding for individual projects, but rather for their own plans of action to promote equal opportunity. The experts welcome this change as it shifts responsibility to the universities. There are, however, also reservations and concerns that this step will increase competition rather than cooperation between the universities. Furthermore, the experts note that the plans of action allow neither a systematic representation of interests at a national level, nor a voluntary commitment on the part of national committees.

7 Recommendations

The following recommendations have been made for the continuation of the Federal Programme and, in particular, for the realisation of supportive measures for dual-career couples:

1 Treating dual careers as the norm

DCC promotion solely as a programme for persons in the upper echelons of a university is of limited benefit in creating gender equality. Therefore, effective measures must set in before it becomes clear who will one day succeed as a dual-career couple. As such, universities must adjust their personnel policies and their working conditions to the reality of a dual career as the norm.
2 Relieving the rush-hour effect at the level of the non-professorial staff with a PhD

Often, academics with a PhD who are not professors are at a point in life when major career choices and high demands on mobility for one or both partners coincide with the decision on whether or not to start a family or with the phase of having young children. All measures to help reduce the concentration of these simultaneous and conflicting demands represent a contribution to promoting the careers of advanced junior scholars.

3 Individual financial aid: a drop in the bucket

Providing individual financial aid for a partner ("second hire" or "second mover") may prove useful in isolated cases, but can never achieve broad effectiveness due to the high costs. An effective DCC strategy, therefore, cannot focus on individual aid, but must seek to generate change at the structural level. A clarification of roles is also necessary to determine what the interests of the university’s location are and when other instruments would prove more efficient in achieving equal opportunity.

4 Larger networks in DCC job placement

To ensure that welcome and dual-career services actually contribute to the creation of equal opportunity between women and men, it is of singular importance that such services have the necessary competencies to find suitable employment for partners ("second hire" / "second mover") and that they have a solid network outside their own university. It is, however, questionable whether this know-how can be acquired with today’s fragmented structures and relatively low numbers of actually supported dual-career couples. It is recommended that a more intense co-operation between the services at the individual universities be considered.

5 Transparent DCC guidelines

If DCC promotion is to be an aspect of equal opportunity, it must be more than the accommodation of particularly renowned professors or those with good bargaining skills. Instead, a maximum number of dual-career couples at the junior academic level must be given some security that Swiss universities are aware of the difficulties they face in co-ordinating two careers – and that the universities will help alleviate these difficulties. This calls for transparency about what dual-career couples can expect from universities. It is therefore of crucial importance to create clear rules of the game for hiring and appointment procedures (e.g. job postings, interviews with candidates). It is also necessary to openly state in which phase of these procedures the discussion will turn to concrete negotiations of DCC supportive measures. Without these formalised guidelines, the danger exists that candidates negotiate themselves into a disadvantageous position by bringing up the topic of their partner’s career too early, or, conversely, do not bring it up at all for fear of losing a good career opportunity.

6 Discussion of possible collaboration with the Swiss National Science Foundation

Universities have a limited interest in DCC promotion in the case of their own junior scholars if they (the universities) believe these individuals won’t remain at their institution. For this reason, it could be helpful to assess potential forms of collaboration with the Swiss National Science Foundation to support junior scholars in a dual-career constellation. In the Marie Heim-Vögtlin programme, the SNSF already has an instrument to aid female academics who have “come along” with their male partners. In addition to supportive measures, funding from the National Science Foundation could also prove advantageous in factors surrounding quality control.

7 Improvement in compatibility through modern personnel policy and family-friendly work environment

If academic careers are to be open to couples with children and an egalitarian division of family responsibilities, the compatibility of an academic career and family must be guaranteed. For this, a structural and cultural shift is necessary to ensure that a career in academics is not unconditionally associated with a lifestyle that rules out other responsibilities. Indeed, it would be desirable to see universities establish themselves clearly as family-friendly institutions.

8 Recognition of family obligations when assessing academic potential

When assessing careers and publication records, it is recommended that differences in the amount of time available and the possible mobility of both genders be given due consideration.

9 Greater security in planning and careful attention to compatibility issues in the case of relocation

Demands to relocate as well as the condition of temporary employment reduce the hopes of a stable situation for all junior scholars, but particularly for couples in which both partners are pursuing a career in academia. Structural reforms to better harmonise criteria for excellence and the planning needs of dual-career couples are therefore called for. For example, demands to relocate at an early career stage are easier for dual-career couples to deal with and interfere less with decisions to start a family. Tenure-track positions represent another possibility to termi-
nate the itinerant life of a junior academic at an earlier stage.

10 Integration of experiences from the Federal Programme into the general promotion of junior scholars

For many years, the Federal Programme’s promotion of junior scholars has gathered experience using various instruments and has evaluated many projects. This knowledge is now ready to be integrated into the universities’ general programmes to promote junior scholars. In the course of the mainstreaming process, care must be taken to ensure that aspects pertaining to equal opportunity not be lost.

11 Clear definition of goals for professorial appointment procedures

The definition of measurable interim goals (e.g. a quarter of all professors are female in the year 2012) is to be retained. However, the goals must be specified according to each individual subject area. Because there are marked differences in the various academic disciplines, it makes little sense to use the same yardstick to measure all goals. In addition, the targeted percentage of women among newly appointed professors must be stated, as it is the only way to directly influence the overall percentage of female professors.

12 Measures to minimise horizontal segregation during compulsory schooling

The topic of gender-specific choice of studies does not necessarily need to be integrated into the Federal Programme itself, but its role as a precondition must not be neglected. Newer findings reveal that counter-measures against stereotyped selection must be introduced at an early stage in compulsory education, and not first in high school.

13 Further development of quality assurance and knowledge management in the Federal Programme and in equal opportunity programmes at universities

Although the universities and faculties have taken on successful Federal Programme projects from one another, and although all activities were evaluated within the scope of the programme, there remains a degree of uncertainty concerning the steering of quality assurance and knowledge management. Offices for equal opportunity not represented in the programme’s direction sometimes possessed insufficient information and in isolated cases were unable to correct existing failures and redundancies at their own universities. For their part, these offices would have appreciated more knowledge input and a more active further development of the programme from the national level. Especially regarding the transition to plans of action for equal opportunity in which the universities define their own goals and measures, it is important to find a solution for steering mechanisms and task sharing.

14 Continuation of trans-university monitoring

To increase the percentage of female professors, comprehensive controlling and monitoring of all newly appointed professors must be retained – even if module 1 is no longer maintained in its original form. Moreover, it is necessary to better integrate the critical phase of junior scholars with a PhD at the intermediary level – an area in which it has proven traditionally difficult to gather data – into official statistics. Last but not least, a compilation of long-term experiences of dual-career couples that have received individual support from the Federal Programme would prove very useful to establish verified findings on the effectiveness of this instrument for academic careers.